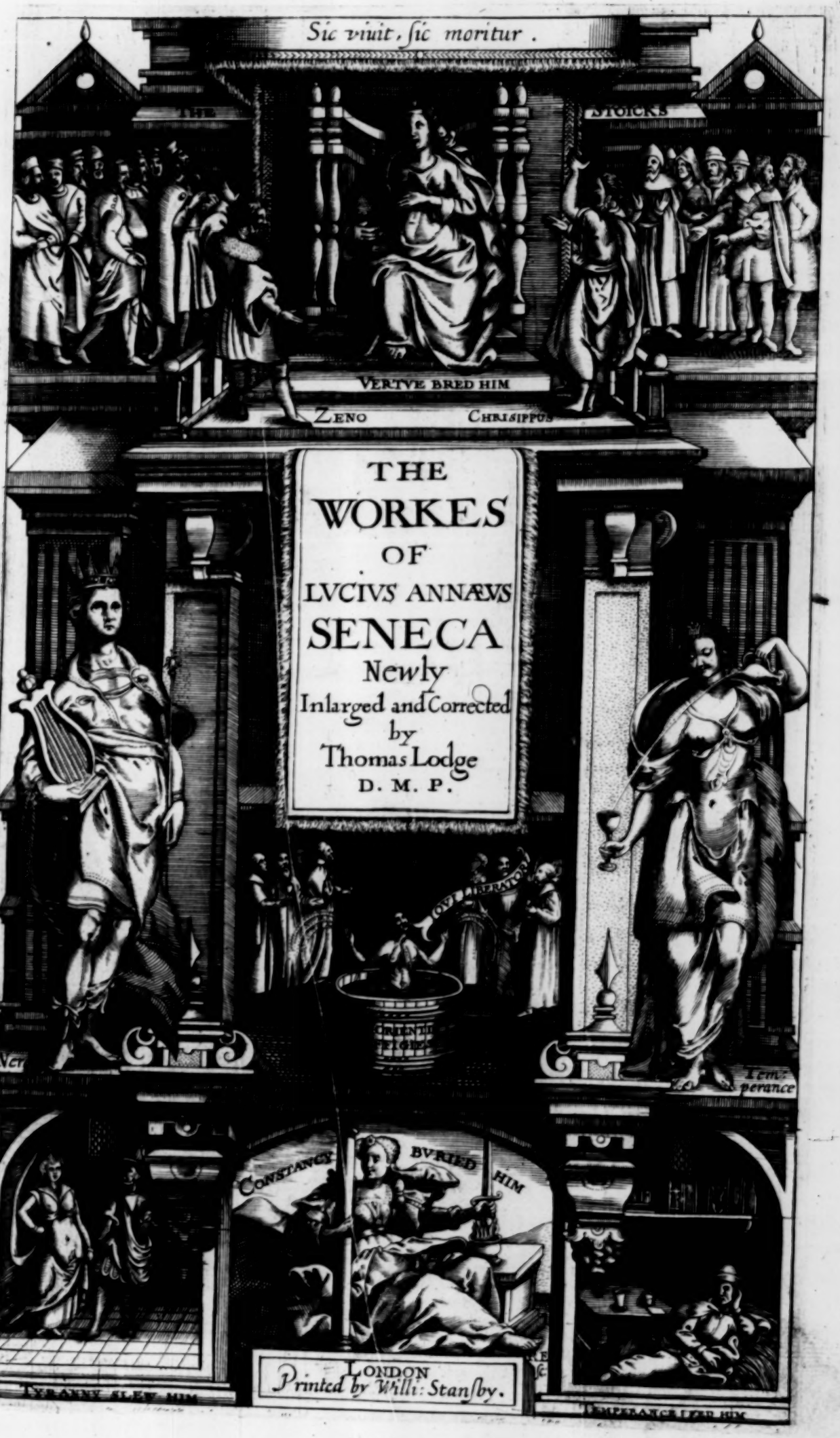

Sic viuit, sic moritur.
THE STOICKS
VERTVE BRED HIM
ZENO
CHRISIPPVS
THE
WORKES
OF
LVCIVS ANNÆVS
SENECA
Newly
Inlarged and Corrected
by
Thomas Lodge
D. M. P.
LOVE LIBERATOR
CONSTANCY
BVRIED
HIM
Tem-
perance
LONDON
Printed by Willi: Stansby.
TYRANNY SLEW HIM
TEMPERANCE LIVED HIM

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TO THE MOST NOBLE AND MY HONOVRABLE GOOD LORD, Thomas, EARLE OF SVFFOLKE.



Ight Honourable, it is not your Greatneſſe that I admire, nor the vaine applauſe of the multitude (which may bewitch men, but not perfect them) that makes mee name you Patron of theſe my Labours. I neither dedicate this famous Worke vnto you for the benefits I hope, or the reputation I may get, or vpon the errour of cuſtome, that pre-

tends more then Nature intended. I will not flatter your Greatneſſe in reckoning vp your Titles, nor embace your iudgement, that can diſtinguiſh times, Men, Fortunes; both apparantly as they ſeeme, and really as they are. It is your vertue, your goodneſſe, your Noble nature, to which I conſecrate my endeauours: your Honour, (which is the reward of vertue.) Theſe and nought elſe tye me to reſpect, reuerence, and eſteeme both your Noble ſelfe and your Honourable family, to whoſe ſeruice I haue inſeparably conſecrated my beſt Labours. In times paſt it was the cuſtome of the greateſt Monarchies, to beſtow fained Deities vpon their mortall Emperours: Of famous Cities to erect Statues to their well deſeruing Senatours; Of good children to raiſe Monuments in Honour of their Parents. Yet whatſoeuer Monarchies haue fooliſhly attempted, Cities haue Dedicated, Children haue erected, their Memories, times, place, and (welny)names are extinguiſhed. If Antiquity performed any thing, it is either blaſted by flatterie, or concealed by feare.

This my Preſent is a richer, more laſting and happier Iewell; that in many Ages, and thorow manie fires and combuſtions, hath continued their fames to whome it was Dedicated, and ſhall make you liue in the Reading thereof, and my loue proue ſignall and famous thereby, when haply your worthie deſerts ſhall be obſcured or detracted, or your greateſt Titles buried in the boſome of Obliuion. Thus hoping that this poore Neſtling of my Labour,

ſhall

ſhall be as graciouſly accepted, as it is honeſtly and vnfainedly intended, I commit your Honour, and your whole Family, to his protection, who onely ſearcheth mens hearts, and knoweth how vnfainedly, I reſpect both you, your Honour, and Family.

Your Honours moſt

deuoted,

THOM. LODGE.

To the Reader.

Gentle Reader, I present thee once more with Senecaes *Translation, if not so fully and exactly clensed from his former mispriſions and errours, as I wiſh; yet I hope, in ſuch ſort examined and peruſed, that the iudicious Reader ſhall find leſſe matter to except againſt; and the indifferent, better light to vnderſtand him. My buſineſſe being great, and my diſtractions many; the Authour being ſeriouſly ſuccinct, and full of* Laconiſme; *no wonder if in ſomthings my omiſſions may ſeeme ſuch, as ſome whoſe iudgement is mounted aboue the Epicycle of Mercurie, will find matter enough to carpe at, though not to condemne. Let me intreat this fauour at thy hands, curteous Reader, to pretend this Tranſlation to bee a Garden, wherein though thou maieſt find many holeſome Herbes, goodly Flowers, and rich Medicines; yet can it not be but ſome weedes may ranckly ſhoote out, which may ſmoother or obſcure the light and luſtre of the better. Play the good Gardner I pray thee, and pulling vp the weedes, make thy profit of the flowers. If thou wilt Correct, bee conſiderate before thou attempt, leſt in pretending to roote out one, thou commit many errors. What a Stoicke hath written, Reade thou like a Chriſtian. If any*

doubts entangle thy iudgement, haue recourse to the sacred Synod of learned and pious Diuines; whose iudgement will select thee out that which is for thy Soules profit, and dissuade thee from admitting that, which may either depraue thy iudgement, or corrupt thy Soule. The fruit I exspect for my Labour at thy hands, is onely this, to interpret mine actions to the best, and to Correct with thy pen, that which other men lesse aduised, haue omitted by ouer hastie labour.

Farewell, and enioy the fruits which I haue planted for thy profit; which though these times may haply neglect, the future may both applaude and allow.

Vale.

Thine in all vertuous

endeuour,

Thom. Lodge.

TO HIS LEARNED, IVDICIOVS, AND HO-NOVRD FRIEND, Mr. DOCTOR LODGE.

WOrthy Sir. Hauing peruſed your ſelected Tranſlation of SENECA, I cannot but ingenuouſly approue it. Nor is my Iudgement ſingle. More learned ones confirm it. Wherein, (had you done no more) you haue taught me, how not to loſe my time; and others to employ theirs profitably.

It is a rare Iewell, our Land was too long debard of; which now may bee worne vpon any breſt, with comlineſſe, eaſe and honour. No *Conſtellated ſigill* can marrie more happineſſe to the wearer; then this, to the vnderſtanding Reader; more truely effectuall, and leſſe ſuperſtitious.

You haue vncouered the Veile of that ſacred Temple, and opened the myſteries thereof to euerie eye; that before lay hidden (ſaue to a few) in the maske of a forraine Language. You are his profitable Tutor, and haue inſtructed him to walke and talke in

perfect Engliſh, If his matter held not ſtill the Romane Maieſtie, I ſhould miſtake him one of Ours; he deliuers his mind ſo ſignificantly and fitly. Surely, had hee choſen any other Tongue to write in, my affection thinkes, it had beene Engliſh; And in Engliſh, as you haue taught him in your Tranſlation; you expreſſe him ſo liuely, being ſtill the ſame Man in other garments. He hath onely changed his habit, like a diſcreete Trauellour, to the faſhion of the Countrie he is in: retaining ſtill the natiue grauitie of his countenance, and naturall, gracious comportment. For you haue not ſuited him ſo lightly, to loſe them. You would not: you could not. For his Genius prompted you to write, as himſelfe would haue ſpoken. His ſpirit breathed in you: Ouer-ruled you.

That you haue not Parot-like, ſpoken his owne words; and loſt your ſelfe litterally in a Latine Ecco, rendering him preciſely verbatim, as if tied to his tongue; but retaining his Sence, haue expreſſed his meaning in our proper Engliſh Elegancies and Phraſe; is in a Tranſlatour a diſcretion, that, not onely, I commend, but HORACE alſo commendeth:

> *Nec verbum verbo curabit reddere fidus*
> *Interpres.*

Yea, the contrarie, were a tyrannie: And oftentimes either impoſsible to be performed, or abſurd. And who ſhould vndertake it, ſhould proue *Ciceroes* INEPTVS, which, hee ſaid, the *Græcians* could neuer aptly render.

He that ſhould literally conſtrue: *Dabit mihi pœnas: Malè audit: famoſum hominem: Filium naturalem*, and ſuch

ſuch like, according to the *Latiniſme*; ſhould, rarely no doubt, inſtruct his Reader, expreſſe his Author, and diſcharge the duetie of a Tranſlatour. Such an one, muſt be forced to find a Blew Mare in Wales, or a Staffe with two heads (*ipſe baculo dignus*) if he ſhould Tranſlate *Tali eſſen*: and turne, an Aſſe-great, after all other Languages, being properly a great Aſſe in Engliſh.

For all Languages haue their peculiar Idiomes and Properties. And to play the Phrase-ape in Tranſlating, is no leſſe abſurd and mockable, then a returned Trauellour, ſtill to weare his *Spaniſh* habit, *Turkiſh* Torbant, *Iriſh* Mantle, or *Switzers* Slop, amongſt vs, as amongſt them not to vſe them, were not onely ridiculous, but ſometimes dangerous; as in *Switzer*land, where the want of a Cod-peece, may endanger his head-peece.

If this Pædanticall preciſeneſſe ſhould paſſe for currant, and obtaine the power of a Law; wee ſhould ſhortly (without a Dictionarie) ſcarce vnderſtand or know our owne Language; the Leproſie of *Hebraiſmes*, *Græciſmes*, *Latiniſmes* and ſuch like, would ſo fully and foully infect it: and a more confuſion of Tongues, would bee gallimaufreyd in our Nation, then at the tower of *Babel*.

Yet, all be it be true, that a Tranſlatour, as *Horace* ſaith, needes not *Verbum verbo reddere*: He ought neuertheleſſe, on the other ſide, to bee *fidus Interpres*. And what is that, but to be as you are? and doe as you haue done? Like a faithfull *Truchman*, rendring and deliuering the intire and whole Sence of your Reuerend Authour, if not preciſely to the letter, yet ſo ſignificantly

nificantly, effectually and expreſly to his meaning; as if his Soule had liued in you, or his powerfull and rauiſhing Spirit poſſeſt you, to bee the *Senec-Sybill* (or rather *Mercurie*) of his oraculous Diſcourſes.

And who ſo ſeeketh herein injuriouſly to taxe you, and ſtill ſtubburnly perſiſts in this VVord-rendring errour; let him die in that hereſie (for me:) But firſt liue to commit (if hee dare aduenture it) that groſſe fault in a Traduction of his owne; which a paire of the beſt Tranſlatours (I know) in our Language, haue induſtriouſly and happily auoided: To wit: that iudicious and worthy Knight Sir *Henrie Sauill*, in his *Tacitus*: And that learned Doctor *Holland*, in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, whoſe learned labours and trauels, and iudicious Courſe therein, if this cynicall Criticke, dare either ſlight or barke at, let him (if he haue the courage) but take in hand the laſt of thoſe mentioned Authors, *Marcelline*, and trie his facultie (for Art I thinke he hath not) vpon him. I doubt me (vnleſſe he trace in the ſame path, and Plow with his Heighfer) he will make but a rugged peece of worke on't:

Nec dignum tanto ferat is Promiſſor hiatu.

But I thinke, hee dares ſooner pull a Lyon by the beard, a Rhinocerot by the noſe, or ſwallow a quicke Armadillio. A liue Porcupine were eaſilier chewed, then that rough peece, and, I beleeue, ſooner diſgeſted.

But Sir, I grow too tediouſly your trouble. I therfore conclude, with many: many thankfull allowances of your painfull, induſtrious and iudicious Tranſlation of your *Lucius Annæus Seneca*. VVhereby,

in

in my iudgement, you haue (as it were) recalled him to life againe, and infuſed new Engliſh blood and ſpirit into his once-emptied Veines and Arteries; that hee may now at laſt, liue an allowed Counſellour in our Monarchie, as he once did in the Romane: But with more fauour, and fairer entertainement.

With whome alſo liue your fame, and with you, my loue. Thus with 1620. Commendations vnto you: this 15. of September, I reſt

The vnfained louer of your

Ingenious endeuours:

W. R.

THE LIFE OF LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

Described by IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

CHAP. I.

Of his Countrey and Parents.

IT hath beene an olde custome to publish the Liues of worthy Men: and those whose Wisedomes, Writings and Actions wee admire, it doth not a little content vs to know such other things as concerne or appertaine vnto them. I will therefore speake of Seneca as farre as may be, and will collect and dispose all those things that concerne this matter, both out of himselfe and diuers other Writers. It appeareth that hee was borne in Corduba, an old and flourishing Colonie in Andalouzie in Spaine, and besides that, the chiefest in those Regions. This doth Strabo testifie in these wordes: Amongst all other Cities of Hispania, Bætica, or Andalouzie, Corduba is inlarged both in Glorie and Power by *Marcellus* meanes: as also the Citie of Gaditana, the one by reason of Nauigations, and the Societies of the Romanes: the other becauſe of the goodneſſe and greatneſſe of the Countrey; the Riuer Bætis likewise conferring much hereunto. They Lib. 3.

praiſe it, and therewithall prooue it to be ancient, becauſe it was Marcellus *Worke: which of them, was it, his that was Pretour, or the other that was Conſul? For* Marcus Marcellus *the Pretor gouerned*
Lib.43. *Spaine, as* Plinie *teſtifieth, in the yeare of the Citie* DLXXXV. *although, as it ſeemeth, in peace and quietneſſe; by which meanes the rather ſuppoſe I that this Colonie of his Countrimen was drawne thither, and happily the Citie both increaſed and adorned. For that it was not built anew, as it appeares by* Siluius, *who euen in* Hanibals *time called it Corduba. I had rather therefore aſcribe it to him, then to the Conſul* Marcellus, *who in the yeare* DCI. *gouerned the hither part of Spaine, as it appeares in the Epitome, and thou mayeſt gather out of* Appian; *and hauing worthily executed his charge in that place, triumphed ouer the Celtibers. Hee had therefore at that time nothing to doe with Bætica, or our Corduba, which is in the farther part of Spaine. But* Strabo *addeth more, The moſt choſen Romanes and Spaniards inhabited this Corduba from the beginning, and into theſe places did the Romanes ſend their firſt Colonie. Note this word Choſen; for it was ſo indeed: and thereupon afterwards, as I ſuppoſe, it obtained this Priuiledge, that it was called* Colonia Patricia. Pliny *teſtifieth it moſt plainely;*
Lib.3.cap.1 *Corduba (ſayth hee) named the Patrician Colonie, and in* Auguſtus *ſtampe of Money,* Permiſſu Cæſaris Auguſti, *with his Head on the one ſide, and then on the other ſide,* Colonia Patricia. *The cauſe of which Title, in my opinion, is, becauſe that beeing both a faire and a rich Citie, it ſupplyed the Romane Common-Wealth with Fathers and Senatours. For now in* Auguſtus *Age they made choice of men out of euerie Prouince to make vp the Senate. Furthermore,* Strabo *ſayth, That the firſt Colonie was ſent thither, which reade thou with circumſpection. For Carteia in the ſame Countrey of Bætica, before this time had a Colonie planted in it by* Lucius Canuleius *Pretor: but becauſe they were not of the better ſort, it was called* Colonia Libertinorum, *or the Colonie of the Libertines. Thou ſhalt reade it in* Liuie, *in the beginning of his three and fortieth Booke: yet mayeſt thou, and happily oughteſt thou to defend* Strabo, *that thoſe Inhabitants were not ſent from Rome to Italie, but that they were begotten by the Romane Souldiers vpon the Spaniſh Women; and by the permiſſion of the Senate the Baſtards had their libertie giuen them and were planted in a Colonie. But* Strabo *expreſly writeth, that a Colonie was ſent thither. Enough of Corduba, and this was his Countrey; but who were his Parents? It appeareth that they were of the Annæan Race, which Name ſeemeth to bee giuen them in way of good fortune,* ab Annis.

The

The ſirname of Seneca *likewiſe was fortunate. For the firſt, in my iudgement, who had this name giuen him, (although* Iſidore *thinke, that hee was at the firſt ſo called,) was borne grey-headed. Undoubtedly* Seneca, *or as the Ancients write,* Senica: *(for* Senecis *is deriued à* Sene) *ſignified* γερϖτιον, *as* Senecio *doth. Let* Nonius *be ſeen in* Senica. *Hereunto adde that in another kindred alſo I find this ſirname; as in Accia in an ancient ſtone,* M. Accio Seneca. Manlio Plauta 11. Virg. Quinq. *But whether thoſe of the Race of* Annæa *were of the Spaniſh Race, or were ſent out of Italie in a Colonie, I dare not affirme. This onely I ſay, that they were of the Order of Knights: for ſo* Seneca *himſelfe ſpeaketh of himſelfe in* Tacitus: *Am I he that ſprung from the Order of Knight, and in a Prouinciall place, numbred amongſt the chiefeſt Peeres of the Citie? Can it be amongſt the Nobles that boaſt themſelues of their long Worthineſſe and Antiquitie, that my noueltie ſhould ſhine? His Father therefore, and haply his Grandfather were Knights, and not aboue. For he preſently maketh mention of his noueltie; which hee would not haue done, if any of his Anceſtors had attayned vnto Honours. But his Father was knowne both by himſelfe and his Writings, to be* Lucius Annæus Seneca, *whom for the moſt part, they diſtinguiſh from the ſonne by the title of Declaymer, in which kind he excelled. Diuers Declamations are extant, which were not his owne but another mans, digeſted by him, which he diſtinguiſhed by ſome Titles and Annotations, and by this meanes ſufficiently expreſſed his milde and happie wit. He had to Wife one* Helbia *a Spaniſh Lady, a woman of great Conſtancy and Wiſdome, as her ſonne ſufficiently deſcribeth her in his Conſolatory Book vnto her. The Father came in* Auguſtus *time, and preſently after, his Wife with her Children followed him; amongſt which was this our* Seneca, *as yet but very yong. In that place liued he long, and followed his affaires with the fauour and good report of all men, and I thinke he liued till about the later time of* Tiberius; *and hereunto am I perſwaded, becauſe he maketh mention of* Scianus *Conſpiracie in his Bookes, and of other things that appertaine hereunto. I let him paſſe, and returne vnto his ſonne, of whom I haue intended to ſpeake.*

Lib. 14.

Chap. II.

Of *Lucius Annæus Seneca* himselfe and his Brethren, where he was borne, and when he was brought to Rome.

Conf. ad *Hel.* cap. 16.

IN Corduba was he borne, and was carryed from thence to Rome when he was a child; which he himselfe testifieth thus, where he praised his Aunt: By her hands was I brought into the City, by her pious and motherly nursing I recouered my selfe after my long sickneſſe. If he were carryed in her armes, it must needs be that he was but an Infant; and thou seest that he was sicke at that time likewise, and was recomforted by her care and diligence. This thinke I hapned in the fifteenth yeare or thereabouts, before Augustus *death, the argument whereof is* Senecaes *yong yeares in* Tiberius *time, whereof I must speake hereafter. The father therefore not long before that time came to Rome: he had two brothers, and no sisters; which appeareth by his words vnto his Mother; Thou buriedst thy dearest Husband, by whom thou wert the Mother of three Children. And*

Ad *Hel.* ca. 2

these three were M. Annæus Nouatus, L. Annæus Seneca, L. Annæus Mela; *all borne in such order as I haue set them downe. This appeareth by the Inscriptions of the Controuersies, where they are so set downe, although by their surnames. But the eldest of these brethren presently changed his name, and was called* Iunius Gallo, *because hee was adopted by him. Which* Gallio *is oftentimes named by* Seneca *the father in his Declamations, and is called ours, either by reason of their common Countrey Spaine, or of that friendship which was betweene them. Were they not likewise allyed and akinne? I know not, yet suspect I it, by reason of this adoption. And this* Gallio *it is, who is called Father by* Quintilian, *and* Tacitus *likewise, in the sixt of his Chronicles. But this our adopted* Gallio *in the Eusebian Chronicle is called* Iunius Annæus Gallio, Senecaes *brother, and a worthy Declamer. Was it by the name of both the Families (which was rare amongst the Ancients; nay more, neuer heard of) that it might appeare into what Family hee was entered by adoption, and in what hee was borne by nature? It appeareth manifestly, if the name and title bee true. Hee it is to whom our* Seneca *both sent and wrote his bookes of Wrath, in which he calleth him* Nouatus: *yet the same man in his title of blessed Life calleth hee his brother* Gallio, *and likewise in his Epistles his Lord* Gallio, *and that honestly, as him that was his elder brother. Obserue this therefore, that hee seemed*

med not to bee adopted at ſuch time as his Bookes of Anger were written, that is, when Caius *was aliue, but afterwardes, and that then he changed his ſirname: but his yongeſt Brother was* Annæus Mela, *ſo called by* Tacitus, Dion, *and* Euſebius, *who was only a Romane Knight (for he that was elder was a Senatour) who begat* Lucan, *a great acceſſe to his greatneſſe, as* Tacitus *ſaith. Theſe therefore were the three Brothers, of whom* Martiall *witneſſeth,*

And Learned *Senecaes* Houſe,
That is thrice to be nnmbred.

He calleth him Learned, (I meane, the Orator;) his treble-houſe, his three Sonnes called his Families.

Chap. III.

Of his Youth, his Maſters and Studies.

HEe came therefore to Rome when hee was a Childe, and in that place ripened hee his excellent Wit in the beſt Studies: his Youth happened in the beginning of Tiberius *Gouernment, as hee himſelfe confeſſeth, and about that time, when forreine Sacrifices were remooued and aboliſhed. This was in the fift yeere of* Tiberius, *and of that of the Citie,* Ɔ CCLXXII. *which appeareth manifeſtly by* Tacitus, *who writeth, that the Sacrifices of the Egyptians and Iewes were aboliſhed.* Seneca *therefore about that time grew to mans eſtate, and was about ſome twentie or two and twentie yeares olde. For that hee was well ſtept in yeares in* Auguſtus *time, hereby it appeareth; becauſe hee obſerued a Comet or a Flame before his departure; of which hee ſaith: Wee ſaw before the death of* Auguſtus *ſuch a kinde of Prodige, which Children could not ſo curiouſly obſerue. His Father in my opinion, was hee that firſt inſtructed him in Eloquence: and this doe his Bookes of Controuerſies and their Prefaces teſtifie. For why ſhould not this worthie olde man, who both directed and taught others, direct and inſtruct his owne Children in that kind? He did it, and left two of them moſt excellent and exerciſed in Eloquence,* Gallio, *and this our* Seneca; *for I haue read nothing of* Mela. *This is that* Gallio *whom* Statius *commendeth for his ſweet Diſcourſe.*

Epiſt. 113.

Lib. Annal. 14. in fine.

Quæſt. 1. c. 1

And thus much more, that from his happie Line,
He bleſt the World with *Seneca* Diuine,
And brought to light that *Gallio*, whoſe grace
And fluent ſpeech the Commons did imbrace.

Hee that was the Authour of the Booke, Of the cauſes of corrupted Eloquence, *ſaid that hee had a certaine reſounding and pleaſing Eloquence, which hee calleth the reſounding of* Gallio, *meaning it by the Sonne and not by the Father. But our* Seneca, *beſides his Eloquence, addicted himſelfe to Philoſophie with earneſt endeauour, and Vertue rauiſhed his moſt excellent Wit, although his Father were againſt it. Hee himſelfe diuers times ſaith, that hee was withdrawne from Philoſophie, and that his Wife was ſhee that diſſwaded him; yea, and that ſhee hated it, hee openly writeth in another place: yet did the Sonnes deſire and forwardneſſe get the vpper hand, ſo that hee diligently and carefully heard the moſt famous and ſerious Philoſophers of that Age, and namely,* Attalus *the Soicke,* Sotion *one of the ſame ſort, although hee ſeemed to follow* Pythagoras *and* Papirius Fabius, *which he names likewiſe, and prayſeth with a gratefull memorie: hee was* Sotions *Scholler in his younger yeares; and he writeth,* And now, though a Childe, I ſate and heard Sotion. *Moreouer, hee admired and honoured* Demetrius *the Cynique, conuerſing oftentimes with him in his elder dayes, and at ſuch time as hee ſerued in Court, both priuately and publiquely. For hee made him his Companion both in his walkes and trauailes. Such was his forwardneſſe in honeſt Studies, yet his Father broke him off, and in the interim, cauſed him to follow the Courts and to pleade Cauſes: which courſe, as it appeareth, hee continued long, yea, euen in* Caius *time, being greatly fauoured and famed for his Eloquence. Vndoubtedly there are no Philoſophicall Treatiſes extant, that were his before that time.*

Epiſt. 49.

Epiſt. 49.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

His Honours, and ciuill Life.

HIs father likewiſe perſwaded him to affect gouernement, and to make ſuite for honours: he therefore firſt of all was Treaſurer, in obtayning which Office, he acknowledgeth what helpes his Aunt had procured him: She (ſaith he) tried all her friends in my ſuite for the Treaſurerſhip, and ſhe that ſcarcely would endure to be confer'd withall, or publikely ſaluted, in my behalfe ouercame her modeſtie by her loue towards me. What woman was this, and what husband ſhe had, thou ſhalt learne by my notes: but when he was Treaſurer I doe not certainly know: for his yeares, it might haue beene vnder Tiberius, *or it might be vnder* Caius, *but I intend not to define the matter. This had I rather ſay, that by* Agripinaes *meanes preſently after his exile, he got and exerciſed the Prætorſhip. For thus ſaith* Tacitus: Agripina *got at her husbands hand, not onely a releaſe of* Annæus Senecaes *baniſhment, but alſo the Pretorſhip, ſuppoſing that it would be pleaſing to the common ſort, by reaſon of the fame of his ſtudie, and to the end that* Domitius *childhood might be the better ripened by ſueh a maſter, and that he might vſe his counſailes, vnder hope to attaine the ſouereaigntie. Thou ſeeſt that he was ſuddenly made Prætor, and heareſt what praiſes and endowments* Tacitus *vnfainedly honoureth him with. The loue of the Commons was gotten by that meanes. Becauſe* Seneca *now was accompanied with euerie mans good words and fauors, by reaſon of the excellency of his ſtudies, and was deſirous that vnder ſuch and ſo great a Maſter, that their* Domitius *ſhould be brought vp, and ſhould be addreſſed (and herein note his ciuill prudence) both to obtaine the Empire, and to gouerne it. He was therefore Prætor the yeare of the Citie* DCCII. *and was he not afterwards Conſull? The Law-bookes affirme the ſame to* S. C: Arebellian, *as* Vlpian. *In the time of* Nero, *in the Octaues of the Calends of September, when* Annæus Seneca *and* Trebellius Maximus *were Conſuls, it was made irreuocable. The ſame is written in the elements of* Iuſtianus *inſtitutions. But they that made our holy-daies, make theſe ſubſtitute Conſuls (for ordinary they were not) the yeare of the Citie* DCCCXV. *which ſhould be the yeare, and ſome few moneths before* Senecaes *death. Some men perhaps will doubt of the whole matter, becauſe* Auſonius *in his thankeſgiuing ſaith openly, The rich man* Seneca, *but yet not Conſull.* Seneca *likewiſe himſelfe neuer maketh mention of this honour, although he wrote many Epiſtles at that time. Anſwer, for* Auſonius *it is to be vnderſtood, that it ſeemed to him to be an ordinary Conſulate; for our* Seneca, *that a ſilence is*

Conſ. ad *Hil.* cap. 16.

12. Annals.

is no deniall. Furthermore, I adde this likewise, that the Chronicle-makers seeme to haue digested their relations badly; for in that vere vndoubtedly he was not. For see here in the very beginning of the yeare, how Tacitus *maketh mention of his colde entertainement by* Nero, *and how his detractors had diuersly iniuried him, and how he himselfe with a confident Oration came vnto the Prince, and desired a pension, and resigned his substance: but* Cæsar *permitted it not, and yet* Seneca *from that time forward (as* Cornelius *saith) changeth the prescripts of his former power, forbiddeth intercourse of Courtiers, auoydeth attendants, is seldome seene in the Citie, and as if ouer-tyred with sicknesse, keepeth himselfe at home, intending onely the studie of Wisdome. These are no proper actions of a new made Consull, or a Candidate, and his death that followed presently afterwards, forbiddeth vs to consent hereunto. But what was it that learned men suspected thus? That which* Tacitus *writeth in that yeare, was done by the consent of the Senate, lest a fayned adoption should in any sort further a publique Office, and lest in vsurping heritages, it should profit. But this appertayneth nothing to that of* Trebellian, *it hath another reference: if a man doe examine those things likewise that are in* Tacitus. *I therefore consent thet he was Consull, but in another and a former time, the certaintie whereof I will not set downe. But the perpetuall honour of this man, and how he was both the teacher and the gouernour of a Prince, vndoubtedly worthie as long as he addicted himselfe to his counsailes and admonitions,* Tacitus *concealed not, and nameth two, to whom the Prince was well inclined for his owne profit. Murthers had preuailed, except* Afranius Burrus, *and* Annæus Seneca *had withstood them. These were the Gouernours of the Emperour in his younger yeares, and conformed in that equall societie they had in gouernement, and in diuers sorts they had equall power.* Burrus *in his charge, in regard of warlike affaires, and seuerity in manners;* Seneca *in his precepts of eloquence, and honest affabilitie: assisting one another, whereby they might more easily restraine the tender yeares of the Prince, if he despised vertue, by granting him pleasures. O laudable endeuour and consent, which is too rare in Court, where euerie one for the most part will desire to be so eminent, that he desireth no second. But to* Seneca.

CHAP. V.

His priuate life, his Wife, his Children, his baniſhment.

WHether he acted any other thing in publique, I know not; but priuately I finde, or at leaſt wiſe I collect, that during his yonger yeares he was in Ægypt vpon this occaſion; becauſe his Vncle was Præfect there: for hee writeth of his Aunt to his Mother, She will ſhew thee her example, whereof I was an eye-witneſſe. What, an eye-witneſſe? he therefore aſſociated his Aunt in that Nauigation (of which he ſpeaketh in that place) when as his Aunt returned from Ægypt. And how could this be, except he himſelfe likewiſe had beene in Ægypt? vndoubtedly it was thus: and this is the cauſe why he curiouſly intermixeth many things of Ægypt and Nilus, eſpecially in his bookes of Naturall Queſtions. Perchance he trauailed out of Ægypt into India by the red Sea, and therefore would he comment vpon India, vpon that which was written by Plinie. *But now he married a Wife at Rome, which though it be vncertaine to be ſo, yet the reaſon he had children doth approue it: for he maketh mention of* Marcus *a wanton lad, with much praiſe and affection to his Mother* Heluia: *neither is it to be doubted but that he was his ſonne, at leaſt wiſe his owne Verſes will approue it, where amongſt his vowes,*

Conſolat. ad *Heluiam.* cap. 21.

Lib. 6. c. 17.

So may young *Marcus*, who with pleaſing prate
Contents vs now, in eloquent debate,
Prouoke his Vncles, though in being yong
In wit, in wiſdome, and in fluent tong.

For ſhould I giue way to thoſe who attribute this to Marcus Lucanus? *I finde no reaſon for it; yet makes he no mention of his former Wife: not in theſe bookes, I confeſſe; What then? nor of his brother* Annæus Mela *by name, had he not therefore a brother? Notwithſtanding thou art to conſider, whether thou vnderſtand not this by his firſt Wife: Thou knoweſt that* Harpaſtes, *my Wiues foole, remained as an hereditary burthen in my Family: What wife? his firſt wife? for the bookes of Anger ſeeme to be written in a place well knowne to vs. But he married* Paulina *after his exile, a woman of great Nobility, which, as I tell thee, married him when he was olde, and powerful in the Court: which very thing* Dio *likewiſe, or whatſoeuer he were in* Dion, *thought good to obiect againſt* Dion; *which is, that being ſtept in yeares he had married a yong wench. Such were both of them, and* Seneca *himſelfe teſtifieth it. This ſaid I to my* Paulina, *which commends my health vnto me: it came into*

3. de Ira. c. 1.

Epiſt. 104.

into my mind, that in this olde man there is a young one that is foreborne. A yong one? he means Paulina *her ſelfe: for vndoubtedly ſhe loued her husband, as there in many places he boaſteth, and that vnfainedly; which ſhe expreſſed in his death, when in as much as in her lay, ſhee ſought to accompanie his ſoule with hers. Hereafter we ſhall ſee it. And theſe were his wiues. The reſt of his life was quiet, and without offence, excepting onely that grieuous accident of his exile. For vnder* Claudius, *the firſt yeare of his raigne, when* Iulia *the daughter of* Germanicus *was accuſed of Adulterie (Gods and Goddeſſes, by* Meſſaline!*) and was driuen her ſelfe into baniſhment: and* Seneca, *as if he had bin one of the Adulterers, was exiled, and ſent into Corſica; I will not ſay whether it were vpon a iuſt cauſe, I could wiſh it were not, and happely* Tacitus *with me, who when he ſpeaketh of his baniſhment:* Seneca *was angrie with* Claudius, *it was ſuppoſed by reaſon of the iniurie that was done him. Note this, iniurie: he therefore had receiued ſome. For who would otherwiſe be ignorant, to interpret the accuſations of that impudent Harlot (I mean* Meſſaline*) and that loathſome beaſt* Claudius? *For, for the moſt part, they practiſed no miſchiefe but againſt good and innocent perſons. Hee liued about ſome eight yeares or thereabouts in exile, I, and conſtantly too; yea, (if we may beleeue himſelfe) happily, intending onely the beſt ſtudies, and the wholſomeſt meditations. For thus writeth he to his Mother; That he is bleſſed amidſt thoſe things which are wont to make other men wretched. And afterwards (but I pray thee obſerue him) hee worthily Philoſophieth, he addeth in the end, and rowſeth himſelfe:*

Cap. 4. *(Conceiue what thou ſhouldeſt, thinke me to be ioyfull and addreſſed as it were in the beſt fortunes. But they are the beſt, when as the minde, deuoide of all thought, intendeth himſelfe, and ſometimes delighteth himſelfe in lighter ſtudies, and ſometimes mounteth into the conſideration of the nature of himſelfe, and the whole World, being deſirous of truth. O man, O honeſt words, which the Author of* Octauia's *Tragedie pretended to imitate; (for vndoubtedly hee was not the Philoſopher) in theſe Verſes, in the perſon of* Seneca;

Farre better lay I hid: remoued farre
From enuies ſtormes amidſt the Corſicke ſhores,
Whereas my minde was farre from any iarre,
Fixt on my ſtudies, not on earthly powres:
O what content had I? (For neuer Nature,
Mother of all things, Miſtris of each Creature,
Could grant mee more) then to behold the heauen,
The Sunnes true motion, and the Planets ſeuen.

Theſe

Theſe are better, yea, farre truer then he hath written in his conſolatory booke to Polybius, *ouer-baſely and humbly. And is it impoſsible that our* Seneca *ſhould write it? Oftentimes haue I doubted it, and almoſt durſt forſweare it. Howſoeuer, he was a man, and haply that writing was enlarged and publiſhed by his enemies, and, it may be, they corrupted it: yet note this in* Senecaes *words abouesaid; That there he delighted himſelfe in more ſlighter ſtudies likewiſe, which I ſuppoſe ſhould be Poeſie: and amongſt them is* Medea, *which I am halfe aſſured was written in his exile, at ſuch time as* Claudius *conquered Brittanie; and therefore made he choice of that argument of* Iaſon, *that he might intermixe ſomewhat of the Ocean that was ſubdued. Is it poſsible that thoſe verſes in the* Chorus *ſhould haue relation to any but* Claudius?

Spare me, O gods, I doe intreat for grace,
Long let him liue ſecure that hath ſubdude
The Seas———

And againe,

Enough already, O you gods! you haue
Reueng'd you on the Seas, now ſpare the Powre.

Which he applyed to Claudius, *although he were liuing, and will haue the gods to ſpare the god in his Poeticall fiction.*

Chap. VI.

His Riches, his Granges, his Lands, his Vſurie.

But preſently after he returned from his exile, he grew againe into reputation, being both at that time, and before his aduauncement in Court, plentifully enſtated; for his father had left him rich; neyther oweth hee all his wealth to his induſtrie and forwardneſſe. Hereupon to his Mother; Thou beeing the daughter of a family, didſt freely beſtow thy bountie on thy wealthie children. And hee prayſed her liberalitie the rather (as he ſaith) becauſe ſhe beſtowed it on her wealthie ſonnes, and not ſuch as were needie. This before he came to Court; but when he liued there he got mightie Riches, (or rather admitted them) which thruſt themſelues vpon him before he ſought them. For he got much by the Princes beneficence; for thus ſpeaketh he vnto Nero *in our* Tacitus: *Thou (ſaid he) haſt giuen mee great grace, and innumerable treaſure, ſo that oftentimes I my ſelfe,* Cap. 2.

ſelfe oftentimes meditate thus by my ſelfe: Where is that minde which contented himſelfe with a little? Doth he plant ſuch Gardens, and doth he walke about theſe Mannors without the Citie? and is he ſtored with ſo many acres of Land, and with ſuch mightie Vſurie? Note Gardens, Mannors, Granges, Fields, and Vſurie, and all theſe bountifully and abundantly. Will you heare Tacitus *words once more (but from another*

Lib. 14. *mans mouth, and in another ſenſe:)* Senecaes *calumners (ſaith he) accuſe him of diuers crimes; as, that he as yet increaſed his mightie riches (which were raiſed aboue any priuate fortune,) that he won and drew the Citizens hearts vnto him, and as it were exceeded the Prince likewiſe in the annuitie of his Gardens, and the magnificence of his Mannor houſes. And* Suillus, *in the ſame* Tacitus, *expreſſeth the meaſure of his riches likewiſe, with what Wiſdome, with what precepts of the Philoſophers during*

Lib. 13. *thoſe foure yeares that he was in the Princes fauour, had he gotten three thouſand HSS. that in Rome, whole Teſtaments and Inheritances were taken and got hold on by his cunning and ſearch; that Italie and the Prouinces were exhauſted by his immeſurable vſurie. His eſtate amongſt vs ſhould be ſeuentie fiue hundreth thouſand crownes. Theſe riches were almoſt regall, I confeſſe it, but I condemne that which he annexeth, that it was gotten by vnlawfull meanes and deceit. Before hee came to Court, (as I ſaid) he had a great reuennue, and what wonder is it that he increaſed the ſame in ſo mightie a Court, and ſo great felicitie of the Romane ſtate? But he ſaid likewiſe, that Italie, and the Prouinces were exhauſted by his Vſurie: his meaning is, that he had money at vſe in diuers places, and I ſuſpect it likewiſe in Ægypt. This gather I by his*

Epiſt. 77. *Epiſtle, wherein he writeth that the Alexandrian Fleete ſuddenly arriued, and that all men ranne vnto the hauen, and to the ſhore; but I (ſaith he) in this generall haſtie running of all men, found great pleaſure in my ſlackneſſe, that being to receiue my Letters from my friends, I made not haſte to know in what eſtate my affaires ſtood in that place, and what they had brought. For this long time I haue neither wonne or loſt any thing. He had three Brokers or Factors, who followed his buſineſſe; it was therefore in ſome great ſtocke of money, or in Lands. For to haue poſſeſſions beyond the Seas was no new matter in that age wherein he liued, and in ſo great abũdance. Verily* Dion *amongſt the cauſes of the war in Brittaine, reckoneth this vp likewiſe, That when as* Seneca *had vpon great intereſt truſted the Brittaines with foure hundreth HSS. (which in our reckoning amounteth to the ſumme of ten hundreth thouſand crownes:) he called in for that whole ſumme of money at one time. Whether hee ſpake this truely or no I know not; for euery waies he was a mortall and profeſſed enemie of our* Seneca. *Yet telleth he no vntruth, for there likewiſe had he money. Touching Gardens and houſes of pleaſure, hee had*

diuers,

diuers, and differently beautified. Iuuenall *termeth them, The Gardens of moſt wealthie* Seneca. *He himſelfe likewiſe maketh mention of his houſes,* Nomentanum, Albanum, *and* Baianum, *and without queſtion he had many. He likewiſe had a houſe within the Citie, which continued the name for many yeares after, and was called* Senecaes *houſe in the Region.* P. Victor. *His houſhold-ſtuffe alſo was ennied at, and* Dio *obiecteth, that he had fiue hundreth Tables of Cedar with Iuorie feete, all of them alike and equall. This was a great matter if truely great (for this alwaies ought we to obſerue in* Dions *obiections) that he had ſo many Tables, whereof any one is vſually taxed and prized at the rate of an ample poſſeſſion: for they muſt not haue beene ſo choyce and ſo rare; but what if they were not? I denie not but that it was the cuſtome of diſſolute and lauiſh men to haue ſuch: for thus ſpeaketh* Martial *of one of theſe:*

A hundreth Mooriſh Tables ſtand about,
With Libique teeth, and golden plates doe crackle
Vpon our beddes.

For in great banquets they ſet a Table before euery ſeuerall man, (which is elſewhere to bee noted) and to this end therefore they had diuers. I doe not therefore ſay, I deny or doubt hereof. But becauſe Seneca *himſelfe toucheth or reprehendeth this madneſſe oftentimes, yea, at ſuch time as he was in Court, and in his olde age, in thoſe bookes of Benefits which he then wrote. What, doth he not in his booke of Tranquilitie, about the beginning, openly denie that he tooke no pleaſure in thoſe Tables that were conſpicuous through varietie of ſpots, nor was wont to vſe them? Wonderfull is this impudence, in a matter ſo euident and obiect to the eyes of that age, to diſſemble or to lye ſo openly. I cannot thinke it; eſpecially if* Dion *report the ſame, or any other to whom* Dion *aſſigneth this office. For in another place haue I noted, that theſe things ſeeme to be deduced and vrged againſt him in ſome inuectiue Oration; and there by the way haue I acquit him of the crime of his riches, which any man may reade if he pleaſe. But rather let him reade* Seneca *himſelfe, who about this time publiſhed his booke of Bleſſed Life, in which, his proiect is to defend himſelfe from thoſe aſperſions, wherewith his enemies would haue attaynted him. O excellent, O wiſe booke! and more allowed in this behalfe was the reproofe, that was the meane to bring it to light.*

CHAP. VII.

His Manners, and first his Abstinence, his Truth, his Holinesse, and Pietie.

BVt his verie manners refute this obiection of his riches, and iustifie his vse, and not abuse of them. For what, hath he offended in pride, excesse, and pompe? Let them tell vs it, and wee will be silent. What, was hee haply lauish, eyther in his diet or feasting? Let vs heare himselfe professing openly; When as I heard Attalus *declayming against vices, errours, and the infirmities of Life, ostentimes haue I had compassion of mankinde, and haue beleeued that hee was sublimed and raysed aboue humane reach. When hee beganne to traduce our pleasures, to prayse a chaste bodie, a sober Table, a pure minde; not onely from vnlawfull pleasures, but also from superfluous, I tooke a liking to temper mine appetite and belly. Of these instructions some haue sithence dwelt with mee, my* Lucilius; *for I came with a great alacritie to all things. Afterwards, beeing reduced to a ciuill Life, I stored vp some few of these my good beginnings. Hereupon, for all my life time after, I renounced all Oysters and Mushromes. Euer since, for my whole life time, I haue abstayned from inunction; since that time my stomacke hath wanted Wine, neyther haue I euer since, vouchsafed to bathe my selfe. Where was euer any such frugalitie in any other place, or by what name is it called? And this haue I written of, in my commendation of* Seneca, *so let vs not repeat it heere. Now as touching the rest of his life it was both serious and seuere. The Court corrupted him not, neyther inclined he vnto flatterie, (a vice almost familiar, and allied to such places.) Farre was it from him, for thus saith hee to* Nero: *Suffer mee to stay here a little longer with thee, not to flatter thine eares, (for this is not my custome:) I had rather offend thee by truth, then please thee by flatterie. And beeing now readie to die, (in* Tacitus) *hee willed them to make knowne to the Prince, That his minde was neuer inclined vnto flatteries, and that this was knowne to no man better then to* Nero, *who had more often made vse of* Senecaes *libertie, then hee had experience of his seruitude. Moreouer, what an exact examination of his Manners and Life? Againe he himselfe; I vse this power, and daily examine my selfe, when the light is out, and my Wife is silent, which is now priuie to my custome. I examine the whole day that is past by my selfe, and consider both mine actions and wordes.*

Epist. 108.

11. de Comment.

15 Annal. 3. de Ira.

I hide

I hide nothing from my ſelfe, I let nothing ſlip: for why ſhould I feare any of mine errours? When as I may ſay, See that thou doe this no more, for this time I pardon thee. Can the ſtudie of wiſedome appeare eyther more greatly or more cleerely? Finally, how often appeareth his pietie and ſubmiſſion towards God? I will ſet downe one thing that I gathered from him: If thou beleeueſt me any waies, when I diſcouer my moſt inward affections to thee, I am thus formed in all occurrents, which ſeeme eyther difficult or dangerous. I obey not God, but I aſſent vnto him; I follow him from my heart, and not of neceſsitie. There ſhall nothing euer befall mee that I will grieue at, (or change my countenance for) when it happeneth: I will pay no tribute vnwillingly. And many ſuch like obſerued by mee in my Manuduction or Phyſiologie. Yea, ſome of that vnſtayned pietie, that Tertullian *and the Auncients call him Ours. I haue in my Fragments ſet downe ſome of his counſailes, let them make vſe of them. Furthermore,* Otho Friſingenſis *affirmed, that* Lucius Seneca *was not onely worthie to be reputed a Philoſopher, but alſo a Chriſtian. And for theſe his eminent vertues ſake, euen in that age there was a great good opinion held of him, yea and they deſtinated him to the Empire.* Tacitus *plainely writeth, that this was ſet abroach, that the Empire ſhould be deliuered to* Senecaes *hands, as to one that was guiltleſſe, beeing choſen, (by reaſon of the excellencie of his vertues,) to the higheſt dignitie. O Rome, thou wert vnworthie of this felicitie; neyther did God reſpect thee ſo well otherwiſe.*

Epiſt. 96.

15. Annal.

If all the people might haue leaue to ſpeake,
What one of them (how diſſolute ſoeuer)
Would feare or doubt to honour *Seneca*
Farre more then *Nero?*

Iuuenal. Satyr. 10.

Yet ſome there are that doubt of the realitie of his vertues, and thinke them rather words and oſtentation. Did he not (notwithſtanding) in his death make it manifeſt how ſlightly hee eſteemed all humane things, and how hee addicted himſelfe to God?

Chap. VIII.

His Manfull and Conſtant Life, ſet downe out of *Tacitus.*

And let vs ſee the commoditie thereof, but from whence ſhould wee gather it rather then from Tacitus, *the moſt faithfulleſt of all other Writers? Behold, I ſet thee downe his owne wordes:* Hereafter followeth the ſlaughter of *Annæus Seneca*, moſt pleaſing to the Prince, not becauſe hee had manifeſtly found him guiltie of treaſon, but to the end hee might confound him by the Sword, ſince his attempt in poyſoning him, ſo badly ſucceeded. For onely *Natalis* diſcouered no leſſe: That hee was ſent to *Seneca* at ſuch time as hee was ſicke to viſite him, and to complaine why he barred *Piſo* of acceſſe vnto him; that it would be better for them if they ſhould exerciſe their friendſhip with familiar entercourſe. And that *Seneca* anſwered, That mutuall diſcourſe and often conference would bee profitable for neither of them both, yet that his ſafetie depended on *Piſoes* ſecuritie. This was *Granius Siluanus*, the Tribune of the Prætoriall Band, commanded to relate vnto him, and to enquire whether hee knew theſe ſpeeches of *Natalis*, and acknowledged his owne anſwers. He eyther by chance or wittingly had returned that day out of Campania, and remained in a houſe of pleaſure of his in the Suburbes, aboue foure miles off. Thither came the Tribune about the euening, and beſet the Village with a troupe of his ſouldiers. There diſcouered he vnto him whilſt he ſate at ſupper with *Pompeia Paulina* his wife, and two other of his friends, what the Emperours commaund was. *Seneca* anſwered, that *Natalis* was ſent vnto him, and that he complained in *Piſoes* behalfe, that he had bin debarred from viſiting him, & that he by reaſon of his infirmity, & loue of his quiet, had excuſed himſelfe. But why hee ſhould preferre a priuate mans ſecuritie before his owne, hee had no cauſe; nor that his minde was inclined to flatterie, and that the ſame was beſt knowne vnto *Nero*, who had more oftentimes made proofe of *Senecaes* libertie then ſeruice. When as this anſwer was related by the Tribune, in the preſence of *Poppea* and *Tigellinus*, which were inward Counſailors to this mercileſſe Prince, he asked him whether *Seneca* had prepared himſelfe for a voluntary death. Then did the Tribune confirme, that he diſcouered no ſigne of feare, nor appearance of diſmay, either

in

in his words or countenance. He is therefore commanded to returne, and to tell him of his death. *Fabius Rusticus* reporteth, that he returned not by the same way he came, but that he stept aside to *Fenuis* the Præfect, and told him what *Cæsar* had commanded, and asked his counsaile whether hee should obey him, and that he was aduised by him to execute his charge, which was the fatall cowardlinesse of them all. For *Stluanus* was both one of the Conspirators, and increased their hainous offences, to whose haynous sinnes he had consented; for which cause hee spared both his speech and presence, and sent in one of the Centurions to *Seneca*, to signifie vnto him the fatall sentence. He no waies dismayed hereat, called for the tables of his Testament; which being denied him by the Centurion, he turned himselfe towards his friends, and testified vnto them, That since it was not permitted him to remunerate their kindnesse towards him, yet protested hee, that he left them that which of all others he esteemed most worthie, namely, the image of his life; whereof if they were mindfull, they should carrie away the fame of good learning, and of so constant friendship. And therewithall recalleth their teares, and calleth them to constancie now by speeches, now by expostulations, after a more intended manner; asking them, Where are the precepts of wisedome? where that premeditated resolution, which you haue studied for so many yeares against imminent dangers? For to whom was *Neroes* crueltie vnknowne? Neither remained there any thing after the murther both of his Mother and Brother, but to annex the death of his Gouernour and Master? When as he had in generall saide these or such like words, hee embraced his wife; and hauing somewhat tempered her against the present feare, he prayeth and intreateth her to moderate her griefe, and not to make it continuall. But in contemplation of her life that was vertuously ledde, to endure the lacke of her husband with honest solaces. She contrariwise alledged that her selfe was sentenced to die also, and calleth for the executioners helpe. Then *Seneca*, loath to obscure her glorie, and louing her intirely (lest he should leaue her to the iniuries of others, whom he so deerely loued) said, I haue shewed thee the proportions and images of life, but thou hadst rather haue the glorie of death. I will not enuie thy example. Let the constancie be equall in vs both in this so short a death, but thy renowne will be farre greater. After which wordes, both of them cut their veines at one time. *Seneca*, in that his bodie was old and leane, by reason of his sparing diet, and that by this meanes (his

bloud flowed more ſlowly;)cut the veines of his legges and hams likewiſe. And being wearied with cruell torments, leſt by his paine he ſhould weaken his wiues courage, and he by beholding her torments ſhould fall into ſome impatience, he perſwader her to ſtep aſide into another chamber. And in the laſt moment being no waies diſfurniſhed of his eloquence, calling his writers about him, he deliuered many things, which being diſcouered to the world in his owne wordes, I intend not to alter. But *Nero* that had conceiued no priuat hatred againſt *Paulina*, and being affraid leſt the odiouſneſſe of his cruelty ſhould increaſe the more, commandeth her death to be hindered. By the exhortations of the ſouldiers, her ſlaues and bond-men binde vp her armes, and ſtop the bloud, the matter being yet vncertaine whether it was with her conſent. For amongſt the common ſort (who are readieſt to ſpeake the worſt) there wanted not ſome that beleeued, that during the time that ſhee feared that *Nero* was implacable, ſhee ſought to accompanie her husband in the fame of his death: but when more apparant hopes were offered, that then ſhe was ouercome with the ſweeteneſſe of life; whereunto ſhe added a few yeares after, with a laudable memorie towards her husband. But her face and other parts of her bodie were growne ſo pale and diſcolored, that it eaſily appeared that her vital ſpirits were much ſpent. In the meane while *Seneca* ſeeing the protraction and ſlowneſſe of his death, beſought *Statius Annæus*, a man well approued vnto him, both for his faith in friendſhip, and skill in Phiſicke, to haſte and bring him that poiſon which in times paſt was prouided, & by which they were put to death who were by publike iudgement condemned amongſt the Athenians: and hauing it brought vnto him he drunke it, in vaine, by reaſon that his lims were already colde, and his body ſhut vp againſt the force of the venome. At laſt hee entered into a Bath of hot water, beſprinkling thoſe his ſlaues that ſtood next about him, ſaying, that he offered vp that liquor to *Ioue* the deliuerer. Then put into the Bath, and ſtifled with the vapour thereof, he was buried without any ſolemnitie of his Funerall: for ſo had he ſet it downe in his Will, euen then when as being verie rich and mighty, he diſpoſed of his laſt Will. *Hitherto* Tacitus. *Neither will I repent my ſelfe, if I inſiſt lightly, and examine and illuſtrate his ſayings: He ſaith, that this ſlaughter of his was moſt pleaſing to the Prince. For of long time he was aggrieued againſt this his Maſter and Teacher of his in goodneſſe and equitie, and his intent was to ſhake off that Raine of reuerence once, whereby he was reſtrained againſt his will, by cutting him off;*

yet

yet had he otherwiſe ſworne, as Suetonius *witneſſeth: Hee compelled* Seneca *his Maſter, (ſaith hee,) to chooſe his Death, although (when hee oftentimes ſought for a maintenance at his hands, and ſurrendred vp all his goods vnto him, hee had ſolemnely ſworne that hee was ſuſpected without cauſe, and that hee had rather die then that hee would hurt him. He ſwore, that is, he deluded the gods alſo. He ſaith, When as his intent to poyſon him ſucceeded not, for he had attempted it; for ſo ſaith the ſame* Tacitus *in a former place, Some deliuered Poyſon vnto* Seneca *by* Neroes *command, prepared by the hands of one of his freemen, called* Cleonicus; *but that it was auoyded by* Seneca, *by the diſcouery of his Libertine, or through his owne feare, whilſt hee ſuſtayned his life with a ſpare Dyet with wild Apples, and (if he were athirſt) with running Water. He goeth forward: Or knowing of it; as if hee had knowledge of the Conſpiracie, and the prefixed time. Likewiſe, hee returned out of Campania, from ſome Lordſhip of his there. And there truly oftentimes before his Death liued he ſolitarie, and in that place wrote many of his Epiſtles to* Lucillius. *Foure myles off, in ſome Mannour of his likewiſe; what was it* Nomentanum? *This did* Xitho Polentinus *write, (but vpon meere coniecture, as I thinke.) Neither doth* Tacitus *admit it, who ſpeaketh of ſome foure myles off the Citie; but* Nomentanum *is at leaſt twelue myles off. No ſignes of feare. Behold a death both worthy of a Philoſopher and a Stoick, which thoſe things that follow commend. The Image of his Life: if* Seneca I *(pray you) were ſo abſurd a fellow, as* Dion *ſpeaketh, ſhould this bee ſpoken of his Life in the ſhutting vp? Would he thus dally and deceiue his Friends, and delude his Familiars? Sometimes with ſpeech, that is, gently and familiarly. Being hardned againſt preſent feare, I write it not againe raſhly, yet ſome man may doubt, ſhould it not be* Mollitam, *that ſhee was mollified, hauing relation to his Wife? That which followeth ſeemeth to inferre the ſame, when he requireth her to temper her ſorrow; and that which hee annexeth: Thou ſeeſt, ſaith he, the portraiture of life. Theſe, and diuers others are* Senecaes *owne words, or very like vnto them, which were extant and well knowne, as preſently after he ſaith: his aged bodie. By my reckoning he was ſome threeſcore and three, or foure yeeres olde. For that he was not elder* Neroes *words to* Seneca *conuince, not ſpoken long time before that in* Tacitus. *But thou art both ripe in yeares, and ſufficient for affaires, and the fruit of them, which thou canſt not truly ſpeake of the elder. Calling his Writers about him. O man. O mightie minde? To dictate that when he was a dying that might helpe Poſteritie. For it is not to be doubted but that they were ſuch, and meere Precepts both of Conſtancie and Wiſdome. The argument is, becauſe they were publiſhed; which ſhould not be except they had beene excellent. And be-*

cauſe

cauſe they were publiſhed, Tacitus *omits them. O improuidently done? O that we likewiſe had but a touch of theſe Swan-like Songs. A Bath of hot Water: he meaneth ſome bathing Tub, and then firſt vſed he cold Water when he ſhould vſe it no more. Carryed into his Bath; that is, into his Stoue or dry Bath, as I thinke: for hee ſheweth that by the vapour and acrimonie of the heate, hee was ſtrangled. Euen then when hee moſt rich and mightie: this is ſomewhat wherein* Tacitus *ſeemeth to carpe at him, yet, if I conceiue him rightly,* Tacitus *meant his Funerall, and that he forbade the Solemnities thereof; but how? in that Hee made his laſt Will. What, would* Nero *haue broken his Teſtament? Who haply was appointed Heire of the greateſt part thereof, and would ſuffer himſelfe to loſe nothing through negligence. Or doth hee touch* Senecaes *parſimonie herein? But dead wordes paſſe not farre. Another man may find it.*

Chap. IX.

His bodie, his ſickneſſes, his forme.

I Haue ended, except it pleaſe you that I write ſomewhat of his bodie: for men delight, if I may ſo ſpeake it, to take notice of the Habitations and Receptacles of great Wits: his bodie from his Childhood was but weake. This ſaith hee of his Aunt, after he was brought into the Citie: By her pious and motherly care, after I had beene long time ſicke I recouered my health. Conſ. ad *Hil.* cap. 16. *And in a certaine Epiſtle: Sickneſſe had giuen mee a long ſafe conduct, and ſuddenly inuaded me. In what kind, ſayeſt thou? And not without cauſe doeſt thou aske me this, ſince that there is not any one that is vnknown to me. But to one kind of ſickneſſe I ſeeme as it were deſtinated, which why I ſhould call by a Greeke name I know not, for it may aptly enough be called* Wheaſing *or* Aſthme. Epiſt. 54. *And preſently after he addeth, All the incommodities or dangers of the bodie haue paſt by me. Behold an old man well exerciſed, when likewiſe being a yong man, I was exerciſed with Diſtillations and Rheumes, by meanes whereof he ſeemed to be inclined to a Conſumption. Himſelfe againe: That thou art troubled with often Diſtillations and Agues: it grieues me the more, becauſe I haue had proofe of that kind of ſickneſſe, which in the beginning I contemned; for at firſt my youth could weare out the iniurie, and oppoſe it ſelfe boldly againſt infirmities: at laſt I was maſtered, and was brought to that paſſe, that I my ſelfe was conſumed by Diſtillations. I was brought to an extreme leanenеſſe, and oftentimes had I a minde to ſhorten my dayes, but my* Epiſt. 78.

careſull and louing fathers olde yeares reſtrained mee. Hee writeth expreſly enough of his Leaneneſſe and Conſumption. Neyther is it to bee wondred at, that Caligula *was ſo perſwaded by a Woman: for* Dio *writeth, When as* Seneca *had worthily and happily handled a certaine cauſe in the Senate, that this Prince waxed madde redde with Anger, who onely would ſeeme to bee Eloquent, and bethought himſelfe of taking away* Senecaes *Life; which hee had done if one of his Concubines had not told him this, That in vaine prepared hee a death for him that was alreadie dying, and was ſpent with a Conſumption. He gaue credit to her; and this was the meanes of* Senecaes *ſafetie. So true is that which he (what was a looker on?) wrote: Many mens ſickneſſe deferred their death, and it was a meanes of their ſecuritie, that they ſeemed readie to dye. But till his laſt houre he had but a dry and decayed bodie, why wonder wee when eyther it was thorow his infirmities, or his Studies? And* Tacitus *likewiſe addeth a third cauſe, That his bodie was attenuated by a ſlender Dyet. And that it was not beautifull,* Seneca *himſelfe expreſſeth in another place, That thou requireſt my Bookes, I doe not therefore thinke my ſelfe more Eloquent, no more then I ſhould iudge my ſelfe faire becauſe thou requireſt my Picture. He toucheth that hee was not, and that Image, which is diſcouered of him by* Fuluius Vrſinus, *ſheweth not a countenance worthy that mind; yet confirmed hee his bodie, though weake, with more harder exerciſes, as in tilling the Fields, and in digging of Vineyards, whereof hee maketh mention in a certaine Epiſtle of his, and in his Naturall Queſtions, where hee called himſelfe A diligent Digger of Vineyards, and generally likewiſe of Gardens, which hee termeth his cunning.*

Epiſt. 45.

Epiſt 104.

Lib. 3. cap. 7

Epiſt. 112.

Chap. X.

Thoſe Bookes of his that are extant.

THus *of the Bodie onely, neither had wee any fruit by it, but great from his minde, and let vs ſee them by an* Index. *His* Verses *and* Poems, *which vndoubtedly and plentifully hee wrote, he himſelfe ſheweth that he penned them in his Exile: and* Tacitus *then likewiſe when hee was ſtept in yeares, and liued in Court For thus doe his Calumners obiect againſt him to* Nero; *For they obiected againſt him, that he got the prayſe of Eloquence to himſelfe only, and wrote Verſes very often, after that hee knew that* Nero *was in loue with them.*

Lib. 14.

Ora-

ORATIONS *or* DECLAMATIONS, *hee made many and worthy ones, yea, euen in the Senate, beſides thoſe which he wrote to the Prince, to bereceiued likewiſe in the Senate; neither doubt I but that the Edicts vnto the people, and the grauer Epiſtles were written or Dictated by him*

His Booke of EARTHQVAKE, (*which, as he teſtifieth, he wrote when hee was young, in the ſixt of his Naturall Queſtions, Chap.* 4.) *Thou ſhalt not want, for he hath handled the ſame matter againe in the ſame Queſtions.*

That of MATRIMONIE, *whether it were a Booke or an Epiſtle I know not, but Saint* Ierome *citeth it againſt* Iouinian, *Lib.* 1.

His HISTORIE *or* COMPENDIVM, *out of* Lactant. *the ſeuenth and fifteenth Chapter.*

His Booke of SVPERSTITION, *was vndoubtedly one of his beſt ones; Saint* Auguſtine *in his Booke* De Ciuitate Dei, *praiſeth it, and culleth ſomewhat out of it, and* Tertullian *maketh mention thereof in* Apologetico.

His DIALOGVES, *which* Fabius *nameth, and no more.*

His MORALL *Bookes,* Lactantius *citeth them in his eleuenth Booke,* Chap. 11. *And in other places, and* Seneca *himſelfe in his hundreth and ſixt Epiſtle in the beginning, and his Epiſtle* 109. *hee wrote it in his later time, as it appeareth there. O worthy Worke? And it grieueth me that it is obſcured.*

His Bookes of EXHORTATIONS *For there were many of them, as may be gathered out of* Lactantius, *and ſee our Fragments. Who thinketh that this likewiſe is not to be numbred amongſt his beſt Workes? There are other, yet ſuch that thou mayeſt not confidently aſcribe to this man, as his Bookes of Notes, which ſeeme rather to be his Fathers. Likewiſe of Cauſes; for ſo an vnknowne Chronicler among the Brittaines teſtifieth;* He maketh mention of *Seneca De Cauſis*, wherein hee ſaith that *Cato* defined the Office of an Oratour thus: An Oratour is a good man that is exerciſed in Eloquence. *But this belongeth to the Father alſo, and they are the Bookes of Controuerſies; in the firſt Booke whereof, and in the very Preface thou ſhalt find that this of* Catocs *is cited there: and except I forget my ſelfe, thou ſhalt finde it likewiſe in my Fragments, although theſe ſmaller things doe not ſo much ouer-ſlip me, as I ſuffer them to paſſe by mee.*

But hearke you Sir, make you no reckoning of his Epiſtles to Saint Paul?

Thoſe that are now extant are not ſo much worth; nay, it is moſt certaine, that they haue all of them the ſame Authour, and that they were written, but by ſome ſcarce learned Clerke in our diſgrace. He trauaileth

and

and attempteth to ſpeake Latine, whoſoeuer it was, that was the Authour. Did they not therefore write one vnto another? * *Saint* Ierome, * *Saint* Auguſtine, *and Pope* Linus (*more ancient then them both*) *auerre it, and it is a paſsiue opinion. And* Iohn *of Salisburie likewiſe confidently confirmeth it,* They ſeeme to bee fooliſh, who reuerence not him, who, as it appeareth, deſerued the familiaritie of the Apoſtle.

I therefore dare not wholly reiect and contemne this; it may be there were ſome, but others then theſe; if theſe, I required the iudgement of the beſt Fathers.

* De ſcriptorib. Eccleſiaſticis.
* Epiſt 52. ad Maced. & de Ciuit. Dei cap. 10.
De Paſſione Diui *Pauli*, Lib. 8. *Polycarp.* cap. 13.

The end of *Senecaes* Life, written by *Lipſius.*

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

I Place these Bookes amongst the last of his Philosophie, although they haue beene planted in the forefront. But so it is, if you consider the time; They were all together written vnder Nero, *after* Claudius *death. A certaine argument whereof is, in that in his end of the first Booke, he writes very contemptibly of* Claudius, *and traduceth his slight iudgement: which he would neuer haue done, had he beene liuing. The Bookes are good; but in faith confused in order, and the handling; which a man, though circumspect, shall hardly expedite; yet will wee doe our best. The first Booke beginneth with a complaint of Ingratitude which is vsuall, and yet greatest amongst vices. Therefore saith he, That he will write of Benefits what their force and propertie is. This handleth he vntill the fift Chapter. Then defineth he, that a Benefite consisteth not in the matter, but the mind of him that bestoweth it, and hath his weight from him: He diduceth it by examples and arguments vntill the eleuenth Chapter. There proposeth he two members to be intreated of. What Benefits are to be giuen; and how: The first he performeth in the end of the Booke; the other he deferreth till the Booke following.*

CHAP. I.

AMongst the many and Manifold errors of such as both rashly and inconsiderately lead their liues, there is nothing for the most part (most worthy *Liberalis,*) that in my iudgement is more hurtfull, than that we neither know how to bestow, or how to receiue Benefits. For it consequently followeth, that being badly lent, they are worse satisfied, and beeing vn-restored, are too lately complained of; for euen then when they were giuen, euen then were they lost: Neither is it to be wondred at, that amongst so many and mightie vices there is no one more frequent than that of Ingratitude. For this as

Mens indiscretion in giuing & receiuing benefits maketh ingratitude so frequent.

I conceiue proceedeth from diuers cauſes. The firſt is, becauſe we make not choice of ſuch (on whom we are to beſtow our benefits) as are worthy to partake them; but being to take bonds of any man, we diligently inquire after his lands and moueables: wee ſow not our ſeeds in a fruitleſſe and barren ground, and without any election we rather betray, than beſtow our benefits. Neither can I eaſily expreſſe, whether it be more diſhoneſt to deny, or redemand a benefit. For ſuch is the nature of this debt, that ſo much is to be receiued therof, as is willingly repayed: But neither to will, nor to be able to performe a mans promiſe, is moſt loathſome, in this reſpect, becauſe to diſcharge a mans credit, the mind ſufficeth, though the meanes be deficient: For he reſtoreth a benefit that willingly oweth the ſame. But whereas there is a fault in them who are ingratefull euen in not confeſſion of a fauour, there is alſo ſome in vs. By experience we find many vngratefull, and make more; becauſe ſome-whiles we are grieuous vpbraydors and exactors: other-whiles full of lenitie in our liberality, and ſuch that as ſoone as we haue lent, repent vs of the deed doing: other-whiles complaining of mens faint correſpondence, and accuſing them of ſome fault and offence they doe vnto vs, how little ſoeuer it be. Thus corrupt we all thankeſgiuing, not onely after we haue giuen our benefit, but whileſt we are in giuing of it. For which of vs was content eyther lightly, or at one time to be required? Which of vs (when he but ſuſpected that ſomething would be demanded at his hands) hath not diſdainefully frowned, or turned away his face, or pretended ſome buſineſſe, and by long diſcourſes, and purpoſely-produced ſpeech, without head or foot, foreſtalled the occaſion of demanding a fauour, and by diuers ſubtill deuiſes deluded haſty neceſſities, but being incountred in ſuch ſort as he muſt needly anſwer, hath not either deferred (that is) fearefully denied, or promiſed but difficultly, but with bended browes, and ſtrained and reprochfull words? But no man willingly oweth that, which he receiued not voluntarily, but extorted violently. Can any man be thankefull vnto him, who proudly either reprocheth a benefit, or wrathfully flung it to him, or (being ouer-wearied) gaue it him to the end to auoid his further trouble? He is deceyued whoſoeuer hopeth to haue a ſatisfaction at his hands, whom he hath dulled with delay, or tortured with expectation. A benefit is ackowledged according to the intent wherewith it is giuen; and therefore we ought not to giue negligently. For euery one is indebted to himſelfe, for that which he receiueth of a neglectfull debtor. Neither muſt there be ſlackeneſſe in our liberality, becauſe whereas in all offices the will of the giuer is highly eſteemed, he that hath beene ſlow in benefiting, hath beene long time vnwilling. Neither ought we to beſtow our benefits contumeliouſly; for whereas by nature it is ſo prouided that iniuries leaue a more deep impreſſion in our minds, than good deſerts, and the laſt are ſodainly forgotten, where the firſt are continually reſerued in memorie, what expecteth he who offendeth, whileſt he obligeth an other? His ſatisfaction and gratuitie is ſufficient if any man doe but pardon his benefit. Neyther is there any cauſe why the multitude of vngratefull men ſhould make vs ſlower to deſerue well: For firſt of all, (as I ſaid) wee increaſe the ſame: Furthermore, neyther are the immortall Gods deterred from their plentifull and ceaſleſſe bountie: notwithſtanding the ſacrilegious and neglectfull behauiours of men. They vſe their nature, and infuſe their bountie on all things, yea euen on thoſe among the reſt, that vſe the worſt interpretation of their benefits and largeſſe. Let vs follow theſe as our guides, (as farre as our humane frailtie will permit vs) let vs giue benefits, not lend on vſurie. That

A good intent is a kind of ſatisfaction.

The errours of them that giue.

Inforced and extorted fauour is not thankeſworthie.

The multitude of errour ought not to extinguiſh a vertue.

man

man is worthie to be deceiued, who thought vpon requitall when he presented his curteſie. But it was ill imployed. Both our children and wiues haue deceyued our hopes, yet doe we both bring vp the one, and marry the other: and ſo obſtinate are we againſt experiments, that being ouercome in warre, and ſhipwrackt by Sea, we giue ouer neyther: How much more becommeth it vs to be conſtant in giuing benefits? which whoſoeuer giueth not, becauſe he hath not receiued, gaue that he might receiue, and makes the cauſe of the vngratefull receiuer iuſtifiable, to whom in that ſort at length it is abſurd not to repay, although he hath power. How many are vnworthie the light, and yet the day riſeth to them? How many complaine that they are borne? Yet nature increaſeth mankind, and ſuffereth thoſe to enioy life, who loath to poſſeſſe it. This is the propertie both of a great and good mind, not to follow the fruit of Benefits, but the benefits themſelues, and after the euill to ſearch likewiſe ſome good. What bountie were in this, to profit many, if no man were deceiued? Now it is a Vertue to giue benefits, whereof there is no hope of recompence againe, and of which the fruit is alreadie receiued by a worthie man. So farre ſhould this thing be from deceyuing vs, or making vs ſlow to performe ſo worthie a thing, that although my hope were vtterly cut off for euer finding a gratefull man, yet had I rather be exempted from receyuing Benefits from any man, than not to beſtow them. Becauſe that he which giueth not is more faultie than he which is vngratefull. I will ſpeake what I thinke: hee that requiteth not a fauour done him, ſinneth more; hee that giueth not, ſooner.

A laudable action muſt be continued without exception.

A vertuous man in his good action is not deterred by any occurrent.

CHAP. II.

If thou profuſely wilt thy goods beſtow
On euery vulgar Perſon thou doeſt know,
Full many fauours muſt thou needly loſe,
That one at length thou iuſtly maiſt diſpoſe.

Accius *the Poets ſaying.*

IN the former Verſe thou maieſt iuſtly reprehend both theſe two clauſes; for neyther muſt our benefits bee profuſedly lauiſhed on euery man, neyther can the prodigalitie and largeſſe of any thing be honeſt; eſpecially that of benefits. For if thou giueſt them without iudgement and diſcretion, they ceaſe to be benefits, and admit any other name whatſoeuer you will giue them. The ſenſe following is wonderfull, which repaireth the indemnities of many benefits ill imployed and loſt, with one well beſtowed. See (I pray you) whether this be not more true, and more correſpondent to the greatneſſe of a Benefactor, to exhort him to giue, although he were aſſured that he ſhould imploy no one gift well: For that is falſe. That many things are to be loſt, becauſe nothing is loſt; the reaſon is, for that he who looſeth, had numbred it alreadie amongſt his deſperate debts. The reſpect and manner in imploying good deeds is ſimple and plaine, they are onely deliuered out; if any one to whom they are truſted reſtore any thing, it is gained; if no man yeeld ſatisfaction, there is nothing loſt: I gaue the ſame to the onely intent to giue it. No man regiſtreth

The nature of a Benefit is changed by the vſe.

Nothing is loſt that is rightly giuen.

his good deeds in his Booke of Debtors. Neither is there any exacting Vsurer that punctually impleadeth his Debter on the day and houre. An honourable Benefactor neuer thinketh on the good turne he doeth, except he that hath receiued the same, refresh the memory thereof by repaying him: Because otherwise it ceaseth to be a benefit, and becommeth a debt. To bestow a fauour in hope to receiue an other, is a contemptible and base vsurie. How badly soeuer thy former fauours haue fallen out, yet perseuer thou in bestowing vpon others. They are best hoarded in the hands of the vngratefull, whom eyther shame, or occasion, or imitation, may at length fashion to be gratefull. Perseuer continually, and cease not to be bountifull: Accomplish that good worke which thou hast begun, and performe the dutie of a good man. Releeue this man with thy goods, an other with thy credit, that man by thy fauour, this with thy good counsailes and wholesome precepts.

Only satisfaction refresheth memorie in a good Benefactor.

CHAP. III.

WIld Beasts acknowledge good offices. Neither is there any liuing creature so vntamed and vntractable, that with gentle handling, and carefull nourishing, is not made gentle and familiar. Such as haue the keeping and charge of the Lyons, may muffle and handle them without harme or danger. Meat so much humbleth the fierceneſſe and haughtie courage of Elephants, that they refuſe no seruile and base burthens. Finally, all these brute beasts, so deficient in vnderstanding, and esteeme of the benefites they receiue, at length are tamed and made humble by the frequent and daily accesse of the same. Is he vngratefull for one good turne? happily he will acknowledge a second. Hath he forgotten two? the third may perhaps bring him to remembrance of all the rest: He looseth that beleeueth, that he hath ouer-quickly lost. But he that perseuereth in well-doing, and redoubleth his benefits one vpon the necke of the other, extorteth an acknowledgement from the most obdurate and forgetfullest receiuer. He dare not lift vp his eyes against many good turnes. Whither so euer he turneth himselfe in seeking to betray his owne memorie, there let him see thee beleager him on euery side by thy bountie: The force and properties whereof I will discouer vnto thee, if first of all thou giue me licence to exspatiate in a word or two, and to touch certaine things impertinent to this matter. Shall I tel you why there are three * graces, and why they be Sisters, and why hand in hand, why smiling, young, and Virgins, attired in loose garments, cleare and transparent? To this some answer, That there ought to be three, because the one of them representeth him that bestoweth; the other, him that Receiueth; the other, him that gratifieth and remunerateth the Benefit. Others say, that there are three kindes of benefites, the one of those who bestow the same, the other of those that restore the same, and the third of those that receiue, and therewithall requite good turnes. Which so euer I allow of, what doth this Science profit vs? What meaneth this dance of theirs, in which hand in hand they trip it alwaies in a round? To this intent it is, Because the order and processe of benefits (that passe through their handes that giue the same) is such, that they returne againe to the giuer, and should wholly loose the grace of all which they should effect, if euer they should bee interrupted: contraa-

Benefits redoubled animates the most vngratefull to satisfaction.

* *The Poets faine them to be three maidens, which as they say were daughters of* Iupiter, *and* Venus; *The Greekes call them* Charities, *and the Latines,* Graces. Chrysippus *opinion.*

contrariwiſe, that they alwaies retaine their beautie, when they are vnited and hand-faſted together, and when they are reſtored and acknowledged in their time. Therefore paint they them laughing, Becauſe the countenances of thoſe that will deſerue well at any mans hands, ſhould be ſmiling and pleaſant, ſuch as theirs is, who are wont to giue or receiue benefits. They paint them yong, becauſe the memorie of benefits ſhould not waxe old. They faine them Virgins; becauſe they are incorruptible, ſincere, holy, and profitable vnto all men; Their garments looſe, but yet tranſparent, becauſe good works would be ſeen. Although ſome there may be ſo farre engaged to the Grecians, that he may terme theſe things neceſſary, yet will there be no man that wil iuſtifie, that the names which *Heſiodus* hath giuen them are any waies pertinent to that purpoſe; He termed the eldeſt of them *Aglia*; the ſecond *Euphroſine*; and the third *Thalia*. Each one hath thought good to wreſt the interpretation of theſe words, according to his owne phantaſie, and hath laboured to faſhion them, and conforme them to ſome congruencie of reaſon. Notwithſtanding *Heſiodus* hath giuen theſe yong Maidens that name, which was beſt liking to his humor. *Homer* alſo changed one of their names, and called her *Paſithae*, and ſaith, that ſhe was married and eſpouſed to a huſband, to the end thou ſhouldeſt know that they were no Virgins. I will find you out another Poet that deſcribeth them girt, and apparrelled in thicke and groſſe robes. *Mercurie* alſo is painted by them; not for that good diſcourſe giueth any luſtre to benefits, but becauſe it ſo pleaſed the Painter. *Chriſippus* likewiſe (whoſe vnderſtanding is ſo ſharpe and ſubtile, and that ſearcheth and ſoundeth the very depth and ſecret of matters, he that pretendeth to ſpeake of good cuſtomes, and conformeth his ſtile to euery mans vnderſtanding) farceth his whole booke with theſe follies, in ſo much as he ſpeaketh very little of the manner of giuing, receiuing, or reſtoring benefits, in ſuch ſort as he mixeth not his fables amidſt his diſcourſe, but rather mixeth his diſcourſe amidſt his fables. For, beſides theſe things which *Hecaton* hath tranſcripted, *Chriſippus* maintaineth, That the three *Graces* are the Daughters of *Iupiter* and *Eurimone*, ſomewhat yonger, but fairer than the *Houres*, for which cauſe they were giuen for companions to the Goddeſſe *Venus*. He thinketh the name of a Mother likewiſe ſomething pertinent to the matter, for therefore was ſhe called *Eurimone*, becauſe it is the propertie of a great and ample patrimonie to know well how to imploy and beſtow benefits; as if it were a matter of cuſtome to giue the name of Mother before that ſhee had children; or that Poets aſſigned the true names. For euen as the *Nomenclators* or Beadles (whoſe office it is to relate their names that ought to be ſolicited to purchaſe ſome dignitie) ſometimes make vſe of their boldneſſe, in ſtead of their memorie, and forgetting the proper names of ſuch as they ſhould certifie, forge an other according to their owne phantaſie: So Poets thinke it not pertinent to the matter to ſpeake truth, but either compelled by neceſſitie, or ſurpriſed with affection of conſonancie, command each thing to be termed by that name that beſt beſeemeth the harmonie and cadencie of their Verſes. Neither are they to be blamed herein, becauſe they enlarge the matter with ſome new deuice of their owne: for the firſt Poet that ſhall ſpeake of them, will giue them what name he pleaſeth. And to proue this to be true, behold this name of *Thalia* (whereof principally all of them make mention) which in *Heſiodus* is one of the three *Graces*, and in *Homer* one of the nine *Muſes*.

Videant opera veſtra bona,

The Poets faine the Sonne had a certaine number of hand-maides, which hee called the Houres. See Ouid.

There were in Rome certaine men whoſe office it was to carrie by heart the names of the Citizens, who during the election of publique officers were alwaies aſſiſtant.

The vanitie of Poets.

CHAP. IIII.

BVt leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to incurre the ſame fault, which I reprehend, I will relinquiſh all theſe things, which are ſo farre from the matter, that they no waies concerne the ſame; I onely pray thee to defend my cauſe, if any man ſhall taxe and reprehend mee for this, that among the reſt I haue not ſpared to reproue *Criſippus*, being a man ſo great, (but yet a Grecian) whoſe vnderſtanding is ſo acute and ſubtile, that it oftentimes confoundeth and puzleth it ſelfe: for euen then when he ſeemeth to ayme at the beſt, and to affect any thing: he only pricketh, but pierceth not; toucheth, but teacheth not. And what ſubtiltie or ſharpneſſe (I pray you) is herein? Of benefits then we are to intreat, and to ſet downe an order and direction in this vertue, which chiefly concerneth humane ſocietie: we are to prefixe and ſet downe a law of liuing, leaſt inconſiderate facilitie in giuing, grow in fauour vnder the colour of benignitie; leaſt this obſeruation, whileſt it temperateth liberality, (which muſt neither be defectiue nor ſuperfluous) reſtraine the ſame wholly. Men are to be taught to receiue with thankefulneſſe, and to reſtore with the ſame correſpondence, and to procure (in regard of thoſe that oblige them with any benefit) non onely to be equall with them in will, but to ouer-come them with greater gratuitie: becauſe that he who is obliged to acknowledge a good turne, requiteth not the ſame, except his remuneration exceed the giuers merit. Theſe are to be taught to impute nothing; they to owe more. To this moſt honeſt contention of ouercomming one benefit by an other, ſo doth *Chriſippus* exhort vs, that he ſaith, that it is to be feared, leſt becauſe the *Graces* are the Daughters of *Iupiter*, it be reputed ſacriledge to grow vnthankefull for good turnes, and iniurie be thereby offered to ſo amiable Damoſels.

Hee priuily here taxeth the Grecians inconſtancie.

Chriſippus triuiall ſubtiltie.

Teach thou mee ſomewhat that may make mee more forward to doe good vnto all men, and more thankfull vnto thoſe that haue done me good offices. Tell vs ſomething whereby the will of thoſe that oblige by their bountie, and of thoſe who are obliged, are anſwerable, and made competent: ſo as the benefactors keepe no account or memorie of their good deeds, and thoſe that ſhall receiue the ſame, put them not in obliuion, but perpetually remember them. And let vs leaue theſe follies and toies to Poets, whoſe proiect is to delight the eare, and to inuent a pleaſing fable. But they that will heale mens diſfigured and vicious minds, that ſerue to maintaine faith in humane things, and deſire to engraue the memorie of good turnes in the hearts of men; Let them ſpeake ſeriouſly, anp imploy their vtmoſt forces: except thou happily thinke that it is poſſible by a ſlight and fabulous diſcourſe, and by old wiues tales, that a thing ſo penicious, and ſo much abhominable in the world, (as is the generall aholition of debts, and an acquittance of all good deedes) may be prohibited.

CHAP. V.

Hee returneth to the matter.

BVt as I inſiſt not on thoſe things which are of ſmall importance, ſo is it likewiſe neceſſarie that indeuour my ſelfe to make this well knowne, that firſt of all we ought to learne how much we are obliged, when we haue receyued a benefit. One man acknowledgeth himſelfe indebted for the money he hath receiued, another for a Conſulare,

late, another for the office of Priesthood, another for the gouernement of a Prouince; yet no one of these things is properly a benefit, but onely the marke and signe of a benefit or merit. a benefit cannot be touched by the hand, but is carried in the heart.

Bountie is not the obiect of the sense, but is engrauen in the heart.

There is much difference betwixt the matter of bounty and bounty it selfe: For this cause neither gold nor siluer, (nor any other thing we receiue at our friends hands) is the true and reall benefite, except his will onely that bestoweth the same. The rude and ignorant sort obserue only that which is seene by the eies, or thrust into the hands, or which is deliuered them, or they possesse; and contrariwise, they make a little account of that which in realty of truth they ought most to prize and praise also. These things which we possesse, these things which we see, and wherein our couetousnesse is so engaged, are fraile and incertaine: and either fortune, or iniustice can take them from vs: but a benefit remaineth, although the matter whereby it is made manifest, be lost and extinguished. Vndoubtedly that thing is well done which no force can defeat or diminish. I haue redeemed (saiest thou) my friend from the hands of pirates, and him hath an other enemy surprized and put in prison. Although this enemie hath defrauded and acquited me of the vse of this good worke, yet can he not extinguish the good worke it selfe. I haue saued some mens children from shipwracke, or haue deliuered them from the force of the fire, and these hath eyther some sickenesse or other casuall iniurie violently taken from mee. Yet remaineth that without them, which is giuen in them. All those things then which improperly vsurpe the name of Benefits, are but the means and instruments, by the which the will of a good friend is expressed. The like appeareth in many other things, so as it falleth out, that the true thing is in one place, and the signe and resemblance thereof in an other. The Emperour or Chiefetaine of an armie giueth a chayne of Gold to some one Soulder of his that approued his value in some difficult enterprise, morall or ciuill: a Crowne vnto another that first scaled the enemies wall, or for that he saued a Citizens life. I aske you now what precious thing hath this Crowne in it? what is this embroydered gowne or garment which is giuen to Noble-mens children? These cusignes of magistracie, the axe and rods, what value are they of? what profiteth the Iudges Tribunall, or his paynted Caroch? None of all these things are honour, but onely signes of honour. In the like manner that which is offered to the eye, is not the good worke or benefit, but onely a lustre and signe of the same.

The perpetuitie of a benefit.

CHAP. VI.

What a benefit is, and wherein it consisteth.

WHat therefore is a benefit? It is a beneuolent action which causeth and yeeldeth pleasure by that good it communicateth to other, inclined and disposed of it selfe, and of her proper motion to that she doth. A benefit therefore consisteth not in that which is eyther done or giuen, but in the mind of him that eyther giueth or doeth the pleasure. And hereby mayest thou vnderstand, that there is a great difference betwixt these two, because the beneuolence is alwaies good; but that which is done, or giuen, is neyther good nor euill. It is the mind that valueth small things; illustrateth and exemplifieth obscure things; and contrariwise, setteth light by those things which are most esteemed

The mind and heart are they that prize or disesteeme things.

med and precious. Thoſe things which wee deſire and long after moſt, haue a neutrall and indifferent nature, and are neyther good nor euill. That which is moſt materially to be conſidered, is, whether the minde that gouerneth them aimeth and impelleth them, from which all things haue their forme. That then which is reckoned, or giuen, is not the benefite, euen as neyther in the ſacrifice, how fat and refulgent ſo euer they be, the honour of the gods conſiſteth but in thoſe that with a pious and vpright mind doe worſhip them. Good men therefore are religious in a Cake or Wafer; contrariwiſe euill men are not exempted from impietie, although they haue imbrewed the Altars with much bloud.

A compariſon to this effect.

CHAP. VII.

He proueth his definition.

IF benefits conſiſted in thoſe things which we receyue, and not in the will wherewith they are giuen: ſo much the more greater ſhould they be, the greater the good turnes are which wee haue receiued. But this is falſe; for ſometime he obligeth vs more that hath giuen a little magnificently; that hath equalled the riches of Kings by his valew and richer mind: that giueth a little, but freely; that forgetteth his owne pouertie and neceſſitie; whileſt he reſpecteth mine; that had not only a will to help me, but a great deſire to fauour me; that when he gaue a benefit, thought that he receiued the ſame; that gaue without hope of recompence, and receiued as though he had not giuen; that not onely ſought occaſion to do good, but laid hold on the opportunitie, whereby he might profit others: Contrariwiſe, theſe things which either are extorted from the giuer, or ſeeme to fall from his hands that giueth them: although they ſeeme highly priſed and of great appearance, yet, as I ſaid, they are vnworthie of thankes, becauſe a gift is much more gratefully accepted and reckoned of that commeth from a free and liberall hand, than from a full and rich-fiſted penny-father. It is but a ſmall thing he hath giuen me, but he could not giue me more. But that which the other hath giuen me, is farre more worth: Yet doubted he; yet delayed he when he ſhould giue; yet grumbled he in beſtowing; yet gaue he preſumptuouſly, excuſing himſelfe by many circumſtances, and would not pleaſe him to whom he lent his goods. Finally, that which he gaue mee, was not ſo much to giue it me, as to beſtow it on his ambitious thoughts.

This hath ſome conſonancy with the almes which the widdow and the Phariſie gaue in the temple. Arguments of true pietie and bountie.

A ſickeneſſe of this age if you note it.

CHAP. VIII.

WHen as many men offered many preſents to *Socrates*, each one according to their poſſeſſions and poſſibilities: one of his pooreſt ſchollers, whoſe name was *Aeſchines*, came vnto him, and ſaid; I find nothing worthy thy ſelfe, that I may giue vnto thy ſelfe: and in this one onely kind I find my ſelfe to be poore. That one thing therefore which is onely in my poſſeſſion, I offer thee, which is my ſelfe; beſeeching thee to accept of this gift ſuch as it is, and to conſider that they which haue giuen thee many things haue reſerued much more to themſelues. To this *Socrates* anſwered: Who doubteth but that thou haſt offred mee a great preſent, were it not that thou valueſt and eſteemeſt thy ſelfe ſo little. I will there-

therefore take care to reſtore thy perſon to thy ſelfe, better than at this time I receiue him from thee. By this preſent of his, *Aeſchines* exceeded *Alcibiades* (a man as mightie in mind as in meanes) and all the liberalities of all the moſt richeſt young men of Greece.

CHAP. IX.

THou ſeeſt how a good mind findeth matter of liberalitie, euen in the greateſt gall and torment of miſerie. *Aeſchines* (me thinkes) reaſoneth thus in himſelfe: Thinke not Fortune, that thou haſt preuailed any thing againſt me in making me poore, be thou neuer ſo refractarie; yet will I find a preſent that is worthie *Socrates*; and ſince I cannot giue any thing that is thine, or thou haſt giuen me, I will giue mine owne, my ſelfe, and the beſt of me. You muſt not thinke that *Aeſchines* valewed himſelfe baſely to himſelfe, that knew none more worthie preſent beſides himſelfe without himſelfe. This ingenious young man found out the meanes, how he might make *Socrates* his, by giuing him what he was. We are not to reſpect the valew of theſe things that are giuen, but the vertue of him that giueth. A ſubtile and politique man willingly giueth audience to thoſe that demand and propoſe vnreaſonable ſuites, and intending no waies to helpe indeed, nouriſheth their fraudulent hope with deceitfull words.. But yet worſe is his opinion, that with proud language, graue and ſeuere lookes, hath diſdainefully ſet out the ſumme of his riches. For they that make a ſhew to reſpect and reuerence a man on whom Fortune ſmileth, are the firſt that deteſt and ſeeke to doe him miſchiefe; and ſuch notwithſtanding, that if they had the power, would themſelues doe that which the other did. * Some there are that not priuately and behind their backes, but openly and to their faces haue ſcorned and mocked at other mens wiues, and yet haue abandoned their owne to thoſe that loued them. There are women likewiſe, that in theſe dayes account thoſe married men ruſtique, inhumane, and of froward condition, that wil not ſuffer their wiues to get vp into their Caroches, and prance through the ſtreets to be gazed at by the paſſers by. * That man who is not noted for intertaining a Miſtris, or for courting his neighbours wife, him doe theſe Matrons account baſe in condition and heart; baſe in choyce and election, and onely worthie to court their baſeſt Chamber-maids. Hence it is, that in theſe dayes Adulterie is reputed the moſt honeſteſt method and manner (that is) to wed a woman. Some had rather conſent neuer to entertayne marriage, than not to haue ſuch a woman to his wife, that was not debauched from her huſband. Now ſtriue they to lauiſh that which they haue rauiſhed, and to get in their expences with no leſſe auarice, to care for nothing, to contemne an other mans pouertie, and to feare his owne, and to feare no other miſchiefe, to peruert peace by iniuries, to oppreſſe the weaker by force and feare. For to ſee Prouinces ſacked, the Chayre of Iuſtice ſold, and iudgements ſet to ſale to him that will giue moſt, is not to be wondred at, ſince it is permitted by the Law of Nations to ſell that thou haſt bought.

CHAP.

* *In this place* Lipſius *and* Aniceetus *obſerue a defect which may be coniectured by the ſmall conformitie betweene the antecedent and ſubſequent reaſons.*

* *A ſinne more imitated in this age then any vertue.*

CHAP. X.

A notable lesson of an Ethnike for all good Christians.

BVt the subiect whereof I intreate, hath so much distracted and transported me, that it hath carryed me further than I thought. Let vs in such sort indeuor to depart out of this life, that our sins may not seeme to be rooted and settled in our age. Hereof our Ancestors complayned, hereat we our selues are agrieued; and for this will our Successors sigh, because good customes are abolished, impieties haue preheminence, and humane affaires grow worse and worse, and men leaue no wickednesse or sinne vnsought after. And the worst is that these vices doe, and shall remaine in the same place, although they be a little moued here and there, as the Flouds of the Sea, which when the tide commeth, are carried out into the Ocean, and vpon the ebbe are contayned a while on the brimme and banke of the riuer. In this time shall Adulteries be more frequent than any other vice, and modestie shall turne loose and Libertine. In an other Age the furie of banquetting shall flourish, and the vndecent aboundance of Kitchins: the shops wherein so infamously mens Patrimonies are sold and bartered. Another time shall come of immesurable and vnbrideled curiositie in apparrelling the bodie, and painting the face, which externall fuke shewes how foule and filthie the soule is internally. At this time great men abusing their authoritie, shall be both audacious and insolent. At an other time men shall flesh themselues with publique and priuate cruelties, and in the furious madnesse of ciuill dissention, whereby euerie sacred and sanctified thing is prophaned. The time will come wherein drunkennesse shall be honoured, and hee shall be esteemed most vertuous and gallant that hath suckt in the greatest excesse of wine. Vices continue not alwayes in one and the same place, they agree not well together, they change time and place, they vrge and giue chace one to another. In a word, we may alwayes boldly say thus of our selues, that we are euill, that we haue beene euill, and (vnwillingly I speake it) we alwayes shall be. In all times there will be Murtherers, Tyrants, Theeues, Adulterers, Robbers, Church breakers, and Traitors, and the least of all these is the vngratefull man, except it be that all these are the children of Ingratitude, without which scarcely any euill enterprise hath beene plotted or performed. Beware and esteeme thou this as the most grieuous and greatest of crimes, let him not take hold of thee; and in another man pardon the same, as if it were the slightest of all others. For in effect all the iniurie that he did thee consisteth in this, that thou didst loose thy good deed: but comfort thy selfe with this, that thou didst not loose the better part thereof, which is, the honour to haue giuen the same. But euen as we ought to be well aduised, not to employ our fauours on those that will not heartily and freely acknowledge the same, so ought we sometimes to hazard a benefit, although we are out of hope of acknowledgement or satisfaction. And not onely when we are afraid that they will be ingratefull, but also then when wee shall be most assured that they haue alreadie beene approued and knowne for vngratefull. Euen as if I can, I am vndoubtedly bound to restore vnto a father, (prouided that it be not with any hazard of mine owne fortunes) his children whom I had saued from a great perill: So likewise ought I to defend a vertuous and worthie man, and secord him in the danger wherein I shall find him, though it be with the losse and expence of mine owne bloud. If likewise by my outcrie I can deliuer a man

Ingratum dixeris, & omnia dixeris.

from

from the hands of thieues, (although he be vnworthie of any fauour) I ought neuer to repent my selfe if by my words I haue saued a wicked mans life.

CHAP. XI.

IT followeth now that wee declare what sorts of Benefits wee ought to giue, and after what manner wee ought to giue them. First of all let vs giue things necessarie, then profitable, thirdly agreeable, and permanent. Let vs begin with that which is necessarie. For we account our selues farre more beholding to him that hath giuen vs our life, than to him that enlargeth our honours, or instructeth vs in vertues. Some one may be a disdainfull valewer in that which hee may easily want, whereof he may say, take it to thee, I want it not, I am contented with mine owne. In the meane while, his mind is not to restore so much as hath bin receiued, but to cast it away. But amongst those things which are necessarie some hold the first place, and they are these without which we cannot liue. Others hold the second: and they are those without which we ought not to liue: Others, the third, without which we would not deserue to liue: The first of this note are, to be deliuered out of the enemies hands, exempted from a tyrants wrath and proscription, and other perills, which being both diuers and incertaine, beleager and besiege mans life. Which so euer of these we shall haue preuented or cut off, the more greater and terrible it is, the greater thanks shall we receiue. For they will bethinke them from what euils we haue deliuered them, and the precedent feare of danger which they haue had, reuiueth their remembrance, and giueth life to the desert fore-past, when they bethinke-themselues from how many miseries they are deliuered. Yet hereby is it not intended if we should maliciously deferre or denie our succours to him that is in any danger, to the end that feare should giue a greater waight to our benefit or merit. In the second ranke are these things without which truely we may liue, but liue so miserably, as death were better than the life; of which kind are libertie, modestie, and a good mind. In the last place we rancke those things, which alliance and parentage, familiar conuersations, and long vse, hath made vs alwaies repute and account most deare and precious: as our Children, our Wiues, and Houses, and all these things whereunto we haue so much addicted and dedicated our hearts and desires, that we had rather die than diuide our selues from their companie. After these necessarie things succeed those that are profitable, whose nature and argument is farre more ample and diuers. Here entreth mony (not superfluous but sufficient to entertayne an honourable meanes of life,) here entreth honour and the good carriage of affaires, to the end to attaine to greater matters. For nothing is more profitable than to be made profitable to a mans owne selfe. The rest is but euen great aboundance and superfluitie which spoyleth men, and maketh them effeminate. But when we would intend to doe a pleasure, we must prouide that the opportunitie may make it more pleasing; that the thing we intend to present be not common and ordinarie; that few men haue had the like in times past, and that as few yet in these our daies can match the patterne: and if it be not rich in it selfe, at least let the time and place, wherein we giue the same, cause it to be more highly prized. Let vs bethinke our selues what present we might make, that might yeeld some pleasure and content-

The necessarie.

The profitable.

Profit in first to be respected in regard of a mans particular.

The agreeable.

contentment, that might be more often-times ſeene and handled, to the end that ſo often as he ſhould take my preſent into his hands, ſo oftentimes he ſhold haue & hold me in his remembrance. We ought likewiſe to beware that we ſend not vnſeemely preſents; as to a woman, or an old and impotent man, toiles or other neceſſarie inſtruments of hunting; to a Countrie Clowne, bookes; or nets to him that is ſtudious and addicted to his booke. Contrariwiſe alſo we ought to be very circumſpect, leaſt thinking to ſend ſome agreeable preſent, we ſend to euery one ſuch thing as may reproch him of his infirmitie; as wine to a drunken man, and medicines to a ſicke man. For this beginneth to reſemble rather an outrage than a preſent, if that which is giuen do taxe the imperfection of him that receiueth the ſame.

CHAP. XII.

The permanent.

IF it be in our election to beſtow what we liſt, Let vs preſent ſuch things as may continue longeſt, to the end that the good which we doe, and gifts we beſtow, may be laſting and of long continuance. Becauſe amongſt thoſe that receiue, there are few ſo thankefull that they remember them of that they haue receiued, except they haue it alwaies in their ſight. And the vngratefull alſo, when the preſent and fauour is alwaies in their eies, are thereby drawne into the memorie thereof, which ſuffereth them not to forget themſelues, but rendreth and redoubleth the memorie of him that gaue the ſame. So much the rather therefore let vs ſeeke out things that are of continuance, becauſe we ought neuer to vpbraide a benefit, but ſuffer the preſent it ſelfe to quicken and reuiue decaying memorie. More willingly will I giue ſiluer plate than readie monie, more willingly ſtatues, then apparell, and ſuch things as in a ſhort time are worne out by vſe. Few there are that remember to giue thanks after they haue pocketted the preſent. Many there are that no longer make eſtimate of a good turne, than whiles they may make vſe thereof. If therefore it poſſibly might bee ſo, I would not that my gift ſhould be conſummate, or worne out of memorie, my deſire is it ſhould be extant, and of long continuance, and accompany my friend and liue ioyntly with him. There is no man ſo fooliſh that had need to be taught; that hee ſhould not inuite his friend, and preſent him with the publique ſhewes of fencing, and baiting of ſauage beaſts, when as theſe proclaimed ſports haue beene performed and ſhewen, or Sommer ſuites for Winter time, and Winter garments in heate of Sommer; wee neede no more than common ſenſe to make vs know what is fitting and acceptable. Wee muſt reſpect the time, the places, the perſons, becauſe in the moments of time, or occaſion, ſome things are gratefull and vngratefull. How much more acceptable it is if we giue that, which the perſon to whom wee giue hath not, than that wherewith he is abundantly ſtored? if we preſent him with that which he hath long ſought and could not find, than that which is merchantable and eaſily bought in euery place? Our gifts ought rather to be exquiſite and rare, than pretious and rich, and ſuch and ſo extraordinary, that he that ſeemeth to haue leaſt want of any thing by reaſon of his abundance, may accept and hold them deare for their raritie and noueltie. Were they but common apples which in a ſhort ſpace by reaſon of their aboundance would be diſpleaſant to the whole world, yet if a man make a preſent of them in their prime ripeneſſe, and when there is a ſcar-

Things of continuance liue longeſt in the receiuers memorie.

What diſcretion there ought to be vſed in preſenting.

Raritie, be the preſent neuer ſo ſmall, maketh it acceptable.

a ſcarcitie of them, they will bee farre more acceptable and eſteemed. Theſe preſents likewiſe are not without honor, which either no man elſe hath preſented them with, or we our ſelues haue not giuen to any other.

CHAP. XIII.

WHen as *Alexander* of *Macedon* after his Orientall victories had raiſed his thoughts aboue humane reach; certaine Embaſſadours were ſent vnto him in the behalfe of the Corinthians, to congratulate his victories, and to preſent him with the Title of a free Citizen of Corinth. Which offer of theirs, when *Alexander* had ſcornefully derided, one of the Embaſſadours ſaid vnto him: Conſider, noble Prince, that we haue neuer imparted this priuiledge of our Citie at any time to any elſe, but thy ſelfe, and inuincible *Hercules*. Which when *Alexander* had heard, he thankfully entertained the honour they had offered him, ſumptuouſly feaſted, and gratefully embraced the Embaſſadours, conceiuing thus, and contemplating, not what they were who offered them their Citie, but who he was to whom they had firſt preſented the ſame before him. This man who was ſo addicted, and drunken in glorie: (whereof he neither knew the nature nor the meaſure,) following the traces of *Hercules* and *Liber*, yet not content himſelfe to bound his ambition within the limits where they ceaſed, he reſpected what companions in honour the Corinthians had preſented him with; And thereby finding himſelfe to be compared with *Hercules*, he thought that alreadie he was poſſeſſed of heauen, which vaine and fruitleſſe hope he fooliſhly embraced. For tell me, I pray you, wherein might this mad yong man in any thing reſemble or compare himſelfe with *Hercules*, who had but happie temeritie in ſtead of reſolution and value. *Hercules* atchieued no conqueſt for his own particular intereſt, he trauerſed the whole world, not deſiring poſſeſſions, but reuenging iniuries. What deſire of conqueſt, or affection of profit, could this Enemie of euill men, this Protector of good men, this Pacifier both of Land and Sea in any ſort conceiue or haue? But this man from his yong yeares was a Theeſe, a Forager of Countries, the ruine both of his friends and enemies, who held it for his chiefeſt happineſſe to be a terror to all mortal men; remembring not that not onely the moſt cruell beaſts, but alſo the moſt feeble and coward, are redoubted, and feared for their pernicious venome.

Plutarch. in vita Alexandri.

The true difference betwixt Hercules and Alexander.

CHAP. XIIII.

LEt vs now returne vnto our purpoſe. That benefit which is giuen to euery man, is gratefull to no man. No man will euer thinke that a Tauerner or Hoſtler entertaineth him as a friend. No man ſuppoſeth himſelf to be inuited by him that furniſheth a feaſt to entertaine a whole Citie. For a man may ſay, what pleaſure hath he done me? he hath fauoured me no otherwiſe than hee would a ſtranger, or an enemie, or the baſeſt fellow, or Player, he might haue met withall. But he thought me more worthie or better eſteemed than any other? nothing leſſe: that which he hath done is but to content his owne humour and infirmitie.

Benefits ought not to be vulgar and common.

If thou desirest that thy presents may be acceptable, make choyce of some rare thing. Who will account himselfe obliged for a curtesie which is done vnto euery man? Let no man interpret these things in that nature as if I would restraine mens liberalitie, and represse them more than reason required. I will not so bound the same that it may not be generall, or employed where a man pleaseth, yet my desire is that it should not be extrauagant or misimploied, but iustly intended. A man may so sort his good turnes, and so honestly distribute the same, that they who haue receiued them, although they bee many, may suppose that they are not fauoured in common, but in particular. Let euerie man haue some familiar note, whereby he that receiueth may coniecture that he is more inwardly respected by him that bestoweth the benefit. Let him say; I haue not receiued more than that other man, but that which was giuen mee came with a freer bountie and good will. I haue receyued the same present which an other man had, yet I more speedily and readily than he, where as he long before had merited the same. Some there are that haue had the same fauours, yet not deliuered with the same gratulatorie speeches, nor presented with the like curtesie from the Benefactor. This man receiued after he had intreated for his benefit, but I, when I was besought to accept the same. Such a man receiued a rich present; tis true: but he could more easily giue recompence; for being as he is a man of many yeares, and without heires, he promiseth great hopes to the Benefactor. But that which I receiued is of more esteeme, because that which he hath giuen me is without all hope of restitution. Euen as a Curtizan so diuideth her selfe amongst many, that each one hath a particular insinuation and proofe to be more fauoured than the rest: So hee that desireth that his curtesies should be esteemed, ought to bethinke him, not onely in what sort he may oblige all men vnto him, but how euery one may haue something whereby he may thinke that he is preferred before the rest. For mine owne part I desire not to restraine any man from distributing his liberalities as hee listeth: the more and greater his largesse is, the more honourable and prayse worthie they be; yet wish I notwithstanding that his bountie should be bounded with iudgement. For these things that are giuen rashly and without consideration, are neuer well reputed or accounted of. For this cause if any man should thinke that in commanding this, I would by this meanes banish and exterminate liberalitie, and should not afford the same limits large enough; Vndoubtedly he hath made but little vse and receiued lesse profit of these my instruction. For is there any vertue that I haue more prized? or whereunto I haue more incited men than to that? to whom appertaineth these exhortations and instructions more than to me, who by liberalitie would establish and assure a firme commerce and societie amongst men?

Meanes to fashion men to acceptance and gratitude.

CHAP. XV.

WHat is it then? Since there is no honest designe of the soule, although it hath had his originall from a iust will, but that whose waight and iust measure is transformed into vertue. I forbid liberalitie to be prodigall or mis-imployed. Then is it that a man should be glad to haue receiued a good turne, (yea willingly, and with open hands:) when reason and iudgement hath addressed it to their hands, who are worthie of the same, when by timeritie of fortune, or by heat of

Reason and iudgement ought to companie liberalitie: prodigalitie extinguisheth it.

of courage, it is not vnprouided and disfurnished of good counsaile, and when a man may take pleasure to shew it to the world, and professe himselfe to be the Author. Wilt thou esteeme that for a benefit which thou hast receiued from such a mans hands, whom thou art ashamed to name? Contrariwise, how much more agreeable are those good turnes vnto vs, how inwardly are they grounded and ingrafted into our memories, (from whence they are inseperable) when they content vs, and make our thoughts more pleasing, in imagining from whom, than what we haue receiued? *Crispus Passienus* was accustomed to say, that hee more esteemed other mens iudgements, than their gifts, and other mens gifts, than their iudgement; and annexed this example; *I had rather* (said he) *haue* AVGVSTVS *iudgement, yet like I better* CLAVDIVS *Benefit.* But for mine owne part, I thinke that no man ought to desire a Benefit at his hands, whose iudgement is deficient and idle. What then? should not that which *Claudius* gaue be receyued? Why not? but in such manner as if thou hadst receiued it from *Fortunes* hand, which thou mightest imagine might sodainly become a misfortune. But why should wee separate those things which are so vnited? because we cannot call that a benefit which wanteth his principall part, that is, to be done and giuen with heartinesse and deliberation. A great summe of money, if it be not giuen prudently, and with a will grounded on reason, is a treasure, but no benefit.

Finally, there are many things which wee may receiue, and yet not bee obliged for them.

The end of the first Booke of Benefits.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE assumeth and intreateth of an other part, How Benefits are to be giuen. He giueth many precepts hereupon; that wee bestow them willingly, speedily, and without dubetation. That some things are to be giuen openly, other some things secretly; but yet all things without pride, or boasting. Then what they are which are hurtfull, if they be not giuen, although they be demanded, and yet not dishoneſt, and such as may breed future infamie. Then that the persons ought to be esteemed both of him that giueth, and him that receyueth, that both of them may be decent. An other part of the Booke: How he that receiueth should behaue himselfe, from whom he receiueth, and how, especially gratefully. By occasion what it is that maketh men vngratefull: Pride, Auarice, Enuie: Finally, in many wordes he disputeth of gratitude, and proueth that it consisteth on will, where as wealth and meanes wanteth.

CHAP. I.

LEt vs looke into and examine that (most worthie *Liberalis*) which as yet remaineth of the first part: In what manner wee ought to bestow a Benefit. To the better performance whereof I shall in my opinion set downe the most expedite way. So let vs giue as wee would receyue a good turne. But aboue all things what wee doe, let vs doe willingly, speedily, and without any doubting: Vngratefull is that Benefit that hath long time stucke betweene his fingers that giueth the same, that a man seemeth hardly to part withall; and deliuereth in such sort, as if he had robbed himselfe of it. Yea if wee cannot giue so soone as we would, and that we are enforced to delay our benefit, let vs striue at leastwise by all the meanes possible, that it be not supposed, that we haue hung

He that delaieth or dallieth in his bountie, looseth his gift and merit.

long time in deliberation or ſuſpition, whether we ſhould giue or no: He that doubteth, is next to him that denyeth, and deſerueth no thankes for the ſame. For whereas in a benefit there is nothing more agreeable than the will of him that giueth the ſame, he that in delaying giueth vs to vnderſtand that he giueth againſt his will, in effect giueth nothing, but rather knew not how to keepe it from his clutches, that drew it from his handes. Diuers there are that are bountifull for ſhame ſake: but thoſe pleaſures that are readily beſtowed, that are giuen before they are demanded, that are vnattended by any delay (except it bee the modeſtie of him that receiueth the ſame) are farre more agreeable. First of all it behoueth vs to preuent euery mans deſire, and afterwards to follow the ſame. But the beſt is to preuent and preſent our fauors before they be ſought after. And for that an honeſt man bluſheth alwaies for modeſtie when he demandeth any thing, whoſoeuer he be that remitteth and excuſeth him of this torment, redoubleth and multiplieth the pleaſure. He receiued not gratis, that receiued when he demanded. Becauſe (according to the opinion of the graueſt Authors and our Anceſtors) there is nothing that coſts ſo much, as that which is bought with prayers. Men would more ſparingly tender their vowes vnto the gods, if they ſhould doe it openly; and rather deſire wee in ſecret to pray and performe our vowes vnto them, becauſe our deſire is that our thoughts ſhould be onely knowne vnto them.

Willingneſſe and preuention are the ſignes of a free and liberall mind, delay and dilatum of a ſuſpitious and niggardly heart.

Yes, grace that is purchaſed by prayers.

CHAP. II.

THe words are diſtaſtfull, and full of diſturbance, for a man of honour (with abaſhed and abaſed looke) to ſay, I beſeech you. Labor thou then to excuſe thy friend herein, and whomſoeuer elſe thou intendeſt to oblige vnto thee by thy bountie. How forwardly ſoeuer a man giue, that giueth after he is intreated, let him know this leſſon, that he giueth too late. Indeauour therefore to diuine and fore-ſee euery mans will; & when thou vnderſtandeſt the ſame, diſcharge him of the grieuous neceſſitie of asking. Know thou that that benefit is moſt pleaſing, and of longeſt perpetuitie in mans memorie, that comes vnſought for and vndemanded. And if happily thou haſt not had the oportunity to preuent his neceſſitie, yet at leaſtwiſe intercept the reaſons and motiues which he ſhould vſe in requeſting thy curteſie: thou oughteſt to make him beleeue by thy readineſſe and forwardneſſe, that thou hadſt a deſire to do him friendſhip before he demanded the ſame. And as meat which is preſented a ſicke man in due ſeaſon profiteth him much; And ſimple water being giuen in time of neceſſitie, is ſometimes of as much worth and value as a medicine: euen ſo a pleaſure although it be but little and ſmall in value, if it be freely and fitly giuen, if it be done in due time, and fitting to the occaſion, valueth and commendeth it ſelfe the more, and ſurmounteth the eſtimate and worth of a rich and precious preſent, which hath beene long time deuiſed and dreamt vpon. It is not to be doubted, but that he who ſo readily diſtributed his largeſſe, performed the ſame as willingly. And therefore with ioyfulneſſe fulfilleth he that hee intended, and thereby giueth teſtimonie of his good mind.

A benefactour ought to preuent him that he intendeth to pleaſure and fore-ſee his neighbours neceſſitie, to the intent hee may preuent his miſerie.

Vrbanitie in a Heathen inimitable by Chriſtians, as the Chriſtian world is carried in theſe dayes.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Men ought to ſhew fauour willingly.

THe ſilence or ſlowneſſe of ſpeech of ſome men, imitating grauitie and ſadneſſe, hath corrupted their benefit, when as they promiſed with a denying countenance. How farre better were it to accompany good workes with good words, and to giue credit to the good office thou doeſt with familiar and courteous language? That he may chaſtice him ſelfe for being too ſlow in asking. Informe againſt him this familiar quarrell: I am much diſpleaſed with thee, for that thou haſt not acquainted me ſooner with that which thou deſireſt at my hands for that thou haſt vſed too many ceremonies and circumſtances in requiring my helpe; for that thou haſt imployed a third meanes for that which thou mighteſt haue commanded thy ſelfe: For mine own part, I hold my ſelfe moſt happie & contented, that thou haſt ſought to make proof of the good affection I beare thee. From henceforth if thou be preſſed with any neceſſity, command and claime whatſoeuer is mine as thine owne: Let this one error paſſe, I pardon thy ruſticitie. Hereby ſhalt thou make him eſteeme and valew thy noble mind more, than all that he came to claime at thy hands, how precious ſoeuer it be. Then doth the benefactors vertue moſt manifeſtly appeare, then is his bountie remarkeable, when as the other paſſing from him, ſhall depart muttering to himſelfe: Great hath beene my gaines this day; It more contents mee that I haue found him ſuch a man, than if the benefit had been redoubled vnto me by any other way, for to a mind ſuch as this is I ſhall neuer yeeld ſufficient or ſatisfaction.

Termes befitting a liberall mind.

CHAP. IIII.

The errours of thoſe that giue after an euill manner.

BVt many there be, that by the bitterneſſe of their words, and the crabbedneſſe of their lookes, make their fauours odious, by vſing ſuch ſpeech, and expreſſing ſuch pride, that it repenteth him that demanded the curteſie, that he hath obtained it. It falleth out oftentimes likewiſe, that after the promiſe made there are ſome delayes and procraſtinations: yet is there not any thing more loathſome and diſtaſtefull, than when a grace is once granted, to be inforced to goe and redemand it againe. The fauors we intend, ought not to be deferred, which coſt more ſometimes in their recouerie than in their promiſe. This man muſt thou beſeech to put his Lord in remembrance, that man to receiue the fauour for thee; thus one ſimple gift, (by paſſing thorow many mens hands) is diminiſhed and leſſened very much, and he hath leaſt ſatisfaction that hath made promiſe thereof. For they, whom afterwards we muſt importune, get the better part of the thanks. If therefore thou wilt haue thy gifts to be acceptable and gratefull, thou muſt procure that they paſſe thorow their hands that ſought the ſame vntouched and intire, and (as they ſay) without any diduction. Let no man intercept, let no man detaine them; there is no man that in that which thou art to giue, can purchaſe any credit, but that he impayreth and diminiſheth thine.

A loſt curteſie to receiue after much craning.

CHAP.

Chap. V.

Refuſall is better than incertaintie.

THere is nothing more tedious, than to hang in ſuſpence. There are ſome that had rather that the hopes of their pretenſions were ſcantled, then delayed. And many there are (too foully poſſeſſed of this vice) that with a depraued ambition, protract and deferre thoſe things that haue alreadie promiſed, to no other end, but to increaſe the number of thoſe that ſolicite and ſue to them. Such

A paterne of a proud Courtier.

are theſe miniſters of kinglymaieſtie, who take delight in the admiration, which other men conceiue of their greatneſſe and pompe, who thinke themſelues diſabled in their power, if by many delaies & longer procraſtinations they make not euery man vnderſtand how powerfull and graced they be. They performe nothing ſpeedily, they diſpatch nothing at once. Their iniuries are headlong, their benefits ſlow. Wherefore thinke that moſt true which the Comicke Poet ſaith:

Do'ſt thou not ſo much of thy thankes diminiſh,
As thou delay'ſt thy benefit to finiſh?

From thence ariſe thoſe complaints which ingenious ſorrow expreſſeth, *Do ſpeedily, if thou wilt doe any thing*; and *nothing is more deare. I had rather thou ſhouldeſt haue vtterly denyed mee*. Such manner of diſcourſe vſe they at that time that are wearied with a long delay, which maketh them already contemne and hate the good, which they heartily expected. Can they for this be eſteemed vngratefull? Euen as that crueltie is the greateſt that bringeth out and protracteth the paine, and to diſpatch man of life quickely, is in ſome occaſions a kind and ſort of mercie, (becauſe in the end the laſt torment draweth with it ſelfe the remainder of it ſelfe, and the time precedent, is the greateſt part of the puniſhmēt that ſucceedeth:) ſo the leſſe time I am held in ſuſpence, the greater thanks owe I for the fauour I receiue. The expectation of things, how good & honeſt ſoeuer they be, is both tedious and diſpleaſant: and where as there are many benefits which are a totall remedie to ſome inſtant neceſſity; he that ſuffereth the indigent eyther to be tortured by delay, whom forthwith he could diſpatch, or maketh him languiſh in expectation, and grow forlorne before he compaſſe the fauour, abuſeth his owne benefit, and layes violent hands on his owne good worke. All true liberalitie is addreſſed and expedite, and it is the propertie of him that doth willingly, to doe quickely. He that giueth later than he ſhould doe, and wearieth out both time and occaſion, before he aſſiſt and ſuccor the indigent, witneſſeth by his actions, that he had neuer a will to ſuccor him. And by this meanes looſeth he in one benefit two moſt important things, that is to ſay, time, and the argument of his friendly intention and will, becauſe to will a thing ouer-late, is not to will it at all.

True liberalitie is impatient of delay.

Bis dat qui cito dat.

Chap. VI.

A fit ſimilitude.

IN all affaires (*Liberalis*) that which importeth moſt, is the maner and faſhion of ſpeaking or doing any thing. Celeritie hath done much, Delay hath defrauded more. Euen as in weapons of all ſorts, the edge and point both of the one and of the other, are of the ſame force and keeneneſſe as the reſt are; but there is a great difference

difference in them, if they be inforced by a brawnie and forcible arme, or managed by a faint and feeble arme. It is one and the ſame ſword, that ſleightly raceth and rudely pierceth thorow: that which moſt importeth, is the ſtrength of the arme that gouerneth it. The like may be ſaid of that which a man giueth; the onely difference is, in the manner of giuing. O how precious, and how ſweete a thing is it, to encounter with a Benefactor, that conſenteth not to be clawed with acclamations and thankeſ-giuings! and that as ſoone as hee beſtowed a beneuolence, forgetteth the ſame! for to reproue him to whom thou art moſt beneficiall, and to intermix iniuries and outrages with curteſies and good turnes, is no leſſe than madneſſe. Benefits therefore are not to be exaſperated or intermedled with any diſtaſte or miſliking. Though happily thou haſt ſomething that thou haſt reaſon to reprehend him in, reſerue it till an other time more proper and conuenient.

The manner of giuing, maketh the gift either plauſible, or diſtaſtefull.

CHAP. VII.

FABIVS VERRVCOSVS called that diſgracefull curteſie, which was preſented by a niggardly hand, Grauelly and ſtale bread; which a hungrie man muſt of neceſſitie take, yet can hardly eat. *Tiberius Cæſar* being requeſted by *Marcus Allius* (who had bin *Prætor*) to diſcharge him of thoſe many debts, wherein he was engaged: *Cæſar* commaunded him to ſet downe the names of all his creditors. This is not to giue, but to ſummon them to whom he owed any thing to compoſition. As ſoone as he had receiued the regiſter of their number, he wrote a ſchedule wherein he commaunded to pay his prodigall Nephews debt, and gaue it to him, and therewithall ſo bitter and contumelious a reprehenſion, as the poore man was ſo much diſmayed, that hee neyther knew that hee had receiued any money for his creditors, from the Emperours hands; or any fauour for himſelfe: He deliuered him from his Creditors, but obliged not him vnto himſelfe. Some motiue there was that guided *Tiberius* herein; and in my iudgement, that he did, was to the end, that no man ſhould importune him more in ſuch like requeſts; and this happily was an effectuall way, thorow the ſhame and reproofe of one man to repreſſe the diſordinate deſires of couetouſneſſe in all other men. Yet hee that giueth a benefit, muſt abſolutely follow a farre different way.

Inforced curteſie hath no merite.

He excuſeth Tiberius in ſome ſort.

CHAP. VIII.

IN what ſort ſoeuer thou giueſt, thy gift is to be adorned, to the end it may be the better accepted; but this is not to giue a benefit, but to reprehend an errour. And that I may expreſſe by the way (in my iudgement) what my opinion is herein, mee thinkes it is a thing ill-beſeeming a Prince, to giue a fauour with an affront and infamie: neuertheleſſe, for all this *Tiberius* could neuer by this manner of dealing flye that which he feared: for many others came afterwards and beſought him in the ſame ſort, and for the ſame reliefe as *Allius* did, all whom he commanded to informe the Senate, in what manner they had ſpent that money they had borrowed, and thereupon gaue them certaine ſummes of

of money. This is no liberalitie, but a cenſure; this is no ſuccour, but a principall tribute. Becauſe that cannot be eſteemed a good worke, which I cannot call to memorie without bluſhing, and diſgrace: I am ſent to the Iudge, to obtayne that which I required, I was inforced to ſuffer a criminall proces.

Chap. IX.

The two-fold manner of imploying benefits.

All Authors of Wiſedome therefore teach vs, that ſome benefits are to be giuen openly, otherſome ſecretly. Thoſe are openly to be giuen, which may honour and magnifie him that receiueth them, ſuch as are Militarie preſents and dignities, and whatſoeuer other gift, which the more publique and notorious it is, the more honourable it becommeth. Againe, thoſe gifts, which neyther promote nor aduance a mans fortune, nor make him honeſter, but onely ſuccour his infirmitie, his neceſſitie, and ignominie; muſt be giuen ſo ſecretly, that they onely may take notice thereof that haue their beneſit and aſſiſtance thereby. And ſometimes alſo we ought to deceyue him that we intend to relieue, in ſuch a ſort as our gift may come vnto his hands, and yet he ignorant from whom he receiued the ſame.

Chap. X.

He proueth by example that fauors are to be done in ſecret.

Arceſilaus (as it is reported) being auertized, that a poore friend of his (who concealed his neceſſities, as much as in him lay) was fallen ſicke, and yet notwithſtanding would not diſcouer the pouertie he indured in his ſickeneſſe; bethought him that he ſhould not doe amiſſe, to relieue him ſecretly. For which cauſe, vnder colour to come and viſit him, he left a bagge full of money vnder the ſicke mans pillow; to the end that the poore ſoule (being more baſhfull than wiſe) might rather thinke that he had found that which he deſired, than that he receiued it as a benefit. What then? ſhould he not know from whom the fauour came? No. At the firſt let him be ignorant thereof, if this be a part of the good worke. Afterwards I will doe him many other pleaſures, I will giue him ſo many other things, that in the end he ſhall perceiue who was the firſt Author of them: Finally, he ſhall not know that he hath receiued, and I ſhall vnderſtand that I haue giuen. Mee thinkes, thou telleſt mee, that this is nothing. I anſwer thee, That it is inſufficient, if ſo it be, thou thinkeſt to play the Vſerer; but if thou deſireſt to doe it in that kind, that it may be more and better profitable to him that receyueth the ſame, thou wouldeſt content thy ſelfe to be a witneſſe, that thou thy ſelfe diddeſt it. Otherwiſe, it delighteth thee not to doe good, but to ſeeme to haue done good: I will that he know that I did him the good. This is to ſeeke out a debtor. But my deſire is that he ſhould know it. What? If it be more profitable for him not to know it? if it be more honeſt, and more agreeable? wilt thou not in this poynt bee of our opinion? I will that he know it. Thou wouldeſt not then ſaue a mans life

life if the night were darke. I denie not but that vpon ſome iuſt occaſion it may be lawfull for a man to take ſome contentment in his thankfulneſſe that hath receiued a benefit. But if there be a neceſſitie he ſhould be holpen, and hee is aſhamed, if that which lend him offend him, except it be hidden, I admit not that the benefit ſhould be publiſhed: What ſhall I tell him, that it was I that haue giuen it him? whereas by the preciſe and principall precepts I am forbidden at any time to vpbraid him, or to refreſh the memorie of my fauour done vnto him? For this is a law betwixt both, the one ought incontinently to forget the good he hath done, and the other haue a continuall remembrance of that which he hath receiued. There is nothing that more tyreth and trauelleth a good mind, than to be oftentimes reproched and vpbraided with thoſe pleaſures which haue beene ſhewen him.

Doe your charitie ſecretly, that you may be rewarded openly.

An inuiolable law in doing good.

CHAP. XI.

IT contenteth me much to make a publique narration of that exclamation which a certaine Roman vſed, who had beene ſaued by one of *Cæſars* friends (during the time of the proſcriptions of the Triumuirate) who being vnable any further to indure his pride, moſt manfully cryed out thus; Redeliuer me, I pray thee, to *Cæſar*: How long wilt thou vpbraide me ſaying, I haue ſaued thee, I haue deliuered thee from death? If I forget not my ſelfe, I muſt confeſſe that thou gaueſt me life; but if I remember mee of thy often reproches, I cannot conceiue but that thou haſt giuen me death. I owe thee nothing; if thou haſt ſaued me to no other end, but to make an oſtentation of thy vanitie. How long wilt thou lead me about for a ſpectacle to men, and a torture to my ſelfe? how long will it be ere thou ſuffer mee to forget my hard fortune? Had I beene led in triumph by the enemie, it had beene but one dayes miſerable ſpectacle. Neuer ought we to diſcloſe that which we haue giuen: hee that vpbraideth a curteſie redemandeth it. We muſt not importune, we ought neuer to refreſh the memorie of a former pleaſure, but by ſeconding it by another. Neither ought we to diſcloſe it vnto others. Let him that hath done the good office, conceale it: Let him that hath receyued the ſame, diſcloſe it. Otherwiſe it may be ſaid vnto him as it was to one who publiquely vaunted and boaſted of the pleaſures he had done. Happily (ſaid hee that had receyued the gift) thou wilt denie but that thou haſt receyued againe that which thou gaueſt mee; And as the other asked him when? He anſwered, Many times, and in many places: As if he ſhould ſay; As oftentimes, and in as many places as thou haſt vaunted thereof vainely; what need had'ſt thou to ſpeake it? or vſurpe vpon an other mans office? An other man might haue done it more honeſtly, who reckoning vp the good he had receiued at thy hands, might prayſe thee in diuers things, which thou canſt not, or doeſt not diſcouer. Doeſt thou iudge me to be vngratefull, if concealing it thy ſelfe no man ſhould know the ſame? But this ought not to be; but rather, if any ſhould relate before thee, what good thou haſt done me, and the euill I commit, in not confeſſing thy goodneſſe, thou oughteſt preſently to make this anſwer. *Truely he is moſt worthie of farre greater benefits, which I know that I haue better will, than power to performe.* Which ſpeech we ought to vtter, not with flattering diſſimulation, or fained pre-

Secrecie muſt accompany benefits.

pretence, or as ſome men doe, who make a ſhew to reiect that which they would faine draw vnto them. Briefly, we ought to vſe all kind of ſweetneſſe and curteſie, as much as in vs lyeth. The husbandman ſhould looſe all his labour, if after he hath caſt his corne into the ground, he make no more reckoning of that which he hath ſowed. The corne cannot come to maturitie without much manuring and regard, nothing can bring forth fruit, if from the beginning to the end it be not laboured and handled with due induſtrie. The ſame condition is of all benefits. Can there be a greater care, than that which the parents haue ouer their children? and yet their paines ſhould be loſt, if ſo be they ſhould abandon them in their infancie: if their diuoire and paternall pietie ſhould not nouriſh them long, and tenderly protect that vnto the end which Nature hath recommended vnto them. All other Benefits are of the ſelfe-ſame condition; except thou helpeſt them, thou looſeſt them. It is a ſmall matter to haue giuen them. Wee muſt likewiſe nouriſh them. If thou wilt haue them thankefull who are obliged vnto thee, thou muſt not onely giue them, but loue them. But eſpecially (as I ſaid) let vs haue a care that we offend not their eares; admonition is tedious, reproch ingendreth hatred. There is nothing ſo much to be auoyded in giuing a benefit, then pride. Whereto ſerueth an arrogant and diſdainefull looke? to what end are ſwelling and reprochfull words? Thine owne good workes will ſufficiently prayſe thee: we ought to alien from vs all vaine boaſting. The actions will expreſſe themſelues when we are ſilent. That which a man giueth proudly, is not onely diſpleaſant, but alſo odious.

Bounty muſt bee accompanied with Loue and Charitie.

Pride maketh Charity nothing.

Chap. XII.

Inſolence of great fortune.

Cæſar gaue *Pompeius Pennus* his life (if hee giueth life that taketh it not away.) Afterwards, when he had abſolued him, and the other humbled himſelfe to giue thankes; *Cæſar* preſented him his left foot to kiſſe. They that excuſe him, and denie that it was done by way of inſolence, ſay, that he did it but to ſhew his gilded Buskins; or rather, or more rightly, his Buskins of Gold, enchaced and enriched with pretious Pearles. In ſo doing, what outrage might there be? What euill was it for a man (although in former times he had beene Conſul) to kiſſe gold and pearle, ſince no better place might be found more ſeemely and honeſt in *Cæſars* perſon for him to kiſſe? A man onely borne to change and reduce the manners of an abſolute and free State into ſeruitude, worſe than that of the *Perſians*: Hee thought it a ſmall matter that an old Senator, who in times paſt had beene graced with ſo many and great honours, ſhould in the preſence of Princes in ſubmiſſiue ſort lye proſtrate before him, after the manner of a vanquiſhed Enemie before the feet of the Conqueror. He found ſomewhat more baſer than the knee, whereby he might ſubiect and ſuppreſſe the libertie of Rome. Is not this to tread the Maieſtie of a Common-weale vnder foot? Yea with a left foot will ſome men ſay (and very anſwerable to the purpoſe.) For he had not ſhewed himſelfe vilainouſly furious and inſolent enough, to haue taken his faire Buskins to aſſiſt and ſit in iudgement vpon the life of one who had beene a Conſul, if the Emperour had not alſo thruſt his Studs and golden Buttons into a Senators mouth.

Homer hath alwaies ſome body to ſmooth his errours.

Chap.

CHAP. XIII.

How vaine they be that doe good deeds by way of ostentation and in pride.

O Pride of great fortune! O most fooliſh folly! how happy is hee that is not conſtrained to receiue any pleaſure at thy hands! how well art thou inſtructed to conuert each benefit into iniurie! How much art thou delighted in outrage and exceſſe! O how ill doe all things beſeeme them! And the higher thou haſt raiſed thy ſelfe the more baſer thou art, and ſheweſt thy ſelfe that thou acknowledgeſt not thoſe goods wherein thou takeſt ſo much pride. Thou corrupteſt whatſoeuer thou giueſt. I would aske thee therefore for what cauſe thou thus forgetteſt thy ſelfe? what peruerteth both thy lookes and the habit of thy countenance? hadſt thou rather goe masked than ſhew thy face open? moſt pleaſing are thoſe curteſies which are giuen with a kind, ſmiling, and pleaſing countenance, which when my Superiour gaue me, hee exulted not ouer me; but as much as in him lay ſhewed me all the benignitie and fauour that he could imagine, and abaſing himſelfe ſo farre as to equall himſelfe with me, he diſclothed his gifts of all kind of pompe, hee obſerued a fit time, wherein rather he might helpe me vpon occaſion, than in neceſſitie. In one and the ſame ſort, in my iudgements, wee may perſwade theſe men that they loſe not their benefits through inſolence, if we ſhall proue vnto them that their benefits doe not therefore ſeeme more great, becauſe they haue beene giuen with inſolent and tumultuous ſpeeches; and that they themſelues cannot for ſo doing ſeeme greater in any mans eyes; and that the greatneſſe of pride is but vaine, and ſuch, as that it draweth the things of moſt eſteeme into hatred and contempt.

CHAP. XIIII.

Diſcretion in benevolence.

SOme things there are which proue ſo harmefull and preiudiciall to thoſe that receiue the ſame, that to denie them, and not to giue them, is a benefit to them: wee will therefore rather eſtimate the profit then the will of thoſe that craue aſſiſtance. For oft-times wee wiſh and labour for thoſe things that are damageable vnto vs. Neither can we iudge how harmefull they be, becauſe our affection blindeth our iudgement; but when the deſire is pacified and allaid, when that ardent impreſſion and impulſion of the mind (which exileth from it ſelfe all good counſaile) is extinguiſhed and abated, then abhorre wee thoſe pernicious Authors of thoſe vnhappy and euill gifts. Euen as to ſicke men wee denie Water; and to thoſe that are melancholy and lothe their liues, a Knife; or to ſuch as are in loue, all that which their inflamed and ardent affection, or rather deſperation, doteth after. So ought wee to perſeuer diligently and humbly in denying and refuſing all that which may doe much harme to thoſe who earneſtly and humbly, yea ſometimes likewiſe miſerably demand it at our hands. Furthermore, it importeth euery man to haue a care and obſeruation, not only of the beginning of his gifts, but of the end and iſſue alſo, and to giue ſuch things, that not only giue content in the receiuing, but delight alſo when they are receiued. Many there are that ſay, *I know that this will not be profitable vnto him, but what ſhall I doe? He intreateth me, and I cannot denie his ſuite: let him looke vnto it, he ſhall complaine of himſelfe, and not of me.* Thou art deceiued:

it is of thee and none other (and that iuſtly) he will complaine, as ſoone as hee ſhall recouer his wits; and that paſſion which perturbed his mind, remitteth and ceaſeth. And why ſhould hee not hate ſuch a man who aſſiſted him to his damage and danger? To condeſcend vnto his requeſt that asketh that which will bee harmefull vnto him, is a cruell bountie. Euen as it is a moſt worthie worke to ſaue thoſe that are deſperate and vnwilling: ſo to giue to theſe that aske peſtiferous things, is a flattering and affable hatred. Let vs giue ſuch things as may pleaſe more and more by their vſe, and that may neuer breede any damage. I will not giue money which in my knowledge ſhall bee giuen vnto a Harlot, becauſe I deſire not to be partaker in any diſhoneſt action, or in euill councell. If I can, I will at leaſtwiſe retyre him; if not, I will not boulſter or further his ſinne. Whether it bee choller that tranſporteth him farther than becommeth him, or heate of ambition miſſe-leadeth him from the ſecureſt courſe, I will not ſo farre forget my ſelfe, that hereafter he may ſay, *Hee hath killed me with kindneſſe.* Oftentimes there is very little difference betwixt a friends gift and an enemies wiſhes. All the miſchiefe which they can wiſh vs, the fooliſh affection of a friend may bring vs: But what is more abſurd (and yet this oftentimes falleth out) that there is no difference betwixt hate and fauour?

Limitations in bountie.

Chap. XV

LEt vs neuer giue any thing that may redound to our diſgrace. And ſince ſo much of friendſhip is to equall a mans friend with himſelfe, wee muſt haue care of both. I will giue vnto him in his neceſſitie, yet in ſuch manner, that I will ſhunne mine owne miſerie: I will helpe him that is in danger of his life, but ſo as I periſh not my ſelfe: except I ſhall be the ranſome of ſome great man, or ſome affaire of greater importance. I will giue no benefit that I would be aſhamed to aske: I will not greaten that which is of ſmall value; neither will I conſent, that ſuch a thing, which in it ſelfe is of much worth, ſhould bee receiued with little eſtimation: For euen as hee loſeth the grace and remuneration of his good worke, that regiſtreth the ſame in the booke of his accompts; ſo hee that ſheweth how great the pleaſure is which he hath done, priſeth not, but reprocheth and diſpraiſeth his pleaſure he had done. Let euery man haue a reſpect to his facultie and forces, leſt either we giue more or ſuccour leſſe than is anſwereable to our abilities. Let vs alſo haue a reſpect and eſteeme of the perſon and qualitie of him to whom we giue; becauſe there are ſome gifts that are of leſſe value than the greatneſſe of him that giueth the ſame requireth; and otherſome which are not anſwereable to the merit of him that receiueth the ſame. Conferre therefore and compare the perſons of both, and with them examine that thing thou wilt giue, whether either it be too much to him that giueth or little; and againe, whether hee that is to receiue the ſame, either diſdaineth or taketh it not.

Wee ought to haue an eſpeciall care to whom and how wee doe a curteſie.

Proximus vnuſquiſque ſibi.

Reſpect of perſons.

Chap.

CHAP. XVI.

THat furious and outragious *Alexander* (who neuer ſetled his thoughts but on great and mightie enterpriſes) fooliſhly gaue a Citie to a certaine follower of his; who meaſuring his owne vnworthineſſe, and deſirous to diſcharge himſelfe of the enuie hee might incurre, by receiuing ſo great a benefit, came vnto *Alexander*, and told him, That neither in fortune or condition he deſerued ſo much. To whom *Alexander* anſwered: I reſpect not what becommeth thee to receiue, but that which in honour becommeth mee to giue: A ſpeech that in appearance was both kingly and heroicall, but in effect moſt fond and fooliſh. For all thoſe things which are a mans owne, become not other men to receiue or accept; but it importeth vs to conſider what that is which is giuen; to whom, when, why, in what place, and other circumſtances, without which thou canſt not iuſtifie thine action. O proud and inſolent creature! If it becommeth not him to receiue this thy gift, as little befitteth it thee to giue the ſame. There ought to be a difference and proportion both of perſons and dignities, and whereas there is a meaſure in vertues euery waies, as greatly ſinneth he that exceedeth, as he that giueth too little. And although this beſeemeth thee, and thy fortune hath rayſed thee ſo high, that thy royall gifts are no leſſe than Cities (which with how greater mind mightſt thou not haue taken, than lauiſhly diſtributed) yet is there ſome more leſſe, then that thou ſhouldſt hide and burie a Citie in his boſome.

Alexanders indiſcretion in giuing, is the cauſe why he is taxed in this place.

Circumſtances in giuing.

CHAP. XVII.

THe Cinique *Diogines* required a talent at *Antigonus* hands, and being repulſed by him, beſought a penny: To which hee anſwered, That it was too little for a * Cinique to aske, or a King to giue. This was but a bare and idle cauill: For hereby found he out an inuention to giue neyther: in the penny he reſpected and had reference to his Kingly maieſtie; in the talent to the Cinique: whereas he might haue giuen a penny as to a Cinique, and a talent as he was a King. I muſt needly graunt, that there are ſome things of ſo great value, that they ſhould not be giuen vnto a Cinique, yet is there nothing likewiſe ſo little, that a liberall and courteous King cannot honeſtly giue. But if thou aske my opinion herein, I cannot but allow *Antigonus* action: For it is an intolerable error in thoſe who make profeſſion to contemne money, afterwards to begge it ſhamefully. Thou haſt proclaimed open warre againſt wealth and riches, thou haſt publiquely proteſted thy hatred againſt money: This habit haſt thou taken on thee, and this needly muſt thou perſonate. Vnworthily and wickedly ſhalt thou doe to hunt and haunt after money, vnder pretence of ſo laudable a pouertie and neceſſitie as thou profeſſeſt. It concerneth each man therefore to haue as great a regard and reſpect of himſelfe, as of him to whom he would doe a pleaſure. I will our friend *Chryſippus* ſimilitude of the play at ball, which vndoubtedly falleth either through his default that ſerueth the ſame, or his that receiueth it: Then doth the ball keepe his due courſe, when as betwixt the hands of both the gameſters, it fitly flyeth to and fro, being

* *Although theſe Pagans had not a perfect knowledge of the vertue of wilfull pouertie, yet had they ſome reſemblance and ſmacke thereof, and in particular there was a Sect of them called Cinique, that were of this profeſſion, amongſt whom this* Diogines *was one that required this almes of* Antigonus *here.*

There muſt be a proportion in good workes betwixt the giuer and the receiuer.

ing ſerued by the one, and re-informed backe againe by the other: yet ought a good Tennis-player to ſerue either eaſily or ſtrongly, according as he perceyueth his companion to be further or neerer off him. The ſame reaſon is there in good deedes: for if they be not anſwerably applyed to the perſon of him that giueth, and him that receiueth, they will neuer ſlip from the hands of the one, or come into the poſſeſſion of the other, according as they ought to doe. If we paſſe the time with an exerciſed and cunning gameſter, we will ſtrike the ball more boldly and ſtiffely: for on which ſide ſoeuer it is bandied, and expedite and nimble hand will returne and ſtrike it backe. Contrariwiſe, if we play with a nouice and young learner, we neyther will ſtrike it ſo ſtiffely, nor leuell it ſo ſtrongly; but ſeruing and ſtriking it gently, we will giue the ball to his hand; and if he rebandie it backe, we returne it as gently. The ſame manner muſt we obſerue in doing our good workes: Let vs teach ſome how to receiue them, and iudge it a ſufficient recompence, if they endeauor themſelues to be thankfull; if they are, if they will be thankfull. For oftentimes we make them vngrateſull, and helpe to keepe them ſo, as if our good turnes were euery way ſo great, that there might not be a thankefulneſſe which might in any ſort equall them. The ſame pretend thoſe malicious gameſters, that deceiue and chaſe their contrarie partie here and there, to the ſpoyle of the game, which cannot be maintained and continue, except there be conſent and conformitie betweene them both. There are diuers of ſo peruerſe and diuelliſh a nature, ſo proud, and imputatiue in that they beſtow, that they had rather looſe that which they lent, than to ſeeme that they haue receiued the ſame. Were it not a more better & friendly courſe to ſuffer them to acquit their deuoire towards vs, and to fauour and ſuccour them, when they would acknowledge the goods which they haue receiued at our hands? To take all in good part, and at ſuch time as they ſhould onely giue thankes in words, to giue them as fauourable audience as if they ſatisfied vs, and to allow that he who findeth himſelfe obliged to vs, ſhould haue the meanes to recompence vs? That Vſurer is commonly hardly thought of, if he exact his debts rudely. Hee likewiſe is worſe thought of, if then when his money is tendered him, he will not receiue it, but deferreth to admit the payment. A benefit is as worthily receiued backe againe when it is returned, as it is giuen honeſtly, when it is vndemanded. The beſt well-doer is he, that hath done a courteſie freely, and neuer ſought requitall, that tooke a pleaſure when as any man could freely repay that which hee had friendly lent and giuen, and vtterly forgotten, and that receiueth not as a returne of his fauour, but as a grace and remuneration.

The conditions of a perfect and abſolute well-giuer.

Chap. XVIII.

Here beginneth the proofe, that we ought not to receiue at euerie mans hands.

Some there are that not onely giue a benefit proudly, but alſo receiue it diſdaineſully, which ought to be auoided. But now let vs paſſe ouer to that other part, and entreat therein, how men ſhould behaue themſelues in receiuing Benefites. Whatſoeuer act of vertue conſiſteth on two perſons, exacteth as much from the one, as from the other: when as thou haſt diligently examined what the father ought to be, thou ſhalt find it no leſſe difficultie to conceiue what the ſonne ought to be. There are ſome duties belonging to the huſband, and ſome alſo that appertaine vnto the wife. Theſe deſerue one and the ſame rule and

measure, which (as *Hecaton* saith) is very hard to obserue and keepe. A hard matter is it to performe that which honestie commandeth, yea, that also which neerest approacheth honestie: For we are not onely tied to performe the same, but to performe it with reason. She it is that must bee our guide in the way we are to hold. The things of smallest moment, and those of greatest importance, are to be gouerned by her counsaile: and as she counsaileth, so ought we to giue. And first of all shee will aduise vs this, That we ought not to receiue a fauour at euery mans hands. From whom then shall we receiue? To answere thee in a word; It is from those to whom wee would haue giuen. For more carefully ought wee to make choyce of those from whom wee would receiue, than of those to whom we would giue: For least many inconueniences happen (which are wont to follow) know this, that it is a grieuous torment to bee indebted and obliged to him, to whom thou wouldest owe nothing. And contrariwise it is a thing most pleasing and agreeable, to haue receyued a Benefit at his hands, whom although he should offer thee hard measure, thou couldest both loue and affect. But the greatest miserie for a good and shamefast man is to loue and to bee obliged to such a man as hee can neyther fancie nor fauour. Here must I needly and oftentimes aduertise thee, that I speake not of those truly wise and vertuous men, which take pleasure in that which they ought to doe, and are Lords of their owne mindes; that prefixe such Lawes vnto themselues as best liketh them; and hauing prefixed them, keepe them: but of these imperfect men, that are willing to follow vertue, whose affections and passions are forcibly impelled to obey reason. I ought then to make an especiall election and choise of him from whom I would receiue a pleasure; and it concerneth mee much more carefully to chuse and diligently seeke out such a one to whom I will impart my benefit, than such a one to whom I will trust my money: because that to the one I am not bound to restore any more than I haue receyued, and hauing repayed my debt, I am acquited and discharged out of his bookes: but to the other I must repay more than I haue receyued, and hauing recompenced the good he hath done mee, yet is not this my entire obligation: the friendship must continue and flourish betweene vs. For after I haue remunerated his kindnesse, I am tied to renew and refresh it againe: And aboue all things the law of friendship admonisheth mee, That I receyue not a kindnesse from any that is vnworthie. Such is the right, such is the sacred law of Benefits (from whence friendship taketh his originall.) It is not alwaies in our choyce (as *Hecaton* saith) to refuse a pleasure, and to say I will not accept it: Wee ought sometime to receiue a Benefit against our mindes. A Tyrant will giue thee somewhat, and so cruell and outragious is he, that if thou refusest his present, hee will account it no lesse than an iniurie and indignitie: To this wilt thou say, shall I not accept the same? make reckoning that this King is a Theefe, and a Pirate, (since in minde he is no better than a Theefe, or a Pirate) what shall I doe in this case? I see that he is vnworthie that I should owe him any thing. To this I answer then, when I say that thou art to make thy choise of him, to whom thou wilt be obliged, it is not intended in a case of so great violence and feare; because where these preuayle, election perisheth: but if thou bee at thine owne choyse, if thou hast libertie to elect what thou listest, then hast thou meanes to make vse of that which best pleaseth thee. But if the necessitie of occasion restraine thy election, know this, that thou doest not receiue, but obey: no man is obliged in receyuing a thing which hee cannot refuse; if thou desirest to know, if I would haue that thou giuest mee,

Reason is the guide and disposer of liberalitie.

bring to paſſe that I may refuſe what thou offereſt mee: But he gaue thee thy life: it skilleth not what the thing is which is giuen, but whether he that gaue, and he that receiued the gift, gaue and receiued the ſame willingly. Thou art not therefore my defender, becauſe thou haſt ſaued mee. Poyſon ſometimes hath beene a medicine, and yet for all that it is not numbred amongſt thoſe things that are holſome. Some things there are, which although they profit vs much, yet they oblige vs not.

Chap. XIX.

It is no benefit except it proceed from good will.

A Certaine man that came with a reſolution to kill a Tyrant, gaue him a ſtroke whereby hee opened him a dangerous impoſtume. For this the Tyrant gaue him no thankes, although by wounding him hee had healed him of a ſickneſſe, whereon his Phyſitions durſt not lay their hands. Thou ſeeſt there is no great moment in the thing it ſelfe, becauſe hee ſeemed not to haue giuen a Benefit, who with an euill intention procured his profit. Fortune it was that wrought the good, and from the man it was the iniurie came: we haue beheld a Lyon in the Amphitheater, who calling to memorie one of thoſe who had beene condemned to fight againſt wild beaſts (becauſe in times paſt he had been his Gouernour) protected him from the furie of the reſt. Shall wee then ſay that the ſuccours which the Lyon gaue was a benefit? No; Becauſe he neither had will to doe it, neither did it to the intent to doe good. Wee are to repute and ranck him with this beaſt, who attempted to cut off the Tyrants life. Both this gaue life, and the other alſo, but neither this nor that a benefit; becauſe it is no benefit, or good worke, which I am inforced to receyue. It is no Benefit that maketh mee indebted to him I would not. Firſt, muſt thou giue mee the freedome and power of my ſelfe, and next the benefit.

Chap. XX.

Whether wee ought to receiue a pleaſure from a wicked man, and what fault Brutus *committed in this caſe.*

MEn haue oft-times debated and diſputed of *Marcus Brutus*, whether he ought to accept a grace, and receyue a pardon at *Iulius Cæſars* hands, who in his iudgement deſerued not to breath or liue. What reaſon moued *Brutus* to conſpire and kill him, I will expreſſe and handle in an other place. For mine owne part, although I eſteemed *Brutus* in all other things a wiſe and vertuous man, yet me ſeemeth that in this he committed a great errour, and neglected the Doctrine of the Stoickes; who either feared the name of a King, (whereas the beſt and moſt happieſt eſtate of a Citie is to liue vnder a iuſt and vertuous Prince) or hoped that libertie would be had there where ſo great a reward was prefixed to thoſe that commanded, and thoſe that ſerued; or imagined that ſuch a Citie as this might repoſſeſſe her ancient honour and former luſtre, when vertue and the primitiue Lawes were either aboliſhed, or wholly extinguiſhed; Or that Iuſtice, Right, and Law ſhould be inuiolably obſerued in ſuch a place, where he had ſeene ſo many thouſand men at ſhocke and battell, not to the intent to diſcerne whether they were to obey & ſerue, but to reſolue them vnder whom they ought to ſerue and obey. O how great obliuion poſſeſſed this man! how much

much forgot he both the nature of affaires, and the ſtate of his Citie! to ſuppoſe that by the death of one man there ſhould not ſome other ſtart vp after him, that would vſurpe ouer the common-weale; whereas after ſo many Kings ſlaughtered, either by the ſword, or by lightning, they grew Vaſſalls and Subiects to a tyrannous **Tarquine*; yet ought he to haue accepted his life, and yet for all this notwithſtanding was he not obliged to repute and eſteeme him as his Father, for that iniuriouſly and againſt all right he had vſurped the authoritie, to giue him his life: For he ſaued him not, who ſlew him not, neithergaue he him life, but diſmiſſed him from dying.

* *This was the ſeuenth and laſt King of the Romans, called (and that iuſtly) by the name of* Tarquine *the proud. He died a baniſhed man out of his Countrey, and depriued of his Kingdome.*

CHAP. XXI.

THis rather, and more rightly, may be drawne into ſome queſtion, what a poore captiue ſhould doe, when as a man proſtituted in bodie, infamous and diſhoneſt in ſpeech, offereth to pay downe the price of his ranſome? Shall I ſuffer my ſelfe to be redeemed by ſo impure and baſe a wretch? and when I am diſcharged, what thankes ſhall I returne him? Shall I liue with a ſcurrilous fellow? Shall I not liue with him that hath redeemed mee? no truely, for herein thus ſtandeth my opinion. Euen from any ſuch a one would I receiue the money which I would employ for my redemption, yet ſo would I receiue it as money vpon intereſt, not as an act of courteſie. I will repay him his money, and if after that I ſhall find him in any danger, or preſſed by neceſſitie, I will relieue his wants, preuent his danger, yet contract no ſuch friendſhip with him, as ſhould bee correſpondent betwixt men of equall vertue. Neyther will I reckon him for ſuch a one as hath ſaued my life, but make account of him as an Vſurer, to whom I know I muſt repay backe againe that which I haue borrowed. Contrariwiſe: if there be ſome worthie and vertuous perſon, from whom I ſhould receiue a curteſie, yet ought I not to receiue the ſame, if I knew that thereby he ſhould incurre any detriment, becauſe that I am aſſured that he is addicted (though it bee to his owne hinderance, nay which is more, to the hazard of his life) to do me a pleaſure. I vnderſtand that he is reſolued (knowing me to bee accuſed of a capitall crime) to pleade my cauſe, and to vndertake my defence, though it bee to his diſgrace, and the diſpleaſure of his Prince. I ſhould ſhew my ſelfe an enemie vnto him (if indeuouring himſelfe to vnder-goe danger for my ſake.) I ſhould not performe that which is moſt eaſie for mee to accompliſh, that is, to entertayne the damage my ſelfe, without the detriment or danger. *Hecaton* ſetteth downe this fooliſh and friuolous example of *Archelaus*, who would not receyue a certayne ſumme of money which was offered him by a young man, who was ſubiect to the gouernement of his Father, becauſe hee would not offend the couetous and niggardly parent. What did *Archelaus* herein that was worthie prayſe? Is it becauſe he would not receiue that which was ſtollen from his Father? Is it becauſe hee would not entertaine the gift, leaſt hee ſhould bee tyed to recompence, and reſtore it againe? What modeſtie or vertue vſed hee in not accepting other mens money? But leauing this, if it bee neceſſarie to ſet downe an example of a generous mind, let vs make vſe of *Græcinus Iulius*, a man of rare vertue; whom *Caius Cæſar* put to death for this cauſe onely; in that hee was a better and honeſter man, than

A queſtion whether a priſoner ought to accept a benefit from an infamous man.

than any one ought to be, who ſhould liue with and vnder a Tyrant. This man, at ſuch time as he receyued a certain quantitie of money from the hands of his friends (who contributed and leuied the ſame to defray the charge and expence of theſe publique playes which hee prepared) refuſed a great ſumme of money which * *Fabius Perſicus* ſent vnto him. His friends which reſpected not him that ſent the mony, but onely the mony that was ſent, reproued him, becauſe he would not accept the ſame. *Will you* (ſaid he) *haue mee receiue a benefit, from ſuch a man, whom I would not pledge, although he offered mee the cup?* And when as [a] *Rebillus* (one who ſometimes had beene Conſull, yet of no leſſe infamie) had ſent him a greater ſumme of money, and inſtantly intreated him to command his ſeruants to receiue the ſame. *I pray you* (ſaid he) *pardon me, for* PERSICVS *offered me the ſame, and yet I accepted it not.* [b] Whether is this to receiue preſents, or to examine the giuers?

* *This* Fabius Perſicus *was Conſul vnder* Tiberius, *a man of great note in Rome.*

a *This* Rebillus *was Conſul vnder* Iulius Cæſar, *and* Auguſtus Cæſar, *who died in his Conſulſhip.*

b *Here vndoubtedly ſome reaſons are deficient, whence groweth this queſtion, as may be gathered by the little conformitie it hath with that which goeth before. See* Pincianus *vpon this place.*

CHAP. XXII.

We ought with gladſome countenance entertaine a curteſie from our benefactor.

WHen as we determine to receyue any thing, let vs receiue it with a gladſome countenance, expreſſing thereby the pleaſure which we take, and manifeſting to the Benefactor how thankefully we accept the ſame, to the end that he may gather the preſent fruit of his good worke. For it is a iuſt cauſe of gladneſſe to ſee a mans friend contented; and more iuſt to bee the cauſe of his contentment. Let vs make it knowne vnto him that his preſents were very pleaſing vnto vs, let vs expreſſe the affections of our will, not only in his owne hearing but in euery place whereſoeuer we be. For he that receiueth a good turne with gladſome acceptance, hath alreadie ſatisfied the firſt payment of the requitall.

CHAP. XXIII.

He that courtly deſireth to receiue a kindneſſe hath but an euill intention.

SOme there are that will not receiue but in ſecret, they admit not witneſſes of the good which is done vnto them. Beleeue thou that ſuch men haue very bad and baſe minds: Euen as hee that doeth a good turne, ought not to publiſh the ſame, or make it knowne, but in as much as he knoweth that he that receiueth the ſame will conceiue a contentment thereby: ſo he alſo that receiueth the ſame ought to make it publiquely knowne. Receiue not that which thou art aſhamed to owe. Some there are that ſecretly and in corners, and by whiſperings in the eare, giue thankes for the good they haue receyued: This is not ſhamefaſtneſſe, but an vndoubted ſigne of their will and intent to denie the benefit. He that giueth thankes in ſecret, and admitteth no witneſſes of the good he hath receyued, is vngratefull. Some there are that will borrow money, prouided that it be not in their owne names, neyther certified by obligation, nor ſigned by witneſſes. They that will not that any man ſhould haue notice of the good is done vnto them, reſemble ſuch men. They are affraid to make

make it knowne, to the intent they may bee thought rather to haue obtayned the ſame by their owne vertue, than by an other mans liberality and aſſiſtance. Such as theſe are, are leaſt officious vnto thoſe by whom they hold their liues and dignities, and whileſt they feare to be eſteemed for ſuch as are bounden and obliged to their Benefactors, they vndergoe a more grieuous imputation, and are iuſtly called vngrateſull.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Againſt thoſe that forget or diſgrace their Benefactors, and what courſe we are to follow to the contrarie.

SOme ſpeake moſt wickedly of thoſe that deſerue moſt worthily. It is more ſnuffe to offend ſome, then to haue purchaſed their fauour, they take an occaſion to owe nothing by hatred. But there is nothing that more carefully wee ought to intend, than this, that the memorie of thoſe who haue in any ſort ſuccoured vs, be not at any time extinguiſhed in vs, wee muſt from time to time renew and refreſh it. For he cannot giue thankes, that forgetteth what he hath receiued; and he that remembreth a good turne, alreadie ſatisfieth it: Neither ought we to receiue a curteſie nicely, neither ſubmiſly or humbly: for if in receiuing a man ſhew himſelfe cold and negligent, (whereas the benefit that commeth firſt, is the moſt pleaſing and acceptable) what will he doe afterward, when as his former will is waxen cold? An other receiueth diſdainfully, as if he ſaid, *I had no neede, but ſince thou ſo farre preſſeſt mee, I will doe what thou requireſt.* An other receiueth ſo careleſly, that he leaueth his benefactour in ſuſpence, whether he ſaw or felt what was giuen him. An other ſcarce moueth his lips, and proueth more vngrateſull than if hee had held his peace, That waight ſhould our words haue as the greatneſſe of our benefit requireth, and boldly ſhould we ſay; *Thou knoweſt not what thou haſt lent mee, but thou muſt know how farre greater it is then thou thinkeſt.* For there is no man that is not contented to heare his curteſies amplified, and made great by good reports: *Thou canſt not imagine how great the pleaſure is thou haſt done mee, yet hope I to make it knowne vnto thee, how much more I priſe thy good turne, than thou eſteemeſt.* He that burdeneth himſelfe, is inſtantly gratefull. So much eſteeme I the benefit which I haue receiued at your hands, that I ſhall neuer haue the meanes to make you ſatisfaction, at leaſtwiſe I will publiſh this in all companies, that I am vnable to requite you.

An admonition againſt the vice of Ingratitude.

CHAP. XXV.

This Furnius *was ſurnamed* Caius, *and was Conſul in Rome in the yere* 1226.

FVRNIVS neuer wonne *Auguſtus Cæſars* heart more, or enabled himſelfe better to obtaine others his fauours, than at that time, when (hauing obtained his fathers pardon, who had beene a partie in *Antonius* action) he ſaid vnto him *Onely this one iniurie* (Great CÆSAR) *haue I receyued at thy hands, thou haſt cauſed mee to liue and die vngratefull.* What mind may bee more thankefull than his, who in no ſort ſatisfied himſelfe with his owne thankefulneſſe, but vtterly deſpaireth to equall the good he hath receyued? By theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches let vs ſo endeuor, that our will be not reſtrained or hidden, but be apparant

apparant and manifeſt euerie way. And although ſilence obſcure our words, yet if we be ſo affected as we ought to be, our interiour thoughts will appeare in our outward countenance. He that will be thankfull, no ſooner receiueth the courteſie, but conceiueth and bethinketh him how he may make requitall. *Chryſippus* ſaith, That he that accepteth any friendſhip, reſembleth him that is addreſſed and readie to runne for a wager, and ſtandeth in the Liſt, expecting the ſignall, whereupon he might ſpeedily ſet forward. And truely, hee that receiueth, had need to be a ſwift footman and a great competitor, to the intent he may ouertake his Benefactor, who began the race before him.

Chap. XXVI.

Three principall cauſes of ingratitude, ſelfe opinion, couetouſneſſe, and enuie.

LEt vs now conſider and examine what moſt of all maketh men vngratefull. Truely it is either an ouer-weening of our ſelues, and an ingrafted error in men to admire and applaud both themſelues and their actions, or elſe it is couetouſneſſe or enuie. Let vs begin with the firſt. There is no man but is a partiall and fauourable judge of himſelfe: And thence it is, that he ſuppoſeth that hee hath deſerued all things, and if any thing be giuen him, he receiueth it as a debt or duetie; and moreouer, ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be diſgraced, and vnder-valued. He gaue me this (ſaith he) but how late? But with how much trauaile and entreatie: How many more things might I haue obtayned in the meane while, had I but fawned on ſuch a man? or attended that? Or had I intended mine owne profit? I lookt not for this, I am numbred amongſt the baſer ſort: Suppoſed he that my value and merit deſerued ſo little? More honeſtly had hee dealt with mee, had he preſented me nothing at all.

Chap. XXVII.

An example of couetous ingratitude in Lentulus, *a true patterne of an infinite number, as well ancient as moderne. Ten thouſand Engliſh crownes by our computation.*

The effects of ſelfe-loue, and pride.

CNEVS LENTVLVS the Augur, (a mightie example of riches) before that his Franklins made him poore, (for this man ſaw foure thouſand *Seſtertia* of his owne; and fitly ſaid I ſo, for hee did no more than ſee them) was as ſhallow in wit, as baſe in mind. For although he were as couetous as Couetouſnes it ſelfe, yet ſooner vented he his money than his words; ſo weake and wanting was he in vttering what he ſhould. This man being obliged to *Auguſtus* for all his aduancement and fortunes (to whoſe ſeruice he had brought nothing but diſtreſſed beggerie, vnder the title of Nobilitie) hauing obtained the gouernment in the Citie (both for the fauour he had with the Emperour, and the money held in his owne poſſeſſion) was wont oftentimes to complaine himſelfe vnto *Cæſar*, That he had retyred him from his ſtudies, and that hee had not giuen him ſo much as he himſelfe had loſt by giuing vp his ſtudie of eloquence. And yet amongſt other graces, *Auguſtus* had done this for him, that he had deliuered him from other mens ſcornes, and his owne fruitleſſe labour. * But Couetouſneſſe conſenteth not that a man ſhould be thankfull: For vnbridled hope is neuer ſatisfied with that which is giuen. The more wee haue, the more wee

* *This agreeth with S.* Gregories *ſaying, and that of the Poet,* Creſcit amor nummi quantum ipſa pecunia creſcit.

couet;

couet; and couetousnesse engaged amidst a heape and multitude of riches, is more incensed and forward. Euen as the force of a flame is a thousand times more fiercer, the more violent and greater the fire is from whence it blazeth: So ambition suffereth not a man to rest vpon the measure of that honor which heretofore he would haue beene ashamed to haue wished for. No man giueth thankes for being aduanced to a Tribuneship, but complaineth, that he is not preferred to the dignitie of a Prætor: Neither doth this suffice him, but that he must needs be Consul: Neither will the Consulate content him, except he possesse it more than once. Ambition still presseth forward, and vnderstandeth not her owne felicitie, because she respecteth not whence shee came, but whither she is addressed. Of all these vices which hinder our gratuitie, the most importunate and vehement is Enuie, which tormenteth and vexeth vs with comparisons of this nature: Hee bestowed thus much on mee, but more vpon him, and more speedily also. Finally, the enuious man negotiateth no mans businesse, but fauoureth himselfe against all men.

The endlesse desire of man is neuer glutted nor satisfied.

Here beginneth the xxxviij. Chapter in Lipsius.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Remedies against the errors of those that receiue vnthankfully.

HOw much more wisely and vertuously were it done, to engreaten and dignifie a good turne receiued, and to know, that no man is euer so well esteemed by another, as hee esteemeth and prizeth himselfe. I should haue receiued farre more; but it was not for his ease to giue mee more: his liberalitie was to extend to more than my selfe. This is but a beginning: Let vs take it in good part, and vrge on his to further fauours, by shewing our selues thankefull for the good we haue receiued: Hee hath done but a little, but he will doe it often: Hee hath preferred that man before me, and me also hath he preferred before many others. This man cannot equall me either in vertue or honestie, yet in his carriage and actions he hath something more pleasing than is in me. By complayning my selfe I shall neuer be held worthie of a greater good, but shall rather shew, that I am vnworthie of that which I haue alreadie receiued. There was more courtesie done to those lewd fellowes: What is this to the purpose? How seldome is Fortune bountifull with iudgement? We daily complaine, that men that are least vertuous are most fortunate. Oft times the hayle and tempest that ouer-passed the lands of a wicked and vngodly man, hath beate downe the corne of the best and vprightest men. Each men (as in all other things, so in friendship) hath his chance and fortune. There is no benefit so fully good, that malignitie and enuie cannot impugne and detract; there is no curtesie so scanted and barren, but a good interpreter may enlarge and amplifie. Thou shalt neuer want a subiect or cause to complaine of, if thou behold benefits on the weaker and worser side.

CHAP.

Chap. XXIX.

These will be the better vnderstood if we note that which Galen saith, in the beginning of his Treatise de vsu partium, where he saith, That those creatures whom nature endowed with forces to defend themselues from their Enemies, are not endowed with swiftnesse to flie, as it appeareth in the Elephant. And contrariwise to those shee hath denied forces to defend themselues, them hath she prouided of swiftnesse to flie from their contrarie, as for example the Hart and Hare.

SEe, I pray you, how some men (yea, euen those who make a profession of wisedome, haue vniustly censured, and vnindifferently esteemed the goods, and those graces which they haue bestowed vpon vs. They complaine because wee equall not Elephants in bulke of bodie, Harts in swiftnesse, Birds in lightnesse, Bulls in force: That beasts haue substantialler hides than we, that fallow Deere haue a fayrer haire, the Beares a thicker skinne, the Beuer a softer: That Dogges ouercome vs in smelling, that Eagles in seeing, that Crowes in out-liuing, and many other beasts in facilitie of swimming. And whereas nature permitteth not, that some properties should be vnited in one and the same creature (as that swiftnesse of bodie should be matched with mightinesse in strength) they suppose themselues iniured, because man was not composed of these diuers and diffident goods; and blame the Gods for neglecting vs, because they haue not giuen vs perpetuall health, inuincible vertue and exemption from vices, and certaine fore-knowledge of things to come: yea and so farre are they plunged in impudencie, that they scarcely temper themselues from hating nature for making vs inferiour to the Gods, and not equall with them in their Diuinitie. How much more better were it for vs to returne and reflect vpon the contemplation of so many and so mightie benefits, which wee haue receiued at their hands, and to yeeld them thankes, for that it hath pleased them to allot vs a second place in this most beautifull house, and to make vs Lords of all earthly things? Is there any comparison betwixt vs and those beasts, whereof wee haue the soueraignty? All whatsoeuer nature denyeth vs, she cannot conueniently bestow vpon vs. And therefore whosoeuer thou art that doest so vnder-value mans fortune and chance, bethinke thee how great blessings our soueraigne parent hath giuen vs. How many beasts more forcible than our selues haue wee yoked, and brought vnder our subiection? How farre more swifter creatures haue wee ouer-taken, and how no mortall thing is secured and exempted from our strokes and power. So many vertues haue wee receiued, so many arts, and in conclusion, such a minde and spirit, that in that verie * instant wherein it intendeth a thing, in a moment it attayneth the same, and more swifter than the starres fore-seeth long before the course and motion they are to obserue and hold in time to come. Finally, such a plenty of fruit, such store of wealth, and such abundance of things heaped one vpon another. Although thou take a view of all things, and because thou findest no one thing intire which thou hadest rather be, picke out such seuerall things as thou wouldest wish to be giuen thee out of them all. So when thou hast well waighed the louing kindnesse of nature, thou shalt bee forced to confesse, that thou wert her darling: And so is it indeed. The immortall Gods haue and doe loue vs intirely, and (which is the greatest honour that could be giuen) they haue placed vs next vnto themselues. Great things haue we receiued, neither were we capable of greater.

* *It is not intended that the same thing which the soule desireth should presently come to hand, but that by the meanes, and semblance, which is sodainely formed in the soule, it may enioy and vse the same in some manner.*

CHAP. XXX.

He answereth to a secret obiection.

THese things (my *Liberalis*) haue I thought necessary to be spoken, both because it concerned me to say somewhat of great benefits, when we were discoursing on small; and also because the boldnesse of this horrible vice floweth from thence into all other things. For vnto whom will he be thankfull for good turnes; or what benefit will he esteeme great & worthie the requiting, who despiseth the highest benefits? To whom will he confesse himselfe indebted for his health and life, that denieth that he hath receiued his being from the Gods, to whom he prayeth daily for the same? Whosoeuer therefore giueth instructions of thankfulnesse vnto men, negotiateth the affaires of men and Gods; to whom, being vnpurueyed of nothing, & freed from the desire of affecting or coueting any thing, yet to them may men notwithstanding be both acknowledging and thankfull. There is no cause why any man should lay the blame of his thankelesse mind vpon his owne weakenesse or pouertie, and say, What shall I doe? How or when may I find any possibilitie to remunerate and acknowledge the benefits of my superiors, the Lords of all things? To requite is an easie matter: for if thou beest a niggard, thou mayest requite without expence; and if thou beest slouthfull, without labour. In that very moment wherein thou art obliged, if thou lifteſt, thou mayest make euen with any man whatsoeuer, because that he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same.

CHAP. XXXI.

Hee disputeth whether an interior thanks-giuing is sufficient to satisfie a benefit receiued.

IN my opinion, that doctrine (which the Stoickes place amongst their extraordinarie Paradoxes) is not so wonderfull and incredible, That he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same. For in as much as we measure all things by the mind, looke how much a man is minded to doe, so much hath he done. And for as much as pietie, faithfulnesse, and vprightnesse, and finally all vertue, is perfect in it selfe, although a man could not remunerate an act, yet may hee bee thankfull, euen with his will. As oft as any one compasseth his purpose, so often he reapeth the fruit of his labour. What purposeth he that bestoweth a benefit? To profit him to whom hee giueth the same, and to content and delight himselfe: If hee hath finished that which he intended, and the good turne he intended me, be come to my hands, and both of vs are mutually affected with ioy and contentment, he hath obtained that which he sought: For his intent was not to haue any thing in recompence, for then had it beene no benefit, but a bargaine. Well hath he sayled, that hath attained the Hauen, whereunto he shaped his course. The dart that hitteth the marke it was aymed at, hath performed the office of a steadie hand: Hee that doth a good turne, meaneth to haue it accepted thanfully; if it be well taken, hee hath his desire. But he hoped for some profit thereby: This was no benefit, whose propertie is to thinke no wayes of remuneration. That which I receiued, if I accepted and entertained the same with the like good affection as it was giuen me, I haue requited it: otherwise the thing that of it selfe is best, were in worst case. To the end I should be thankefull, I am sent to Fortune: if I cannot satisfie for want of her succour, my good minde shall satisfie a good minde. What then? Shall I not endeuor my selfe to the vttermost to make

recompence ? Shall I not ſeeke opportunitie of time and matter, and labour to fill the boſome of him, at whoſe hands I haue receiued any thing ? Yes. But yet the world went ill with good doing, if a man might not be thankefull, euen with empty hands.

Chap. XXXII.

That is Chriſippus.

An obiection and ſimilitude againſt the precedent Paradox of the Stoicks.

ME that hath receiued a good turne (ſaith hee) although hee hath taken it with neuer ſo thankefull a mind, yet hath hee not conſumated his duetie: for, there is a part which remayneth, which is of reſtitution. As at a Tenniſ-play it is ſomewhat to receiue the Ball cunningly and diligently; but he is not termed a good gameſter, except hee bee ſuch a one as returneth and ſtriketh backe the ſame as fitly and readily, as it was ſerued to him. This example is farre different: And why ? becauſe the praiſe hereof is in the motion of the body, not in the mind. And therefore it is requiſite, that the whole ſhould be layd forth at large, where the eye muſt be iudge. Yet will I not for all that denie him to be a good gameſter that receiueth the Ball as he ought to doe, though hee ſtrike it not againe, ſo the fault be not in himſelfe. But although (ſaith he) there bee nothing deficient in the art of him that playeth, becauſe he hath performed a part, and can likewiſe performe that part which he hath not done, yet is the game it ſelfe imperfect, which is conſumated in taking and returning the Ball backe againe by turnes. * I will no longer refell this; let vs ſuppoſe it to be ſo; let ſomewhat be deficient in the game, and not in the gameſter: So in this, whereof wee diſpute, there wanteth ſomewhat in reſpect of the thing that was giuen, to which ſome condigne ſatisfaction is due, although in reſpect of the mind there bee nothing deficient. a He that hath gotten a mind anſwerable to his owne, hath performed as much as in him lyeth, that which he would.

* *Here he reſoluеth this queſtion by* Chriſippus *one example.*

a *The bountifull minde that is ſeconded by as thankefull and gratefull minde, hath for his owne part all that which is to be deſired by him.*

Chap XXXIII.

HE hath giuen me a benefit, and I haue accepted it no otherwiſe than he himſelfe would haue it receiued: Now hath he the thing that he ſought, and the only thing that he ſought, I am gratefull. After this there remaineth the vſe of mee, and ſome profit from a gratefull man. This is not the remnant of an imperfect dutie, but an in-come and acceſſion to a perfect one. *Phidias* maketh an Image: the fruit of his arte and knowledge is one thing, the commoditie of his workemanſhip and labour another: The propertie of his arte is to haue made the Statue, but of the workemanſhip to haue made it with profit. *Phidias* hath perfited his worke, although hee hath not ſold it: A three-fold profit reapeth hee by his worke; the one in his conſcience and conceit, and this he receiueth as ſoone as his worke is finiſhed; the other of his fame; the third of his profit, which ſhall accrue vnto him either by fauour, or by ſale, or by ſome other meanes. So the firſt fruit of a benefit is the conſcience and contentment a man conceiueth, that he hath well finiſhed the ſame; the ſecond is of reputation; the third, of thoſe things, which may be made reciprocall one vnto another. When as therefore a benefit

benefit is thankefully accepted, he that beſtowed it, hath alreadie receiued recompence, but not ſatisfaction, as yet: I therefore owe that which is without the benefit, and in receiuing it kindly and thankfully, I haue ſatisfied the ſame.

Grateſull acceptance is a kind of ſatisfaction.

CHAP. XXXIV.

WHat then? (ſaith he) hath he requited a fauour, that hath done nothing? He hath done much, he hath repaied good will with as great good will, and (which is a certaine ſigne of friendſhip) he hath done it with an equall affection. Moreouer, a debt is ſatisfied one way, and a benefit another. Thou art not to expect, that I will ſhew thee my payment. This affaire is managed from will to will. That which I ſay vnto thee ſhall not ſeeme harſh and diſtaſtfull to thee, although at firſt it fight againſt thine opinion, if thou conforme thy ſelfe vnto me, and imagine that there are more things than words. There are a great number of things without name, which we note not by their proper titles, but ſuch as are both forraine and borrowed: We call the foot whereon we walke, a foot; the foot of a Bed, the foot of a Hanging, and the foot of a Verſe: Wee call by the name of Dog, both a Hound, a Fiſh, and a Star: For we haue not words enow to giue a proper name vnto euerie thing: and therefore when wee haue need, we borrow. Fortitude is a vertue that contemneth iuſt dangers: or it is a Science to repell perils, or to know how to ſuſtaine them, or how to prouoke them: yet ſay we, that a Fencer is a ſtout man, and a wicked ſlaue, whom raſhneſſe hath animated and enforced to contempt of death. Parſimonie is a Science to auoid extraordinarie expence, or an art to vſe a mans eſtate and ſubſtance moderately; and yet we call him a very ſparing man, which is of a niggardly and pinching mind, whereas notwithſtanding there is infinite oddes betweene moderation and niggardize. Theſe are of diuers natures, and yet for want of words wee are inforced to call both the one and the other a Sparer; and him likewiſe ſtrong who deſpiſeth caſualties with reaſon, as that other alſo, who runnes headlong vpon dangers without iudgement. So a benefit, as we haue ſaid, is a bounteous action, and that very thing which is giuen by that action, as money, a houſe, a garment; the name of them both is all one, but the vertue and power of them farre different.

Confirmation of the precedent Paradox.

A benefit not only ſignifieth a bounteous action, but the thing whatſoeuer that is bountifully beſtowed.

CHAP. XXXV.

GIue eare therefore, and thou ſhalt preſently perceiue, that I ſay nothing that is contrarie to thy opinion. That benefit, or good turne which the action perfecteth, is requited, if wee take it thankfully. But for that other which is contained in the thing, we haue not yet requited it, but we intend to requite it: we haue ſatisfied good will with good will, and we owe ſtill a thing for a thing. Therefore, although we ſay, that he hath giuen thankes that hath willingly receiued a benefit, yet will we him that hath receiued, to reſtore ſome ſuch like thing as he hath receiued. Some of the things we ſpeake doe differ from common cuſtome, and afterwards another way they grow in vſe and cuſtome againe. We denie, that a wiſe man receiueth any wrong, and yet the man that ſtriketh him

A concluſion of the Paradox ſet downe by him, in the 31. Chapter before.

* *A Stoicall opinion.*

with his fiſt, ſhall be condemned of iniurie and wrong doing. We denie, that a foole hath any goods of his owne, and yet if a man ſteale any thing from a foole, we will condemne him of felonie. * We ſay that all fooles be mad, and yet wee cure them not all by *Eleborus*. Euen vnto thoſe very men whom wee tearme mad, commit both Suffrages and Iuriſdiction. So likewiſe ſay wee that he hath requited a good turne that hath receiued it with a good mind; but yet neuertheleſſe wee leaue him ſtill in debt, to make recompence euen when he hath requited. Our ſo ſaying is an exhortation, and not a remitting of the good turne. Let vs not feare, neither (being depreſſed with an intollerable burthen) let vs faint in mind. Goods are giuen me; my good name is defended, my miſerie is taken from me, I enioy life and libertie, deerer than life: And how ſhall I requite theſe things? When will the day come that I may ſhew him my good will againe? This is the day wherin he hath ſhewed his. Take vp the good turne, embrace it and be glad, make account that thou oweſt not that which thou haſt receiued, but that which thou mayeſt requite. Thou ſhalt not aduenture on ſo great a thing, as that miſchance may make thee vnthankfull. I will propoſe no difficultie vnto thee: be of good courage, ſhrinke not for feare of paines and long ſeruitude: I delay thee not, it may be done with things that thou haſt alreadie. Thou ſhalt neuer be thankefull except thou be inſtantly: What wilt thou therefore doe? Muſt thou take armes? Perchance thou muſt: Muſt thou ſayle ouer ſeas? Likely yes: and euen then alſo when the ſtormes threaten thee with ſhipwracke. But wilt thou reſtore a benefit? Take it thankefully, and thou haſt requited it; not ſo as thou ſhouldſt thinke that thou haſt payed the ſame, but ſo as thou mayeſt owe it with the more hearts-eaſe.

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The end of the ſecond Booke.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

The Third Booke.

The Argument of Ivstvs Lipsivs.

HE discourseth of vngratefull men, what they be, and whether they are to bee punished, or called before the Iudge. Hee denieth it by a curious disputation, and addeth, that their punishment is in hatred, infamie, and in the minde it selfe. Afterwards vpon occasion hee debateth whether a Lord should bee gratefull to his slaue? Or receiue a Benefit at his hands? Hee affirmeth; and this very plentifully, because in those daies there was often vse of slaues. Hereunto hee annexeth; whether the Sonne giueth his Father a Benefit? Hee disputeth on both sides, but affirmeth the affirmatiue.

Chap. I.

NOt to render thankes for Benefits receyued (my *Æbutius Liberalis*) is both lothsome in it selfe, and hatefull in all mens opinion. And therefore such as are themselues vngratefull, complaine of vngratefull men: and so are we fashioned to the contrarie of that wee ought to doe, that there are some who become our Capitall enemies, not only after Benefits receiued, but for the verie fauours they receiue. I cannot denie but that this hapneth vnto some by reason of the corruption of their nature: to many, because that the interposition of time extinguisheth the remembrance. For those things that were fresh in memorie with them, while they were newly done, doe in processe of time weare out of remembrance. Concerning which sort of men, I know that thou and I haue otherwhiles disputed, whereas thou maintainedst that it were better to call them forgetfull than vngratefull. Shall he therefore be excused of ingratitude

That which is complained of by all men, is exercised by most men.

He termeth all sinne equall according to the doctrine of the Stoikes, but all the Fathers and Christian religion teacheth otherwise.

becauſe he hath forgotten, when as no man can forget, except he be vngrateful? There are many ſorts of vngrateful men, as there are of Theeues and Murtherers, whoſe fault is one, but in the parts there is great varietie. Ingrateful is he who denyeth that hee hath receiued a good turne, which hath been done him: Ingrateful is he that diſſembleth: Ingratefull is he that maketh not reſtitution: and the moſt vngratefull of all is he, that forgetteth a fauour hath been ſhewen him. For they, although they requite not, yet are they indebted, and ſome certaine impreſſion of the good turne (hoarded vp in their corrupt conſciences) is extant with them. And vpon ſome cauſe they may at length diſpoſe themſelues to gratuitie, if eyther ſhame ſhall put them in mind, or ſome ſodaine deſire to proceede honourably: ſuch as for a time is wont to awaken it ſelfe in men of the worſt diſpoſition, if any eaſie occaſion ſhould inuite them. But neuer can he become thankefull, who hath forgotten the whole benefit. And whether thinkeſt thou him worſer, in whom the thanks of a good turne is loſt, or him in whom the verie remembrance periſheth? Faultie are thoſe eyes that feare the light, but blind are they that ſee not at all. Not to reuerence and loue ones Parents is impietie, and not to acknowledge them is madneſſe. Who is more vngratefull than hee, who hauing receiued ſuch a curteſie as hee ought to treaſure vp in the formoſt part of his memorie, and continually meditate thereon, hath laid it ſo farre a-ſide, and neglected it, that he groweth wholly ignorant thereof? It appeareth, that he neuer bethought him of reſtitution, that ſuffered oblivion ſo farre to vſurpe vpon him.

CHAP. II.

The moſt vngratefull man of all is hee that forgetteth a benefit.

IN a word, to the requiting of a good turne there needeth vertue, time, abilitie, and fauourable fortune. Hee that remembreth a friend, is thankefull without expence: Hee that performeth not this (which to atchieue neither requireth labour, nor charge, nor felicitie) hath no couert, or patronage to conceale himſelfe in. For neuer meant he to be thankefull, who caſt a benefit ſo farre from him, that it neither ſuruiued in his ſight, nor his remembrance. Euen as thoſe things which are in vſe, and are managed and handled daily, are neuer in danger of ſoile, or ruſting; and thoſe which are out of ſight, and vſe (ſo as they haue lien by, as vnneceſſarie) doe gather ſoile by continuance of time: So that which frequent cogitation exerciſeth and reneweth, is neuer wrought out of memorie, which looſeth and forgetteth nothing, but that, which ſhe reſpecteth and looketh not backe vnto verie often.

An apt compariſon.

CHAP. III.

The deſire of that we haue not, and the contempt of that which we poſſeſſe maketh vs vngratefull.

BEſides this cauſe there are other alſo, which ſometimes conceale the greateſt merits from vs. The firſt and chiefeſt cauſe of all others, is this; that being alwaies continually buſied with new deſires, we haue an eie and regard, not to that we haue, but what we require, intentiue, not to that which is in our preſent poſſeſſion, but to that we affect and fancie moſt. For whatſoeuer is at our command,

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is baſe & contemptible. Whence it followeth, that as ſoone as the deſire of new things hath made that light which we haue receiued, the Author alſo thereof is ſlenderly reſpected. So long as thoſe things which a great Lord hath giuen vs, haue beene pleaſing and well-liking vnto vs, wee haue loued and courted him, and confeſſed openly, that our ſtate was founded and raiſed by him; but if any new ambition aſſaults vs; if our minde fall into admiration of other things, and earneſtly affect the ſame, (as the manner of mortall men is, after great things to deſire greater) we ſtraight-waies forget that which in times paſt we called a benefit: wee neither reſpect or looke into thoſe things, which haue aduanced vs before others, but thoſe things only wherein other men haue had the fortune to out-ſtrip vs. But it is impoſſible for any man, both to repine, and enuie, and to be thankefull: for to enuie, is the propertie of a complaining and diſcontented man, but to giue thankes is the property of him that is well pleaſed. The ſecond cauſe of ingratitude is, becauſe none of vs make any account, but of that preſent time which ſpeedily paſſeth and fleeteth before our eyes; and few or none are they that caſt backe their minds to thinke on things paſt. By meanes hereof it falls out, that Schoole-maſters, and their good deeds, are buried in obliuion, becauſe wee wholly loſe the remembrance of our infancie. Hereby it commeth to paſſe, that we forget all thoſe things, which are beſtowed vpon vs in our youth, becauſe wee neuer thinke vpon the ſame. No man accounteth that which hee hath beene, as it were a thing paſt, but as a thing loſt. Thus the deſire and apprehenſion of things to come, defaceth the memorie of things paſt.

CHAP. IIII.

The remembrance of kindneſſe receiued, ought to be numbred amongſt the greateſt pleaſures, and a confirmation hereof drawne from the Epicures opinion

IN this place muſt I giue teſtimonie of the Epicures vpright iudgement, who continually complaineth, for that we are ingratefull in regard of things paſt, for that we recall not to memory, what ſoeuer benefits we haue receiued, neither number them amongſt pleaſures, when as there is none more certaine contentment, than that which cannot any more be taken from vs. The goods and pleaſures that are preſent, are not as yet wholly aſſured; ſome caſualty may intercept and cut them off. Thoſe things that are to come, are vncertaine and doubtfull: That which is paſt is laid aſide amongſt thoſe things that are in ſafetie. How then can any man acknowledge the good that is done him, who forgetteth the whole courſe of his life? The apprehenſion and conſideration of things preſent, and the memory of things paſt, maketh a man gratefull; He that attributeth moſt to Hope, yeldeth leaſt to Memorie.

CHAP. V.

Infinite curteſies are forgotten by vs, becauſe we make not vſefull accompt of ſuch things as are paſt.

EVen as (my *Liberalis*) there are certaine things which being once apprehended, continue ſtill in memory; and ſome things that to know them, it is not ſufficient to haue learned them, (for the ſcience of them is forgotten, except it bee continued) I meane Geometrie, and the courſe of Cœleſtiell things, and of ſuch which by their ſubtiltie doe eaſily ſlip out of our memories: So the greatneſſe of

of ſome benefits ſuffer them not to bee forgotten. Some leſſer and more in number, and diuers in time, are eaſily buried in obliuion; Becauſe, as I ſaid, we handle them not often, neither willingly acknowledge what wee owe vnto euery man. Hearken what ſpeeches ſuitors and ſuppliants vſe: There is not any of them, but ſaith, that he will for euer keepe in mind the fauour done him; euery man proteſteth and voweth himſelfe to bee at commandement, and if any more ſubmiſſiue ſpeech, whereby he may engage himſelfe, may bee found out, he ſpareth it not. But within a little while after, thoſe Gallants eſteeme their former words as too baſe and illiberall: and finally, they grow to that point (which as I ſuppoſe euery one the lewdeſt, and moſt vngratefulleſt attaineth vnto) that is, to forget the ſame. For euen as vngratefull is hee that forgetteth, as he is gratefull that remembreth him of a benefit.

Chap. VI.

He concludeth the negatiue part.
He approueth that which he concluded.

YEt the queſtion is, whether this ſo hatefull vice ſhould bee left vnpuniſhed? and whether this Law which is exerciſed in declamatorie Schooles, ſhould bee ratified alſo in the Citie, whereby a man may call an ingratefull man in queſtion? Surely, it ſeemeth a matter worthy the cenſure of iuſtice, in all mens iudgements. Why not? ſince certaine Cities alſo, haue reproched other Cities for the loanes and fauours they haue done them, and redemand from poſteritie that which they haue lent to their predeceſſors. Our Anceſtors, thoſe mightie and vertuous men, required ſatisfaction only from their enemies; as for their benefits, they gaue them with a great minde, and loſt them with as great. There is not any Nation in the world, except the *Perſians*, that haue thought fit to impleade an ingratefull man, or call him in queſtion. And this is a great reaſon, why none ſhould be granted, becauſe by mutuall conſent we puniſh miſdeeds; and for Murther, Witchcraft, Paricide, and breach of Religion, haue here and there enacted diuers puniſhments, and in all places ſome: but this moſt frequent crime is no where puniſhed, and euery where improued. Neither abſolue we the ſame: but whereas the iudgement of a thing vncertaine is difficult, wee haue only condemned it with hatred, and left it amongſt thoſe things, which we referre to the iuſtice and iudgement of the Gods.

Chap. VII.

Reaſons to approue that ingratitude is not puniſhable by Law.

1. A man loſeth his benefit in redemanding it.

BVt many reaſons offer themſelues vnto me, whereby it appeareth, that this error is not puniſhable by Law. Firſt of all, the better part of the benefit ſhould periſh, if a man ſhould haue an action allowed him, as he hath for lending money, or for bargaines of hyring, and letting out. For this is the greateſt grace of a benefit, that we haue giuen it, although we ſhould loſe it, that wee haue referred all to the curteſie of the receiuers: If I arreſt him, and call him before the Iudge, it beginneth to be a debt, and not a benefit. Againe, whereas it is a moſt commendable thing to requite, it ceaſeth to be honeſt, if it be of neceſſitie. For no man

man will commend a thankefull perſon, more than him that hath reſtored a thing which was committed him to keepe, or diſcharged his debt without being ſued. Thus corrupt and deface we two things (then which in humane life there is nothing more worthie) that is to ſay, a gratefull mind, and a benefit. For what honour, I pray you, ſhall he haue in this, if hee giueth not a benefit, but lendeth it? or in that, if he requite, not becauſe he will, but becauſe he muſt of neceſſitie? It is no glorious thing to be gratefull, except it be a matter vnpuniſhable to be vngratefull: moreouer, this inconuenience would enſue, that all Courts would ſcarcely ſerue, and ſuffice this one Law only: who is hee that might not ſue? who is he that might not be ſued? all men priſe and praiſe their owne doings, all men enlarge thoſe things they haue employed vpon others, be they neuer ſo littrle. Beſides, whatſoeuer things fall into knowledge of the Iudges, may be comprehended by them without giuing them infinite licence and libertie. And therefore the condition of a good cauſe ſeemeth to bee better if it be referred to a Iudge, than if it be remitted to compromiſe, becauſe the Iudge is bound vnto an order, and hath his certaine bounds limited him, which he may not exceede; But the Vmpieres conſcience being free and tyed to no termes, may both adde, and take away, and order the ſentence, not as Law and Iuſtice counſaileth, but according as humanitie and pittie ſhall moue. An action of ingratitude would not obliege the Iudge, but ſet him at liberty to rule things as he liſted. For it is not certaine what a benefit is; againe, how great ſoeuer it be, it were much to the matter how fauourably the Iudge would conſtrue it. No Law defineth what an vnthankefull perſon is. Oft-times hee that hath reſtored as much as hee hath receiued, is vnthankefull, and hee that hath not requited, is thankefull. There bee ſome matters alſo which ſome vnskilfull Iudge may diſmiſſe the Court of, as in caſes where the parties confeſſe a deede, or no deede, where the opening of the euidence diſpatcheth all doubts. But when as Reaſon giueth iudgement betweene two perſons which debate, there ought our vnderſtanding to vſe coniecture and diuination: and when as a thing which onely wiſedome ought to determine, falleth in controuerſie, a man cannot (in that caſe) take a Iudge of the number of thoſe whom the Prætor chooſeth, and ſuch a one as is inrolled in the Regiſter of the Iudges; becauſe hee hath the rents and riches which a Roman Knight ought to haue.

2. *It ſhould bee impoſſible to eſcape controuerſies, if each man ſhould enter actions againſt ingratitude.*

The Romane Prætor was wont to commit ſome affaires of importance to be determined to a certayne number of choſen men, ſelected out of the order of Knights.

CHAP. VIII.

THis thing therefore ſeemed not to bee very vnmeete to bee made a matter in Law, but that no man could be found to be a competent Iudge in the caſe; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou conſider throughly what puzzell and difficultie he ſhould finde, who ſhould enter into the ouer-ruling of ſuch caſes. Some one hath giuen a great ſumme of money; but ſuch a one as is rich; but ſuch a one as ſhall not feele the want thereof. An other hath giuen, but with the hazard of forgoing his whole inheritance. The ſummes are alike, but the benefit is not the ſame: Yea, let vs adde yet further; This man laid downe money for him that was adiudged a ſlaue vnto his creditor; but where hee had it at home lying by him. That other gaue as much; but hee tooke it vp vpon intereſt; or borrowed

3. *There is ſo great difficultie in this matter, that in this world a man could not find a ſufficient iudge to determine the controuerſie.*

borrowed it with much intreatie; or deepely indangered himselfe to him that lent it. Thinkest thou that there was no difference betwixt him that bestowed his benefit at his ease, and that other that borrowed to giue the same? Some things are made great in time, and not the greatest. It is a benefit to giue a possession whose fertilitie may ease the dearth of corne; one loase of bread in time of scarcitie is a benefit. It is a benefit to giue whole Regions, through which many Riuers may runne able to beare Ships. It is a benefit to those that are dried vp with thirst, and scarce able to draw them breath through their dried iawes to shew them a Fountaine: who shall distinguish these one from an other? who shal waigh them throughly? Hard is the determination of that case, which requireth the force of a thing, and not the thing it selfe. Although they be the same, yet being differently giuen, they waigh not alike. This man did me a good turne, but he did it vnwillingly; but he complayned that he gaue it, but he beheld me more proudly than he was accustomed, but he gaue it so late, that it had beene better for me if he had quickly denied me. How can a Iudge make an estimate of these things? whereas the speech, the doubt, and the countenance of a man destroy the grace of his merit?

CHAP. IX.

* *4. It is a hard thing to know truely and discerne iustly what benefits are.*

WHat shall we say of some things, which becausе they are much desired, are held for benefits? and of others, which are not esteemed by the common sort, for such, although they are greater then they seeme. Thou callest it a benefit to haue giuen a man the freedome of a most rich and wealthy Citie, to haue made a man a Knight, and to haue placed him on the * fourteenth scaffold, destinated for the Romane Knights, to behold the playes and publique spectacles? and to haue defended him vpon an Indictment of life and death: but what thinke you of it to haue giuen a man good counsaile to haue hindred him from executing a wicked enterprise? to haue wrung the sword out of his hand, wherewith he would haue slain himselfe? to haue comforted him in his sorrow by wholsome counsailes? and to haue brought him backe to the fellowship of life, from his wilfull secking and longing to accompanie his deceased friends in death: what thinke you it to be, to sit by a sicke mans bed, and since his euill came by fits and at certaine houres, to haue waighted a fit time to giue him meate? and to haue bathed his veines with Wine when he fainted? to haue brought him a Phisitian euen then when he expected to die? who is he that can iustly value these things? what Iudge shall he be that shall command these benefits to be recompenced with the like? Some man perchance hath giuen thee a house, but I haue foretold thee, that thine owne is falling downe on thy head. Hee hath giuen thee a patrimonie: but I a planke to floate vpon, and saue thy life in shipwrack. He hath fought, and hath beene wounded for thy cause: but I haue giuen thee thy life by my silence on the racke. Whereas a benefit is giuen one way, and recompenced an other: it is a hard matter to make them equall.

* *These degrees or places of Knight-hood amongst the Romaines were not obtayned by antiquitie, but diligence and fauor: so may you gather from our Author here, and from* Iustus Lipsius, *lib. de Amphitheatro cap. 14.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

EVrthermore, there is no day limited for recompencing a good turne, as there is for money lent: he therefore, that hath not as yet requited, may requite. For tell me in what time may a man discouer an other to be vngratefull? The greateſt benefits haue no probation at all, they often times lye hidden in the conſciences of two. Inferre we thus, that wee may not doe a good turne without teſtimonie? What puniſhment then ſhall we deſtinate for the vnthankefull? ſhall wee prefixe one for all, where the benefits are different? or vnequall puniſhments, either greater or leſſer, according to each mans benefit? Goe to then, let the penaltie be pecuniarie: why? Some benefits concerne life and are more greater, than life; what penaltie will you pronounce againſt them? leſſe than the benefit? that were not indifferent: equall, and ſo capitall? what more inhumane, than that the iſſue of benefits ſhould be bloudy?

A man cannot ſay when an vngratefull man ought to be condemned, nor what puniſhment he ought to ſuffer.

CHAP. XI.

CErtaine priuiledges (ſaith hee) are giuen vnto Parents. And as there is an extraordinarie conſideration had of theſe, ſo is it reaſonable alſo that a reſpect ſhould be had of other benefits. We haue hallowed and ſacred the conition of Parents, becauſe it was expedient, that Children ſhould bee bred and brought vp. They were to be encouraged to this trauell, becauſe thy were to vnder-goe an vncertaine fortune. It could not be ſaid vnto them, which is ſpoken vnto thoſe, that giue benefits. *Be warie in thy choice, to whom thou giueſt: If thou haſt beene once deceiued, ſeeke out hence-forward ſuch a one as is worthy of thy benefits, and ſuccour him.* In breeding and bringing vp children, the Parents iudgement preuaileth little, all that they may doe is but to wiſh well, and hope the beſt. Therefore, that they might the more willingly aduenture this chance, it was reaſon that ſome prerogatiue ſhould be giuen them. Againe, the caſe ſtandeth otherwiſe with Parents, for they both doe and will beſtow benefits vpon their children, although they haue done neuer ſo much for them alreadie: and it is not to bee feared that they will belie themſelues that they haue giuen them: In others it ought to bee examined, not only whether they haue receiued, but alſo whether they haue giuen. But the merits of theſe conſiſt in their confeſſion; and becauſe it is requiſite for youth to be ruled, we haue conſtituted, as it were, certaine domeſticall Magiſtrates ouer them, vnder whoſe gouernement they ſhould bee reſtrayned. Againe, the benefits of all Parents was equall and alike, and therefore it might be valued once, but the reſt bare diuers, vnlike, and infinite oddes was betweene them, and therefore could they fall vnder no compaſſe of law; ſo that it was more fitting to let them all alone, than to make them all equall.

Although the benefits of parents towards their children be of one ſort, yet this taketh not away the difference that is betweene the benefits that are done vnto others.

CHAP.

Chap. XII.

7. *As the qualities of benefits are diuers: so also are they diuersly esteemed by those that receiue them.*

Some things coſt the giuers much; and ſome are much worth to the receiuers, and yet ſtand the giuers in nothing. Certaine curteſies are done to friends, ſome to ſtrangers, and (although the gift be one) yet is it better imployed on him that then thou beganſt to know, when thou vndertookeſt to ſuccour him. This man giueth ſuccours; that, ornament; theſe other, conſolations. Thou ſhalt find ſome that imagine nothing more pleaſing in this world, or more great and agreeable, than to haue a friend that may ſuccour, and to whom he may diſcouer his miſeries and calamities. Againe, you ſhall find ſome man more ielous of his Honour than his Securitie, and ſome one there is, that iudgeth himſelfe to be more indebted to him by whom he is more ſecured in reliefe, then to him by whom he is more honeſtly relieued. Theſe things therefore ſhall be greater or leſſer, according as the Iudges mind is bent to the one, or to the other. Beſides I choſe my ſelfe a creditor: I oftentimes receiue a benefit at his hands, from whom I would not; and ſometimes I am oblieged, ere I know thereof. What wilt thou doe? wilt thou call him vngrateſull that had a good turne caſt vpon him, before he knew it, and if he had knowne thereof, would not haue receiued it? and wilt thou not terme him vnthankefull, who howſoeuer hee receiued thy good turne, in no ſort requited it?

Chap. XIII.

8. *Benefits and outrages, are in ſome ſort ſo intermixed, that it is impoſsible to giue true iudgement of them.*

If vngratefull receiuers ſhould be puniſhed, few would entertayne benefits.

Some man hath done me a friendſhip, and afterwards the ſame man hath done me an iniurie. Whether am I tyed by one curteſie to ſuffer all iniuries? or ſhall I be acquit, as if I had acknowledged the ſame, becauſe he hath defaced his former benefit by his ſucceeding iniurie? how then canſt thou determine, whether the pleaſure he hath receiued, be greater, or the outrage that is afterwards offered him? The day would faile me, if I ſhould attempt to proſecute euery difficultie. We (ſaith he) make men ſlower to doe good, when we challenge not the things that are giuen, but ſuffer the deniers to eſcape vnpuniſhed. But you muſt bethinke your ſelfe of this alſo on the contrary part, that men will bee much loather to receiue benefits, if they ſhould ſtand in perill of proceſſe thereby, and if their innocence be no waies aſſured. Moreouer, by this meanes we our ſelues ſhall become loather to doe men good, for no man willingly giueth vnto thoſe, who are vnwilling to receiue. But whoſoeuer is inuited to pleaſure others of his owne good nature, and for the worthineſſe of the thing it ſelfe, will giue willingly alſo euen vnto ſuch as ſhall thinke themſelues no more beholding to him than they liſt: For the glorie of that office is diminiſhed, which carrieth a promiſe with it.

Chap.

CHAP. XIIII.

SO shall there be fewer benefits; yea, but they shall be truer. And what harme is it to haue the rashnesse of benefiting restrained? For this euen intended they that constituted no law for the same: that we should more circumspectly giue, and carefully choose those on whom we bestowed our fauours. Consider diligently to whom thou giuest, so shall there be no suing, so shall there be no calling backe or repetition. Thou art deceiued, if thou thinke that any Iudge can helpe thee. There is no Law that is able to set thee cleare againe. Only haue thou an eye to the thankfulnesse of the receiuer. By these meanes, benefits hold their authoritie, and are magnificent: thou defilest them if thou make them a matter of law: In debt it is a most iustifiable speech, and answerable to the law of all Nations, to say, *Pay that which thou owest*. But this is the fowlest word in benefiting that can be, to say, *Pay*: For what shall he pay? He oweth, I assure thee, his Life, his Greatnesse, his Honours, the assurance of his Fortune, his Health. The greatest things cannot be requited. At leastwise (saith he) let him repay somewhat of like value. This is it that I said, that the estimation of so noble a thing should perish, if we make a merchandize of benefits. The mind is not to be incited to Auarice, to Processe, or Debate: shee runneth into these things of her owne accord. Let vs withstand them as much as we can, and cut off the occasions of complaining.

The first obiection. There will be lesse benefactors, except a law be established against the vngratefull. An answer. There will be lesse disorder.

CHAP. XV.

I Would to God wee could perswade them not to receiue againe the mony they had lent, saue only of such as were willing to repay. Would to God the buyers were neuer obliged to the sellers by any promise, nor bargaines and couenants were ratified vnder hand and seale; but that faith should rather keepe them, and a minde obseruing equity. But men haue preferred profit before honesty, and had rather inforce others to be faithfull, than behold them faithfull. Witnesses are emploied, both on the one and the other side. This man lendeth his money vpon interest to many, whom he causeth to be bound by publique instruments. That other is not contented with sureties, except he haue a pawne in hand. O loathsome confession of humane fraud, and publique wickednesse. Our seales are more set by, than our soules. To what purpose are these Worshipfull men called to record? why set they to their hands? namely, least hee should denie that which he had receiued. Thinkest thou these men to bee vpright, and that they would maintain a truth? yea, but if they themselues would instantly borrow money of any man, they cannot get it, except they be obliged after the same manner. Had it not beene more honestie to let some passe with the breach of their credit, than that all men should be mistrusted of vnthankefulnesse, and perfidiousnesse. Auarice wanteth but one onely thing, which is, That we should doe no man good without suretiship. It is the propertie of a generous and magnificent minde to helpe and profit others; he that giueth benefits, imitateth the Gods; he that redemandeth them, the Vsurers. Why bring we those benefactors into the ranke of base Vserers, whilest wee intend their securitie?

The second obiection. A man may by obligations and couenants repaire the ingratefull. An answer. Couetousnesse, an impediment to happinesse. Auarice and deceit shall get the vpper hand. Wherewith he deals the little faith and double dealing of men.

Chap. XVI.

BVt if no action be liable against an vngratefull person, the number of the vngratefull will bee the more? nay rather they will be the lesse; for benefits will be bestowed more aduisedly. Againe, it is not expedient to haue it knowne to the world, what a number of vnthankefull persons there bee: For the multitude of offenders will take away the shame of the deed, and a common crime will cease to be accompted a reproch: Is there almost any woman in these daies that is ashamed of diuorce, since the time that certaine of the noble Ladies, and Gentle-women, haue made account of their yeares, not by the number of Consuls, but by the number of their husbands; and depart from them to be married, and are married to be diuorced? So long as diuorce was rare, so long was it feared, but after that few or no marriages were continued without diuorce, the often hearing of it taught them to vse it. Is any woman now a-daies ashamed of whoredome, since the world is growne to that passe, that few take a husband but to cloake their whoredomes? Chastitie is an argument of deformitie, where shall a man finde a woman so miserable, or so loathsome, that will content her selfe with one paire of Adulterers? except shee haue for euerie houre one, and yet the day is not long enough to suffice all, except shee bee carried to one friend, and dine with an other; nay, shee doteth, and is too much of the old stampe, that knowes not that the keeping of one Lemman is good wedlocke. Like as the shame of these faults is vanished at this day, since the sinne began to get large scope, so shalt thou make the thankelesse sort both more and more bold, if they may once begin to number themselues.

The multitude of offendors cloudeth and maketh the crime lesse odious.

I pray God these Pagan errors together with diuorce bee not crept into England.

Chap. XVII.

WHat then? shall the thankelesse person escape vnpunished? what then? shall he be vnchasticed that hath no pietie? the malicious, the couetous, hee that followeth and feedeth his owne desires, he that delighteth in crueltie? Thinkest thou that they shall be vnpunished which are so hatefull? or supposest thou that any punishment is more grieuous than publique hatred? It is a punishment that he dare not take a good turne at any mans hands, that hee dare not doe a good turne to any, that he is a gazing-stock to all men, or at least wise supposeth himselfe to be so, and that he hath lost the vnderstanding of the thing that was singularly good, and singularly sweet. Callest thou him vnhappie that wanteth his eye-sight? or him whose eares are deafned by the meanes of sickenesse? and doest thou not account him wretched, that hath lost the force of benefits? He feareth the Gods, who are witnesses against all vngratefull men, the knowledge he hath how he is intercepted and excluded from benefiting or doing curtesies, burneth and vexeth him inwardly: Finally, this very punishment is great enough for him, that (as I said before) hee cannot reape the fruit and enioy so pleasant a thing. But he that is delighted, and contented in that he hath receiued a good turne, enioyeth equall and perpetuall pleasure, and reioyceth in beholding the mind of him that gaue, and not the thing was giuen. A good turne continually delighteth a thankefull man, an vngratefull man but once. Besides this,

The punishment of ingratitude is contempt of all men.

The miserie of an vngratefull receiuer.

this, let either of their liues bee compared with other. The one is alwaies ſad and ſorrowfull, and walketh like a cheater, and fraudulent perſon, who reſpecteth not the duetie hee oweth to his Parents which begot him, nor of thoſe friends that bred him vp, nor of thoſe Maſters which inſtructed him. The other is alwaies ioyfull and merrie, expecting an occaſion to yeeld ſatisfaction, and conceiuing a great ioy in this verie affection, not ſeeking meanes to make that appeare leſſe which he hath receiued, but how hee may ſatisfie more fully and honorably, not only his Parents and friends, but alſo other perſons of meaner reckoning. For although hee hath receiued a benefit at his Bond-mans hands, he conſidereth not from whom, but what he hath receiued.

CHAP. XVIII.

ALbeit it bee a queſtion amongſt ſome (amongſt whom *Hecaton* is one) whether a bond-man can benefit his Maſter or no. For there are ſome that diſtinguiſh after this manner. That certaine things are benefits; certaine duties; and certaine ſeruices. They ſay that we ought to call that a benefit which we receiue from a ſtranger, and we terme him a ſtranger, who might ceaſe to doe good without any reprehenſion. They name that, dutie, which appertaineth properly to a Sonne, a Wife, and thoſe perſons who are prouoked by alliance, and tied by offices to aſſiſt. They terme that, ſeruice, which belongeth to a ſlaue or bond-man, who is brought to this exigent by the condition of his fortune, ſo that hee cannot in any ſort challenge his Superiour for any thing, whatſoeuer he hath done vnto him. This hee therefore that denieth, that bond-men may not ſometimes doe their Maſters a good turne, is ignorant of the Law of Nature, for it concerneth vs to conſider, of what minde hee is that giueth the benefit, not of what ſtate or calling. Vertue hideth her ſelfe from no man, ſhe entertaineth and accepteth all men, ſhee inuiteth all, Gentlemen, Francklins, Bond-men, Kings, and baniſhed Men; ſhee chooſeth neither houſe nor reuenue, but is contented with the bare name. For what ſafeguard ſhould there bee againſt caſualties, or what great thing could the minde promiſe it ſelfe, if fortune could change a certaine and ſetled vertue? if the bond-man giueth not a benefit to his Maſter, neither doth any Subiect to his King, nor Souldier to his Captaine, for what skilleth it, in what ſtate of ſubiection a man be, if he bee vnder one which is Soueraigne? For if neceſſity, and feare of extremity doe barre a bond-man from attaining the name of deſert, the ſame alſo wil barre him that is vnder a King, or a Captaine, who haue the like power ouer him, although it be vnder a different Title: but men gratifie their Kings, and giue benefits to their Captaines, therefore ſlaues may doe curteſies to their Maſters: A Bond-man may be iuſt, valiant, and couragious; *Ergo*, hee may alſo giue a benefit. For this proceedeth only from vertue, and ſo may bond-men giue their maſters benefits, as they haue often-times made them their benefits. There is no doubt but that a bond-man may doe a curteſie to any man, why then may hee not giue fauour and pleaſure to his owne Maſter?

He reproueth this opinion and proueth the contrarie.

CHAP. XIX.

Obiections against the aboue said reasons.

BEcause (saith he) hee cannot become his Masters creditor, if hee should giue him his money; yet otherwise he daily obligeth his Master vnto him: he followeth him in his iournies, he ministreth vnto him in his sicknesses, hee reuerenceth him with great care, and labour: yet all these (which would be thought benefits if an other should doe them) are but seruices as long as a bond-man doeth them: For that is a benefit (and is only rightly so called) that a man doeth, who was at libertie not to doe it. But a bondman hath not the power of refusall, thus giueth he, and lendeth he nothing, but is only obedient to that which is commanded him: neither can he boast of his doing, because he could not refuse to doe the same. Euen vnder these termes will I conquer thee, and so farre will I plead the bond-mans cause, that in diuers acts hee shall bee esteemed free. Meane while, I pray you tell mee, if I shew you some slaue fighting couragiously without feare of death, in defence of his Masters life, and without respect of his owne, wounded with infinite blowes, yet suffering his bloud to streame from his deepe wounds, euen to the last and vttermost drops, to the end that his Master in the meane time may finde an opportunitie to escape, purchasing the meanes by his owne death, to winne so much time as he may, to saue his Masters life: Wouldest thou denie that he did his Master a friendship, because he is his bond-man? If I shew thee one, that by no tyrannicall promises could be corrupted, or threats terrified, or torments feared, to bewray his Masters secrets; but as much as in him lay, remoued all suspicions that were surmised, and employed all his forces to expresse his faith: wouldest thou denie (because he was a bond-man) that he did his Master a good turne? See rather, if it bee not so much the greater kindnesse, as the example of vertue is rather in bond-men; and consequently, so much the more worthie thankes: for that whereas superioritie is commonly hated, and all constraint esteemed grieuous, yet the loue of some one toward his Master, hath surmounted the common hatred of bondage. So then, for that cause it ceaseth not to be a benefit because it proceeded from a bond-man: but therefore is it greater, because bondage it selfe could not deterre him from doing the same.

All good offices in effect are but duties and no benefits.

CHAP. XX.

The second answer. Seruitude hath no power, but ouer the inferior part of man, namely, the bodie.

HE is deceiued, whosoeuer thinketh that seruitude taketh possession ouer the whole man: the better part of him is exempted. The bodies are subiect and obliged to their Masters, but the minde is priuiledged in it selfe: which is so free and restlesse, that it cannot be restrained in this prison, wherein it is inclosed: it cannot bee held from vsing his forces, and performing great matters, and passing beyond all bounds, as companion of the celestiall Gods. It is the bodie therefore that Fortune hath submitted to the Master, This bought he, this selleth he: that interior part cannot be bought or sold, or suffer seruitude. Whatsoeuer issueth from that is free: for neyther can wee command them all things, neyther can our bond-men be compelled to obey vs in all things: they are not bound to execute that which shall be preiudiciall for the common weale: they are not tyed to assist any wicked and insolent action.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Hee yeeldeth there direct answer to the former reply. Shewing that a Slaue may doe and performe many offices of a good and faithfull friend, and consequently become a benefactor.

THere are certaine things which the lawes neither command, nor forbid to bee done: in theſe hath a bond-man matter of benefit. As long as he doth that which his Maſter may iuſtly command him to do, it is called and is ſeruice; when more then is neceſſarie for a ſeruant to doe, a benefit: when it paſſeth into the affection of a friend, it ceaſeth to be called a ſeruice. There are certaine things which a Maſter is bound to furniſh his ſeruant with, namely, with meat, and drinke, and rayment: but no man will call this a benefit. But if he haue giuen him all that he would, if he haue nouriſhed him as a free-man, if he haue inſtructed him in the liberall ſciences: this ought to be called a benefite. The ſame contrariwiſe may be ſaid in the perſon of a bond-man: whatſoeuer it be that exceedeth the dutie and rule of a bond-mans ſeruice, and is not done of awe and command, but voluntarily and willingly, is a benefit, prouided alwaies, that it be ſuch, that it may merit the name, when another forraine perſon ſhall doe it.

CHAP. XXII.

The laſt and not leaſt effectuall answer, how a mercinarie may doe more then he ought, the ſlaue who is a perpetuall mercinarie may likewiſe doe the like.

Hryſippus ſaith, a Bondman is a perpetuall hireling, now euen as he giueth a benefit, when he performeth more then that daies worke to which he was hired; ſo when as the bondman (by reaſon of the loue and affection hee beareth his Maſter) ſurpaſſeth the termes of his miſerable fortune, and performeth ſome extraordinary and braue enterpriſe, which might be held honourable in one more happily borne, and ſurmounteth the hope and expectation of his Maſter, then is it a benefit, which is found in his owne houſe. Seemeth it a matter iuſt and indifferent to thee, that if wee be diſpleaſed with thoſe that doe leſſe then their dutie, we ſhould not be thankefull vnto them, that performe more then either they ſhould or are accuſtomed? wilt thou know when it is no benefit? then it is, when it may be ſaid, what if he would not do it? But when he performeth that which he might lawfully refuſe, it is praiſe-worthie in him that he had a will to doe it. A benefit and an iniurie are contraries. The ſlaue may pleaſure his Maſter, if he may receiue an iniury at his hands: And yet there is an expreſſe Iudge appointed to heare the complaint of bondmen againſt their Maſters, who may contrarie and repreſſe their crueltie, luſt, and hard dealing, and chaſtiſe the couetouſneſſe of thoſe Lords, who refuſe to allow their ſlaues ordinary food, and neceſſarie garments. What then? doth the Maſter receiue a benefit at his bond mans hands? yea, a man, from a man: To conclude, hee hath done that which was in his power, he hath giuen his maſter a benefit; it is in thy choice whether thou wilt receiue it from a bond-man. But who is ſo great whom fortune may not compell to ſtand in need euen of the baſeſt and pooreſt of his people? Now will I relate many and different examples of benefits, and ſome alſo contrarie to one another. Some one ſlaue hath ſaued his Maſters life, another alſo gaue him his death. An other hath deliuered his Maſter at the inſtant when he ſhould die, and (if this be but a ſmall matter) by looſing his owne life hath ſaued his Maſters. There haue beene ſome that haue helped their deaths, and others that haue preſerued them by beguiling them.

Chap. XXIII.

Confirmation of his reasons and answers by notable examples.

CLAVDIVS QVADRIGARIVS in the eighteenth Booke of his *Chronickes* reporteth, that when alreadie *Adrumentum* was beleagred, and brought into a desperate estate and extreme miserie: that two slaues fled vnto the Enemies campe, and performed an action worthie their labour and perill: For after the Citie was taken, and the victorious enemie ranged and reuelled euerie where, these two slaues (who knew all the by-waies) were the first that set forward to make bootie of that house, wherein they had serued. And hauing surprised their Mistris, they rudely droue her before them: And being demanded what woman shee was: they answered that it was their Mistris, who had in times past most cruelly handled them, and that they dragged her out, to bring her to her death: and by this pollicie hauing gotten her out of the Citie, they carefully hid her: But afterwards when the Roman Souldiers were satisfied with pillage, and reduced to their former discipline and manners, these slaues likewise returned to their former seruitude, and gaue their Mistresse her wonted libertie. In acknowledgement whereof shee presently set them both at libertie, and was not ashamed to receiue her life at their hands, ouer whom she had absolute power both of life and death: Could shee haue more cause of contentment, than hereby? for had shee beene otherwise preserued, shee had but receiued an ordinarie curtesie, and vulgar clemencie, (which is many times vsuall amongst Souldiers) but being preserued after this manner, it was a noble Storie, and an euerlasting example, to both the Cities. In so great confusion of the surprised Citie, when euerie one minded his particular safetie, all fled from her, except her owne fugitiues. And they to expresse with what mind and intention they practised their former flight; fled from the Conquerors, to the Captiue; pretending the countenance of Murtherers, which was the greatest point in that benefit. So much thought they it better to seeme Murtherers of their Mistresse, left than that shee should haue beene murthered indeede: It is not, beleeue me, it is not, I tell you, the act of a seruile minde, to buy a noble action by the fame & opinion they gaine of their wickednes: *Caius Vettius* the Prætor of the Marses was led vnto his death; his bond-man drew the sword of that very Souldier that dragged him, and first of all slew his Master, and afterwards (it is time, saith he, to enfranchise and deliuer my selfe, since now alreadie I haue set my Master at libertie) at one stroke thrust himselfe through. Shew me any man, that hath preserued his Master more magnificently.

See Macrobius in his first booke de Saturnalibus.

See Lipsius notes, why this Translation is vsed contrarie to the original.

Chap. XXIV.

The third example.

CÆSAR besieged **Corfinium*, and *Domitius* was shut vp in the same, who commanded a slaue of his (that was practised in Physique) to giue him poyson: And perceyuing that by all meanes hee sought occasion not to doe it, *Why delayest thou* (saith he) *as if all this were in thy power? armed, I intreat thee, to yeeld mee death.* Hereupon his slaue promised to performe it, and gaue him a harmelesse potion to drinke vp, wherewith beeing laied a-sleepe, hee came vnto his sonne and said. *Command me to be kept in sure hold, till by the euent thou*

* *The Romanes now call it,* Campe del Santo Pelino. Dion lib. vi. *of his Roman Historie.*

thou vnderſtandeſt, whether I haue giuen thy Father poyſon or no. DOMITIVS liued, and was ſaued by *Cæſar*; but yet his bond-man had ſaued him firſt.

CHAP. XXV.

The fourth example.

Appianus Alexandrinus, lib. 4. de bello ciuile Romanorum.

DVring the time of the ciuill Warres, a bond-man hid his Maſter who was proſcribed, and hauing fitted his Rings on his fingers, and put on his garment, he preſented himſelfe to the Sergeants, and told them, that hee required no fauour at their hands, but that they boldly might performe that which they were commanded; and therewithal held out his necke for them to hew off. How great a mans part was this for a ſlaue to bee willing to die for his Maſter in ſuch a time, as it were, rare fidelitie not to wiſh his Maſters death? in publike cruelty to bee found gentle? in publike perfidiouſneſſe faithfull? when great rewards were publiſhed for euery one that would betray, to deſire death as the reward of his fidelitie?

CHAP. XXVI.

The firſt example.

See Cornelius Tacitus, *and* Suetonius *hereupon.*

I Will not ouerſlip the examples of our Age: vnder *Tiberius Cæſar* there was an ordinarie licence, and almoſt a publike rage in appeaching and accuſing, which (farre more grieuous than any ciuill Warre) conſumed and deſtroyed both the Senate and Nobilitie. Exceptions were taken againſt drunken mens words, and things ſpoken in ieſt were cenſured in earneſt: nothing was ſecure, and all occaſion of cruelty was pleaſing; neither now expected men what their penaltie ſhould bee who were accuſed, where all were puniſhed after the ſame ſort. In that time *Paulus* who had beene a Prætor before-times ſupped at a certaine banquet, hauing on his finger a rich ſtone, wheron was engrauen the Image of the Emperor *Tiberius*: I ſhould play the foole too much if I ſhould ſeeke for ſome more cleanely words to expreſſe vnto you, how hee tooke the Chamber-pot: This was preſently obſerued by *Maro* (who was one of the Spies, and moſt noted informer of that time.) But his ſlaue (againſt whom this treaſon was plotted) ſecretly ſtole a way the ring from his Maſters finger, who was drunke: and when as *Maro* afterwards would take witneſſe of thoſe that were at the banquet, how *Paulus* had handled his members (not to bee named without modeſtie) with the Emperours Image, and importuning them to ſubſcribe to that accuſation, the ſlaue ſhewed before all the companie, that his Maſters ring was on his finger. Whoſoeuer ſhall terme this man a ſlaue, hee ſhould alſo call that other Spie an honeſt gueſt.

CHAP. XXVII.

The ſixt example.

See the life of Auguſtus *in the Roman Hiſtories.*

VNder *Auguſtus Cæſar*, mens words were not as yet dangerous vnto them; yet began they alreadie to diſpleaſe: *Rufus* a Senator, as hee ſate at ſupper, wiſhed that *Cæſar* might not returne in ſafetie and health from that progreſſe hee then intended; and added this furthermore, That all the Bulls and Calues of the Countrie deſired no leſſe: Some there were that diligently obſerued his words:

The

The next morning, as ſoone as it was day, a ſeruant and bond-man of his, that had attended at his feet, reported vnto him thoſe words he had ſpoken in his drunkenneſſe the night before, and counſailed him preſently to goe and ſeeke out *Cæſar*, and to be his owne firſt accuſer. According to this his counſaile, his Maſter met *Cæſar* at his firſt comming downe. And when hee had ſworne vnto him that hee was not well in his wits ouer night, and wiſhed that the euill hee had vttered might fall vpon him, and vpon his children, hee beſought *Cæſar* that hee would pardon him, and receiue him into his fauour againe: After that the Emperor had aſſured him that he would willingly doe it; *no man will beleeue, ſaid* Rvfvs, *that thou haſt admitted me againe into thy fauour, except thou giue me ſomewhat*, and therupon he required no ſmall ſumme of money, at reconciled *Cæſars* hands, and obtayned the ſame, who therewithall ſaid vnto him. *For mine owne ſake I will indeuour neuer to be angry with thee without an occaſion.* Caesar behaued himſelfe honeſtly in pardoning him, and beſides annexed this liberalitie to his clemencie. Whoſoeuer ſhall heare this example reported, he muſt needly praiſe *Cæſar*, but it muſt be after he hath praiſed the bond-man. Except you meane that I ſhould ſhow you that he was made free for this ſeruice he did. Hee was ſo; but not without ranſome, for *Cæſar* had payd the money for his freedome.

Chap. XXVIII.

In concluding his diſpute vpon this firſt queſtion, he confirmeth in few words his former reaſons, and ſheweth that without vertue there is neither Nobilitie nor Liberitie, contrariwiſe that by benefits the moſt vildeſt ſlaue in the world may ennoble himſelfe.

After ſo many examples, is there any doubt but that a Maſter may ſometimes receiue a benefit at his bond-mans hands? why ſhould the perſon rather leſſen the dignitie of a thing, then the thing ennoble the perſon? All men haue the ſame beginnings, and the ſame originall; no man is more noble then another, except it bee ſuch an one that hath a better wit, and is more apt to good Arts. They that ſet forth their Pedigrees, and their anceſtors in a long row, interlined with many branches of collaterall deſcents on the fore-front of their houſes, are rather noted then noble: we haue all of vs but one parent, which is heauen, whether it be by famous, or bare deſcent; euery man conueyes his firſt pedegree from it. There is no cauſe why theſe ſhould deceiue thee, who when they reckon vp their anceſtors: whereſoeuer ſome noble name faileth them, they preſently faine a god. Deſpiſe no man, though his pedigree bee worne out of remembrance, and he ſmally furthered by vnfriendly fortune, whether our predeceſſors were free men, or bond, or forrainers. Couragiouſly aduance yee your minds; and whatſoeuer baſeneſſe lieth in the way, leape yee ouer it. Great nobilitie attendeth for you at the laſt. Why with pride are wee lifted vp vnto ſo great vanitie, that from ſeruants we diſdaine to receiue benefits; and looke vpon their ſort, forgetting deſerts? Doeſt thou call any one a ſeruant, thou being a ſeruant of luſt and of gluttonie, and of an adultereſſe, yea a common ſlaue of adultereſſes? Calleſt thou any on a ſeruant? Whither now art thou dragged by theſe groomes; who beare about this thy litter? Whether doe theſe in liuery-clokes, who counterfait a ſouldier-like, and no vulgar attire indeede? Whether, I ſay, doe theſe carry thee abroad? to the doore of ſome doore-keeper, to the gardens of ſome, moſt baſe and ſeruile ſubſtitute. And yet denieſt thee that a benefit can be giuen to thee, by thy ſeruant, to whom it is a benefit to haue a kiſſe from the ſeruant of another man. What ſo great diſcord of mind is this?

At the ſame time thou deſpiſeſt and reuerenceſt ſeruants. Within doores thou art imperious and outragious, baſe abroad; and as well contemned, as contemning. For neuer doe any more abaſe their minds, then they who wickedly lift them vp, and none are more ready to treade vpon other men, then they who haue learned to proffer reproch, by receiuing it.

CHAP. XXIX.

He deſcendeth to the ſecond queſtion, whether children may doe more good vnto their Parents, then they haue receiued from them. He concludeth on the childrens behalfe, and that vpon many reaſons: firſt, by the conſideration of the works of nature, he ſheweth that children may be better, and doe more good and honour vnto their Parents, then they haue receiued from them.

THeſe things were to bee ſpoken to repreſſe the inſolencie of men depending vpon fortune, and to approoue the right of a benefit to be giuen by a ſeruant, that alſo it might be approoued to bee giuen by a ſonne. For it is in queſtion, whether children at any time can giue greater benefits to their parents, then they haue receiued. That is granted, that many children haue beene greater and more mightie then their parents, and that likewiſe more vertuous then they: which being true; It may be alſo that they haue done more for them; whereas both their fortune was greater, and their will better: But whatſoeuer it be (ſaith he) that the ſonne giueth the father, it is leſſe then his father hath done for him, becauſe of duty he oweth this power of giuing to his father. So as hee can neuer properly bee ouercome in benefits who hath giuen another the meanes to exceede him in the ſame. Firſt, ſome things take their beginning from others, and yet they are greater then their beginnings, neither is any thing therefore greater then that from whence it had his beginning, for that it could not haue growne to that greatneſſe except it had begun. There is almoſt nothing but farre exceedeth his firſt originall. Seedes are the cauſes of all that which groweth in this world; yet are they the leaſt parts of thoſe things which come of them: Looke vpon the *Rhine*, looke vpon *Euphrates*, finally doe but obſerue all other riuers ſo renouned, and what are they if you eſtimate them by their head-ſprings from whence they flow? whatſoeuer they be feared for, wherein ſoeuer they be renouned, they haue purchaſed it in their courſe and progreſſe. Take away rootes and the Forreſts will neuer grow nor ouerſpread, neither ſhall the tops of the mountaines bee couered with woods. Looke vpon theſe Timber trees, whether you regard their great height, or their wonderfull ſoliditie and broad ſpreading of their branches, how ſmall a thing, in compariſon of theſe, is that which the roote in ſmall and tender ſpreadings comprehendeth. The temples are builded vpon their foundations, as alſo theſe great walls of *Rome* are, and yet that which was firſt laid to ſuſtaine this whole worke, lies hidden vnder earth. The like falleth out in all other things. The greatneſſe that they attaine vnto in time, doth alwaies obſcure their beginnings. I could not haue attained to any thing, if the benefit of my parents had not gone before; yet followeth it not for all this, that that which I haue obtayned is leſſe then that ſame which gaue mee the meanes to acquire it: Except my nurſe had ſuckled me in infancie, I could haue performed none of thoſe things, which I haue ſithence acted by my counſell and valour, neither ſhould I haue obtayned this dignitie and honour, which I haue riſen vnto by ciuill and militarie demerit: but wilt thou for this cauſe more prize my nurſes firſt endeuours, then the great acts I haue atchieued by my ſo many vertuous attempts. And then what difference wilt thou find herein, conſidering that I could not encreaſe in honor,

honor, without the tender care of my nurſe, no leſſe then without my fathers benefit?

CHAP XXX.

Our Fathers haue giuen vs life, but not the induſtrie to doe well, during life. If therefore any one be vertuous, and by his vertue maintayneth and aduanceth his Father.

Seneca maintayneth that the Sonnes benefit is the greateſt.

BVt if I owe wholly to my beginning, whatſoeuer I more can doe, thinke you that neither my father is my true beginning, nor my Grand-father indeede. For alwaies there will be ſomewhat more ancient from which the originall of the neareſt originall may deſcend. But no man is ſaid to owe more to them that are vnknowne, and to anceſtors which haue beene before memory of man, then to a father. But, I owe more, if my father, becauſe he hath begotten me, oweth this very thing vnto his anceſtors. Whatſoeuer I haue done for my father, how great ſoeuer it be, it is nothing to be eſteemed, in reſpect of the benefit he hath done me, for I had not beene, had he not begotten me. And by the ſame reaſon, if any man hath healed my father, being ſicke and ready to die, I ſhould bee able to doe nothing for him that were not to bee eſteemed leſſe, then the benefit hee did vnto my father: for had hee not receiued his health, my father had neuer begotten me. But ſee if this carry not a more likely-hood of truth, that the things which I could both doe, and haue done, ſhould bee eſteemed as mine owne, and in mine owne power, and at mine owne will. That I am borne (if thou conſider what a thing it is in it ſelfe) thou ſhalt find it a ſmall and vncertaine matter, and the common ſubiect of good and euill, and vndoubtedly the firſt ſtep to all things; but yet not therefore greater then all, becauſe the firſt. I haue preſerued and kept my father aliue, I haue preferred and exalted him to the higheſt degree of honor, and haue made him a Prince in his Citie: I haue enobled him, not onely by thoſe my vertuous enterpriſes, which I haue honourably atchieued; but alſo haue giuen him an aſſured meanes to aduance himſelfe, I haue put into his hands an eaſie meanes to obtaine much honour and glory: I haue heaped together vpon him dignities and riches, and all whatſoeuer mens ambition can deſire. And where I ſurpaſſed all others in authoritie, I ſubmitted my ſelfe to him: Tell mee now, I pray thee, if thou couldeſt doe all theſe things, except it were by thy fathers meanes? I will briefly anſwere, and tell thee, that it is altogether ſo, if to the performance of ſo many worthy things it ſufficed only to be borne. But if to liue well and vertuouſly, a naked life is the leaſt part, and if thou haſt but giuen mee that which is common to me, with bruit beaſts, yea, with the leaſt, the moſt deſpiſed, and the moſt loathſome: I beſeech thee attribute not that to thy ſelfe, which proceedeth not alone from thy benefits, although in ſome ſort alſo, it cannot eyther breede or be without thine. Suppoſe that for the life which thou haſt giuen, I haue reſtored thy life: ſo likewiſe I haue ſurmounted thy benefit, becauſe I knew what I gaue, and thou, that which thou receiueſt: whereas I gaue thee life, not for my pleaſure ſake, or truely by pleaſure, whereas by ſo much it is a greater matter to retayne life then to receiue it, by how much it is leſſe dreadfull to die, then to apprehend the feare of death.

Hee introduceth a Stoike, debating with his Father. The paſſage ſauoureth of a Stoicall, Paradox.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

I Gaue thee a life, that thou mightſt preſently vſe: thou gaueſt me a life, when I knew not whether I ſhould enioy it, or no. I gaue thee life, when thou fearedſt death: thou haſt giuen me life, to the end I might die. I haue giuen thee a conſummate and perfit life: thou haſt engendred me depriued of reaſon and iudgement, and no otherwiſe but to be a burthen to others. Wilt thou know how ſmall a benefit it is to giue life in ſuch ſort? If thou hadſt caſt me forth, then in that caſe it had beene iniurie to haue begotten me. Whereby I gather, that our begetting by father and mother, is the leaſt benefit that can bee, except other things accompany it, that muſt proſecute the beginning of this benefit, and ſo ratifie the ſame by other offices. It is no good thing to liue, but to liue well. But you will ſay, I liue well: yea, but ſo I might alſo haue liued ill: therefore this only is thine, that I liue. If thou imputeſt vnto me a life in it ſelfe, naked and deſtitute of councell, and boaſteſt thereof, as if it were a good and great thing: thinke with thy ſelfe, that thou imputeſt to mee ſuch a good, which is common as well to Wormes and Flies, as to me. Moreouer, not to vant of any other thing, but only in that I haue endeuoured my ſelfe to learne the liberall ſciences, to the end I might direct the reſt of my life in the right way: if I liue diſcreetely by this meanes, thou haſt in this receiued a greater benefit, then thou gaueſt me. For thou gaueſt me vnto my ſelfe both rude and ignorant, and I gaue my ſelfe to thee ſuch a ſonne, as thou maieſt reioyce, that euer thou begotteſt me.

3. *The Sonne may giue life vnto his Father, who feareth death, the Father giueth his Sonne life, but to the end hee muſt die.*

A chriſtian Doctrine from a Heathen Stoick.

CHAP. XXXII.

MY father nouriſhed me, if I doe the ſame, I recompence more, becauſe he not only conceiueth ioy, in that he is nouriſhed, but becauſe he is nouriſhed by his ſonne, and greater pleaſure and contentment he receiueth in my good will, then hee doth in the gift it ſelfe. The meate which he gaue mee, only nouriſhed my bodie. What if a man hath ſo farre aduanced his owne fortunes, that either for his eloquence, his iuſtice, or his chiualry, he ſhould grow famous in forraine countries, and had alſo made his father highly renowned, and ſo by his luſtre diſpelled the obſcuritie and cloudie darkeneſſe of his baſe birth: hath hee not, thinke you, herein beſtowed an vneſtimable benefit vpon his parents? Should any man euer haue knowne *Ariſton* and *Grillus*, had it not beene for *Xenophon* and *Plato* their ſonnes? *Socrates* exempteth *Sophroniſcus* his name from obliuion. It were too long to recken vp all the reſt, who liue by no other meanes, but, in that their children eternized their memories, by their owne famous actions. Whether did *Agrippa* the father (who after his ſonnes greatneſſe was ſcarcely knowne in *Rome*) giue a greater benefit, or *Agrippa* the ſonne to his father, who alone was honoured with a Nauall Crowne (which was the greateſt honour that was accuſtomed to be giuen to men of warre) who raiſed ſo many ſumptuous buildings in the Citie, which both exceeded all former magnificence, and might neuer be equalled by any after? Whether did *Octauius* giue

4. *If the Sonne nouriſheth his Father and giueth him contentment by the meanes of his vertues, hee doth more for his Father then his Father hath done for him, which he confirmeth by examples.*

1. *By* Socrates.

2. *By* Agrippa.

3. *By* Octauius *and* Auguſtus.

giue his ſonne *Auguſtus* the Emperor a greater benefit, or the emperor *Auguſtus* to his father, although the ſhaddow of adoptiue father had in ſome ſort obſcured the benefit of *Octauius*? What ioy and contentment had he conceiued, if after the extirpation of a ciuill warre, hee had ſeene him command and gouerne the Romane Empire in ſecuritie and peace? Who doubteth, but that he could hardly acknowledge his owne good, or ſufficiently beleeue the ſame, and as often as he conſidered his owne meane eſtate, conceiue that ſuch a man as he could be borne in his houſe? Why ſhould I now proſecute the reſt, whom obliuion had already ſwallowed vp, except their childrens glory had deliuered them out of this forgetfull darkeneſſe? Moreouer, wee enquire not whether any ſonne hath giuen greater benefits to his father then he receiued at his hands; but, whether any ſonne can yeeld greater? Although the examples of thoſe which hitherto I haue related, doe not as yet ſuffice and ſatisfie, neither ſurpaſſe the good which they haue receiued at their fathers hands; yet nature may make vs ſee that hereafter, which hath not as yet beene ſeene by the ages fore paſſed. If one only benefit cannot ſurmount the greatneſſe of parents deſires, it may be that many put together may out-ſtrip them.

CHAP. XXXIII.

4. By Scipio's worthy example, plentifully diſcouered by Plutarch in his liues, and Titus Liuius in his Roman hiſtories.

Scipio ſaued his father in a battell, and being yong with full carreere charged his enemies: And is it but a ſmall matter, when, to make good the place where his father fought, hee contemned ſo many dangers, that he preſſed ſo many great Captaines, that hee brake through as many oppoſites as hee fought before him: in the firſt ſeruice that euer he had ſeene, and being as yet but a raw ſouldier, hee ſet forward and charged before the oldeſt ſeruitors, and performed many valorous actions, farre exceeding the forces of his age? Adde hereunto, that he defended his father, being accuſed of a capitall crime, and deliuered him from the conſpiracy of his mighty enemies, that he gaue him a ſecond and third conſulate, and other honours alſo, which they who before time haue beene Conſuls, might wiſh and craue for: and ſeeing him poore, gaue him thoſe goods which he had gotten by right of warre, and (that which a man who maketh profeſſion of armes eſteemeth moſt honourable alſo:) hee enriched him with thoſe ſpoyles which he had gotten from his enemies. If this as yet ſeeme but little vnto thee, thou mayſt adde the Prouinces which he gaue him, and the gouernements and extraordinary charges, which were afterwards continued vnto him by his meanes. Adde further, that after he had razed ſo many great cities, how this braue man (the defender and founder of the Romane Empire, that was to be extended from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt, without a Riuall) enobled him the more, who was already noble. Say that he was *Scipio's* father, yet vndoubtedly the common and ordinary good that parents doe in begetting children, hath beene farre ſurmounted by *Scipio's* incomparable piety and vertue, who I know not whether he brought the Citie more defence or honour.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The fift reason, by which hee endeauoureth to approue his Paradox, that the benefit of a sonne towards his father, may bee sometimes more great then that of the fathers towards his sonne.
Lex Pappia, or Poppea.

FVrthermore, if this seeme little vnto thee, suppose that some man hath deliuered his Father from torments, suppose that hee turned them on himselfe. For thou mayest dilate and extend the Childrens benefits as farre as thou wilt, whereas the Fathers benefit in procreation is not only simple and easie, but voluntarie also: What need we so many words? The Father hath done good, he knoweth not to whom, wherein hee hath his Wife a consort and partaker, wherein he respecteth the Law of his Countrie, the praise and reward of Parents, the perpetuitie of his House and Family, and all things rather then him to whom he gaue the same: what if any one (hauing obtayned wisedome) hath informed and instructed his Father therein, shall wee now grow in question whether he hath giuen any thing greater then he receiued? Considering that hee hath giuen his Father a happy life, hauing receiued at his Fathers hands but a bad life only; but, saith hee, it is the Fathers benefit whatsoeuer thou doest, or whatsoeuer thou canst returne vnto him againe. So is it the benefit of my Master, if I haue profited in liberall studies: and yet we are more learned then those who instructed vs in the liberall sciences, and consequently, farre more complete then they who taught vs our first rudiments. And although without them no man can learne any thing, yet all that which he hath afterwards learned, is not the inferiour to the same: There is a great difference betwixt the first and the greatest things: neither therefore are the first comparable to the greatest, because without the first the greatest cannot bee.

CHAP. XXXV.

He seconds the former reasons which were deriued from the Doctrine of the Stoicall Philosophers, and sheweth that one benefit may be greater then another, then applyeth he this to his Conference of Fathers and Mothers.

IT is time now, if I may so terme it, to produce some pieces of our owne coyne. He that hath bestowed such a benefit, aboue which there may be somewhat found better, may be ouer-come in benefits: The Father gaue life vnto his Sonne, but there is something better then life, so the Father may be ouercome in a benefit by the Sonne, because the Sonne may giue some thing better and greater then the Father. Furthermore, he that hath giuen life to an other man, if once or twice hee were deliuered by the same man from death, hee hath receiued a greater benefit then that which he gaue; so the Father hath giuen life; but if he be oft-times deliuered from the perill of death by his Sonne, he shall receiue a greater benefit then he gaue him. Hee that hath receiued a benefit hath receiued more, the more he wanteth that which he receiued, but he that liueth, hath more want of life, then hee that is not borne (who cannot want it any wayes.) The Father therefore receiueth a greater good turne, if hee hath receiued life at his Sonnes hands, then the Sonne from the Father, in that hee is borne: But the Parents benefits cannot bee surmounted by these good offices, the child performeth vnto him, why? because hee hath receiued his life from his Father, which had he not receiued, he could not haue giuen a benefit. This is then but common to the Father, and all those who haue at any time giuen life to any man. For had they not receiued life, they could not haue returned beneficiall gratitude: Therefore greater satisfaction is not intended to the Physician, though the Physician likewise is wont to giue life; nor to the Marriner,

though he hath saued from shipwrack, so that a man may surmount the benefits both of the one and the other, who hath by any meanes saued our liues; and consequently, then the benefits of our Parents may bee also exceeded: if any man hath done me a good turne which serueth mee to no vse, except it bee assisted and seconded by the fauours of diuers other persons, and if afterwards I haue done him another courtesie, that hath no need of other mens assistance, I haue giuen a greater good turne, then that which I haue receiued: The Father hath giuen life to his Child, which hee should lose instantly, were it not sustayned by diuers other succours: But if the Sonne hath saued his Fathers life, he hath giuen him such a life, as hath no need of any other assistance to sustayne it selfe of it selfe, *Ergo*, the Father receiuing life at his Sonnes hands, receiueth a greater benefit, then that was, which the Father hath giuen him.

Chap. XXXVI.

A conclusion of all the reasons and precedent proofes, with a worthy exhortation to children. Note the authors prudence.

THese things destroy not the reuerence which is due vnto Parents, neither make they their children to become worse vnto them, but rather better: for, Vertue is of a glorious and noble disposition, and deserueth to out-strip the formost. The pietie and affection of children will be more forward, if they may hope to surmount the kindnesse and fauour, their Parents haue done them. If this should happen to Parents, willing and glad of the same (because in many things it is for our owne good to be ouer-come) whence can we imagine to ensue so acceptable a contention, whence so great happinesse to Parents, as to confesse, that they cannot equall their childrens benefits? If we be not thus minded, we giue our children meanes to excuse themselues, and we shall make them more slow and retchlesse in acknowledging their Fathers benefits, whereas wee ought to excite them the more, and say vnto them, *Doe this, worthy children.* An honest contention is raysed betwixt Parents and their Children, to know which of them hath giuen the greatest benefits, or who hath receiued the most. The Fathers haue not therefore preuailed, because they haue giuen the first. Take heart, yong men, worthy your selues, take heede you lose not your courage to ouer-come those who desire no other thing, then to bee ouer-come: You want no Captaynes to vndertake so braue a conflict, and to encourage you to follow them, who command you but to goe the same course, for to obtayne these victories, which they haue often gayned against their Parents.

Chap. XXXVII.

A confirmation of the whole by diuers worthy examples.

1. *Of* Aeneas.

ÆNeas, who in his infancy had beene but a light and easie burthen to *Anchises* his father, ouercame him by a curtesie farre greater, when charging him on his shoulders, laden with age, hee carryed him thorow the squadrons of his Enemies, and through the falling ruines of the Citie, whilst the religious old man, loden with sacred things and his domestique gods, double charged the backe of his sonne, who notwithstanding trauersed the flames, and (so puissant is pietie) bare him away safe and sound out of the City, and placed him to bee reuerenced amongst the founders of the Romane Empire.

2. *Of two yong Sicilians.*

The yong men of *Sicily* ouer-came, when at such time as Mount *Ætna* who so highly enflamed, that it vomited fire vpon the Cities and neighbouring

ring Plaines, and had consumed the greater part of the Isle, they carried their fathers thence vpon their backs. It is beleeued that the fire miraculously separated and diuided it selfe, and that the flames retiring themselues on both sides, opened a large passage to suffer those vertuous yong men to trauell through it, to the end that without danger they might safely performe their great attempt: *Antigonus* also ouer-came, who when as in a great battell he had discomfited his enemie, transferred the treasures and wealth of the conquest, to his father, and with it gaue him the Empire of *Cipres*. This is a Kingdome to refuse gouernement, when it is in thy hands. *Titus Manlius* also ouer-came his Lordly and Imperious father; whereas although hee had beene driuen out of his fathers house for a time, and sent into the Countrey, because in his youth hee was somewhat hard in apprehension, he came to the Tribune of the people (who had adiourned his father to appeare in person to answere to a capitall crime) and asking him, what time of appearance hee had assigned his father. The Tribune hoping that he would betray his hated father, supposing that he had done herein a thankefull office for the yong man, he suffered him to see, (amongst other crimes he accused him of) how hee had banished and driuen him out of his house: which when the yong man discouered, getting him alone in a secret place, he drew his dagger which hee had hidden in his bosome, and said; *Except thou sweare to reuoke this personall adiournment of my fathers, I will thrust thee through with this weapon: It lyeth in thy power to choose which of these two waies, my father shall haue no accuser.* The Tribune swore and kept touch with him: but he made it knowne in an assembly of the Romane people, why he had desisted from this accusation. It had not beene possible for any other man to haue ouer ruled the Tribune after this manner, and to escape vnpunished.

Two yong men of Sicily, the one called Amphinomus, the other Anapus.

3. *Of* Antigonus.

See Cicero 3. *de Offic.*, *and* Liuie *in his* 7. *Booke, as touching this* Manlius.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A conclusion including a graue and serious exhortation to yong men.

DIuers examples might I produce of many other memorable children, who haue deliuered their parents from danger, that from a base degree haue raised them to high estate, and from the meanest and ignoblest race of men, haue giuen them eternall indefinite honours: It cannot bee expressed by any force of words, or faculties of wit, how great a worke it is, how praise worthy, and how perdurable and lasting in mens memory; iustly to bee able to say, thus much I haue obeyed my parents: I haue fulfilled their commandements in whatsoeuer it were, either right or wrong; I haue shewed my self obseruant and submissiue, in this only thing I haue beene wilfull, that I would not be ouer-come by them in benefits: Fight valiantly therefore, I pray you yong men, and though you were defeated, yet reinforce the fight anew. They that ouer-come shall be happy, They that shall be ouer-come shall bee no lesse blessed; what person can euer receiue more honour, then that yong man, who may say vnto himsele (for it is not lawfull for him to say it to another) I haue ouer-come my father in well doing? Is there any old man more happy, then he that may vant in all places, and before the whole world, that he hath bin ouer-come by his sonne in well doing, and benefitting? What greater happinesse is there for a man so to yeeld.

The end of the third Booke.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE handled curious matters for the most part, but (according to his vsuall custome) intermixed with those that are profitable. Hee demandeth whether a benefit or fauour may be simply in it selfe desired? Hee proueth the affirmatiue against the Epicures, who measured all things by their profit. Amongst other arguments he teacheth by this, that the Gods also giue benefits, which hee proueth very amply against those that denie the Gods. Then he remoueth some obiections, which seeme to teach, that profit is common in benefitting. And so he commeth to thankesgiuing, and sheweth that it is onely to bee yeelded in regard of honestie, not of profit. Then hee demanded whether a benefit is to bee giuen to him, whom thou knowest will bee vngratefull: he distinguisheth in this point, and partly affirmeth, and partly denieth.

CHAP. I.

whether to doe a pleasure and restore a curtesie receiued, bee things to be desired of themselues.

OF all those things (my *Abutius Liberalis*) whereof we haue entreated, there is nothing so necessarie to be knowne, or (as *Salust* saith) more carefully to bee taught, then that which is now in hand; namely, whether to giue a benefit, and to restore the like, be things which ought to bee desired for the loue of themselues. Some men there are which respect not honesty, but for profit sake, and admit not vertue without aduantage (which hath nothing magnificent in it selfe, if it hath any thing that is mercinarie.) For what is more loathsome, then for a man to make reckoning how much we ought to estimate an honest man, when as vertue is neither inuited with gaine, nor terrified with losse, and is so farre from corrupting any with hope or promise, that contrari-

wiſe ſhe commandeth them to ſpend all their ſubſtance on her, and for her ſake; and more often contenteth her ſelfe with that which is giuen freely without demand? To follow her, a man muſt tread all profit vnder foote: whither ſoeuer ſhe calleth, whither ſoeuer ſhe ſendeth, he ought to goe, without reſpect or intereſt of his eſtate or priuate affaires: and ſometimes alſo hee muſt ſet forwards with the hazard of his owne bloud and life: neither muſt hee euer refuſe her commandements. What reward ſhall I theu haue, ſaieſt thou, if I doe this thing valiantly, or that thing gratefully? The deede it ſelfe: nothing is promiſed thee beſides. If any profit caſually befall thee, number it amongſt thy caſuall aduantages. The price of honeſt things is in themſelues. If then that which is honeſt be to be deſired for it ſelfe, and a benefit be honeſt, the condition thereof cannot bee different from honeſty, becauſe they are both of one nature. But that the thing which is honeſt is to be deſired for itſelfe, it is often and abouudantly prooued already.

Chap. II.

Hee argueth the Epicures, who make vertue ſubiect to voluptuouſneſſe and vice.

IN this point I muſt wage warre with the nice and effeminate troope of Epicures, that talke of Philoſophie at their banquet, with whom vertue is the vaſſall and hand-maid of vicious pleaſure; them ſhee obeyeth, them ſhe ſerueth, them ſhe beholdeth and preferred aboue her ſelfe. Is not pleaſure (ſaith hee) without vertue? But why is voluptuouſneſſe aduanced before vertue? Thinkeſt thou, we diſpute of the order? no, the queſtion is of the whole matter, and the power thereof, it is not vertue if it dance attendance after delight. The chiefeſt place is hers, ſhe it is that muſt leade, command, and haue the ſuperioritie: thou biddeſt her aske the watch-word. What skilleth it thee, ſaith the Epicure? I alſo maintaine, that a bleſſed life cannot be without vertue. I condemne and contemne the pleaſure it ſelfe which I follow, and to which I haue made my ſelfe a bondſlaue, if vertue bee remoued from it. The only queſtion is in this, whether vertue be the cauſe of the chiefeſt good, or the chiefeſt good it ſelfe. Admit that this be the only thing in queſtion, thinkeſt thou that there is but the only change of place and order betweene them, that breedeth the difference? This is a very confuſion, this is a manifeſt blindneſſe, to preferre the laſt before the firſt. I am not diſpleaſed becauſe vertue is placed after pleaſure, but becauſe it is any wayes or at all compared, or paralelled with pleaſures. She is the diſpiſer and enemie of pleaſure, and eſtrangeth herſelfe farre from her, more familiar with labour and ſorrow, more fitly to be inſerted into manly incommodities, then into this effeminate felicitie.

Chap. III.

To what intent and end we ought to doe good.

THeſe thing (my *Liberalis*) were to be ſpoken of, becauſe a benefit, (whereof we now entreate) is an act of vertue, and foule ſhame it were to giue it for any other reſpect, then to haue giuen it only. For if wee doe a curteſie in expectation of a recompence, then ſhould we doe it to the wealthieſt, and not to the worthieſt. Now we preferre a poore man vnable to requite, before a rich man. It is no be-

benefit, that hath reference to Fortune. Beſides, if onely profit ſhould entice vs to doe good, they ſhould doe leaſt good, that haue moſt meanes. Such as are rich men, powerfull men, and Kings, becauſe they haue leaſt need of other mens helpe. The Gods likewiſe ſhould with-draw their ſo many liberalities, which, without intermiſſion, day and night they powre vpon vs. For why, their proper nature and being ſufficeth them in all things, and maketh them abundant, ſecure, and inuiolable euery way. To none therefore ſhould they giue their benefits, if their only cauſe of giuing proceeded from no other intention, then to thinke on themſelues and their owne priuate commodities. This is no benefit, but a loane vpon vſe, to reſpect not where you may beſt beſtow it, but where you may place it moſt gainefully, whence you may moſt readily receiue it. Which intention, ſeeing it is farre eſtranged from the Gods: it followeth, that they are diuinely liberall. For if the only cauſe of giuing a benefit, were the giuers profit, and no profit is to bee hoped or expected by God at our hands; there is no cauſe, why God ſhould be bountifull vnto vs.

CHAP. IIII.

I Know well what anſwere is made hereunto, which is, that God beſtoweth no good vpon vs, but is altogether careleſſe and regardleſſe of vs, and not daring to caſt his eyes vpon this world, buſieth himſelfe about other matters, or (which ſeemeth to the Epicure to be the chiefeſt felicitie) hee doth nothing, neither doe benefits or iniuries touch him. He that thus ſaith, heareth not the vowes of thoſe that pray, neither the cryes nor vowes which euery one maketh, as wel in priuate, as in publike, lifting vp their ioyned hands vnto heauen: which vndoubtedly would not bee done, neither would all mankind conſent vnto this madneſſe, to implore a deafe deitie, and inuocate ſuch gods as had no power to helpe them, if they knew not aſſuredly that the Gods giue benefits, ſometimes of their owne proper motion, otherwhiles vpon prayers, that it is they, from whom we receiue ſo many great graces in their due times and ſeaſons, and that by their aſſiſtance we are put out of feare, of ſuch imminent and eminent miſchiefes, as daily threaten vs: * Who is he that is ſo miſerable, and reiected by Heauen? Who is he that is ſo diſgraced, and borne to continuall affliction and trauell? that hath not ſometimes felt theſe great fauours and liberalities of the Gods? Doe but behold, I pray you, euen thoſe who inceſſantly complaine of their miſeries, and who liue ſo mal-contented with their fortunes, yet ſhalt thou find, that they are not wholly exempted, and deſtitute of ſuccours from Heauen, and that there is no man on whom there hath not fallen ſome drops from this ſweet and gracious Fountayne. Thinkeſt thou, that it is a ſmall matter which is equally diſtributed to all thoſe that are borne in this world? And (to omit thoſe things which the Gods beſtow at their pleaſure, with all proportion of meaſure) is it a ſmall matter that Nature hath giuen vs, when ſhee hath giuen vs her ſelfe?

Theſe are the Epicures reaſons, full of blaſphemie and impietie.

** O pious acknowledgement of a Heathen, if ignorance had not blinded him, and hid the cauſe why God is gracious vnto man. This ſecret is to be taught in his ſacred Word.*

CHAP.

Chap. V.

In this Chapter followeth a noble contemplation of Gods benefits, and mens negligence, and careleſſe conſideration thereof.

DOth not God beſtow all benefits vpon vs? From whence then haſt thou all thoſe things whereof thou art poſſeſſed? which thou giueſt? which thou denyeſt? which thou keepeſt? which thou takeſt vniuſtly? From whence comes this infinitie of things which delight the Eyes, affect the Eare, and pleaſe the vnderſtanding? From whence is this abundance, that furniſheth our riotous exceſſe? For they haue not onely prouided for our neceſſities, but we are tendered by them euen vnto delicacie alſo. From whence haue wee ſo many Trees, bearing ſundrie ſorts of ſauourie fruit, ſo many wholeſome herbs, for the maintenance of our healths; ſuch varietie of meats, ſeruing for all ſeaſons through the whole yeare, that an idle ſluggard may find by caſualtie ſufficient ſuſtenance vpon the earth, to feed and nouriſh him. Whence come ſo many ſorts of Beaſts? whereof ſome are bred on the Earth, other ſome in the Water, and others deſcending from the Aire, to the end there might not bee any part of Nature, that ſhould not bee tributarie vnto vs of ſome rent? The Riuers likewiſe, whereof ſome enuiron the Playnes with their pleaſant reuolutions and roundneſſe, other ſtreame thorow their hollow and nauigable Channels, bring vs merchandize from forren Seas, of which ſome, at certayne prefixed times, take wonderfull encreaſe, ſo as the ſudden force of the Sommers floud moyſteneth and watereth thoſe grounds, which are ſituate and planted vnder the droughtie and burning Zone. What ſhall I ſay of the vaines of ſome medicinable Waters? What ſhall I ſpeake of the bubbling and boyling vp of hot Baths, euen vpon the very ſhores?

2. Georg. *And what of thee, O mightie Lake, and thee*
Proud billowed Benac, ſwelling like the Sea.

Chap. VI.

He continueth his confutation of the Epicures impietie, and proueth that all good commeth from God.

IF a man had giuen thee a few Acres of Land, thou wouldeſt ſay that thou hadeſt receiued a benefit at his hands, and denieſt thou that the vnmeaſurable extent of the barren earth is no benefit? If a man ſhould giue thee money, and fill thy coffer (for that ſeemeth a great thing in thy ſight) thou wouldeſt terme it a benefit. And thinkeſt thou it no fauour, that God hath hidden ſo many metals in the Earth, ſpread ſo many Riuers on the Sands, which floting, diſcouer ingots of maſſie Gold, Siluer, Braſſe, and Iron, which hee hath hidden euerywhere; that hee hath giuen thee meanes and knowledge to find it out, by ſetting marks of his couert riches on the vpper face of the Earth? If a man ſhould giue thee a houſe enriched with marble pillars, if the couer thereof were reſplendent, and painted with gold and goodly colours, thou wouldeſt highly eſteeme this preſent of his? God hath builded thee a great Palace, without any danger of feare or falling downe, wherein thou ſeeſt not little pieces, ſmaller then the Chizzell it ſelfe, wherewith they were carued, but entire huge maſſes of precious ſtone, all faſtned and faſhioned after a diuers and different manner, the leaſt piece whereof maketh thee wonder at the beautie of the ſame: the Roofe

Roofe whereof ſhineth after one ſort by day, and after another by night: and wilt thou then denie that thou haſt receiued any benefit at all? Againe, whereas thou ſetteſt great ſtore by that which thou haſt, thinkeſt thou (which is the point of a thankeleſſe perſon) that thou art beholding to no body for them? Whence haſt thou this breath which thou draweſt? Whence commeth this light, whereby thou diſpoſeſt and ordereſt the actions of thy life? From whence haſt thou thy bloud, in the motion and flowing whereof, thy naturall heate is maintayned? Whence come theſe meats, which by their delicate taſtes and pleaſing ſauours, inuite thee to eate farre more then thy ſtomacke can digeſt? Whence come theſe things, which awaken thy pleaſures and delights, when thou art wearied? Whence commeth this quiet and repoſe, wherein thou rotteſt and withereſt away? Wilt thou not ſay, if thou beeſt thankefull:

From God ſprings this repoſe, and euermore Virg. 1. Eclog.
Him for my God ile honor and adore.
Vpon his Altar, to performe my vow,
A firſtling Lambe my Paſtures ſhall allow:
For he it is, as thou doſt plainely ſee,
That yeelds my wandring teame their paſture free,
He lets me tune at pleaſure, as they feede,
My Countrie layes vpon mine Oaten reede.

It is that God, which hath not onely permitted vs to feede a ſmall number of Neate, but that hath filled the whole world with great troops of Cattell, that nouriſheth all beaſts which wander here and there, in ſo many and diuers places; that giueth them new Paſtures in Sommer time, after they haue eaten vp their Winter prouiſion: which hath not onely taught vs to play vpon a Reed, and after ſome manner to tune a Reed, and delightfully ſing to it; but alſo hath inuented ſo many Arts, ſo many varieties of Voices, and ſo many ſounds, to yeeld ſundrie tunes, ſome by force of our owne breath, and ſome by a borrowed and externall Aire. For thou canſt not call thoſe things ours, which wee haue inuented, no more then thou canſt call it our owne doing that wee grow, or that the body hath his full proportion, according to his determinate times. Now our teeth fall in our infancie, anon after we paſſe into an Age, which in a few yeares giueth vs all our encreaſe; againe, ripe age after our yong and ſpringing yeares, making vs become more ſtrong, ſetleth vs in a perfect and manly age. * Finally, wee are come to the laſt period, which maketh an end of the care and courſe of our life. The ſeeds of all Ages and Sciences are hidden in vs from our birth, and that great Worke-man, GOD, produceth out of the hidden, all naturall inſtincts.

CHAP. VII.

NAture, ſaith he, yeeldeth me all theſe. * Vnderſtandeſt thou not that in ſpeaking after this manner, thou changeſt the name of God? For what elſe is Nature but God, and a diuine being and reaſon, which by his ſearching aſſiſtance reſideth in the World, and all the parts thereof? As often as thou liſteſt thou mayeſt call him,

Heere appeareth a Stoicall error which a Chriſtian muſt charily read, leſt by eſtabliſhing Nature aboue her centre, which is the will of God, wee ſtriue to aboliſh and forget God himſelfe. * *Naturall things haue two manners of principles and cauſes, the one are intrinſicall, as matter and forme: the other are extrinſicall, as the efficient cauſes. Both theſe two principles, as well the intrinſicall, as the firſt and principall of the externall, are called by the name of Nature. But heere our* Seneca *taketh this name Nature but for the firſt extrinſecall principle or beginning of things, which is God,* Ariſtotle *taketh it for theſe intrinſecall in his booke of Phiſiques.*

him, ſometimes the Author of all things, and ſometimes *Ioue*, (moſt good, and moſt mightie.) Thou mayeſt alſo well terme him the Thunderer, and eſtabliſher, who had not that name giuen him, becauſe (as the Hiſtoriographers write) that after the Romans had made their vowes vnto him, he re-inforced their hearts, and diſcomforted armies in their behalfe: but becauſe all things ſtand and are eſtabliſhed by his benefit, he is therefore ſo called. Thou ſhalt not alſo lye, if thou call him Deſtinie, for whereas Fate and Deſtinie is but an immutable ordinance, which holdeth all cauſes tied and chained together: he it is, that is the firſt of all, and he on whom all the reſt that follow doe depend. Thou mayeſt fit him with any other names whatſoeuer thou wilt, prouided that they ſignifie and containe the force and effects of celeſtiall things. In briefe, he may haue as many names, as he hath attributes of graces, wherewith he beſteedeth vs.

CHAP. VIII.

A confirmation of the aforeſaid matter by the diuers names which the ancient Romans gaue vnto God.

OVr Stoicks likewiſe ſuppoſe, thathe is Father *Liber*, that he is *Hercules*, and *Mercurie*. Father *Liber*, becauſe all things haue had their being and originall from him. Becauſe that by his meanes we firſt of all found out, and knew the power and vertue of ſeedes, which ſhould afterwards nouriſh vs with a ſweet and honeſt pleaſure. *Hercules*, becauſe his force is inuincible, which when it ſhall be wearied in performing actions, and producing inferiour things, ſhall returne into fire. *Mercurie*, becauſe it is he from whom reaſon proceedeth, and the iudgement, numbers, rankes and order of things, and all thoſe ſciences, which we terme Liberall. Whither ſoeuer thou turneſt thee, there ſhalt thou ſee him meet with thee: nothing is void of him. He himſelfe filleth his worke to the full. Thou preuaileſt nothing then (thou vngratefulleſt man of the world) when thou auoweſt, that thou art no waies indebted to God, but to Nature: for neither is Nature without God, * nor God without Nature. Both theſe two are but one, and differ not. If thou ſhouldeſt confeſſe that thou oweſt to *Annæus* or to *Lucius*, that which *Seneca* hath lent thee, thou ſhouldeſt only change the name, but not the Creditour. For whether thou calleſt him by his name or ſurname, it is alwaies one man. Call him then as thou pleaſeſt, either Nature, or Fate, or Fortune: it makes no matter, becauſe they are all the names of the ſelfe-ſame God, who diuerſly vſeth his diuine prouidence. Euen as Iuſtice, Integritie, Prudence, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and the goods and vertues of the ſoule, if any of theſe pleaſe thee, it is then the ſoule that pleaſeth thee alſo.

* *This muſt bee thus vnderſtood by taking, in this place, Nature for God himſelfe: For otherwiſe, it may not bee ſaid that he is not without Nature.*

CHAP. IX.

He returneth to his purpoſe, and ſheweth that God is gratious vnto vs, without hope of receiuing requitall from vs.

BVt leaſt by theſe diſcourſes I ſhould fall into a forraine diſpute, I ſay that God beſtoweth many and mightie benefits; one was, without hope of intereſt or recompence: for hee hath no need of our tributes, neither can we alſo giue him any thing. A benefit therefore ought to be deſired, for the loue of it ſelfe; the only thing that is reſpected therein, is the profit of the receiuer: herein let vs imploy our ſelues, forgetting our owne priuate commodities. You ſay (ſaith he) that

that we ought to make diligent election of thoſe on whom we will beſtow our benefits (conſidering the labourers and husband-men themſelues, will not commit their ſeeds vnto the ſands) which if it be true, we follow our profit in giuing benefits, as we doe in labouring and ſowing our land: for, to ſow, is not a thing that ſhould be deſired onely of it ſelfe. Furthermore, you aske vs to whom wee ought to giue our benefites? which ſhould not be done, if to giue a benefit were a thing to be deſired of it ſelfe, in what place ſoeuer, after what manner ſoeuer it was giuen, it was a benefit: for we follow that which is honeſt, for no other reſpect, but for the loue of it ſelfe. Yet although no other thing be to be followed, we require what we ſhall doe, and when, and how, for that honeſtie conſiſteth of theſe circumſtances. When therefore I make choice of a man on whom I will beſtow a courteſie, I doe it to the end that I may neuer faile to doe a benefit. Becauſe if it be beſtowed vpon an vnworthie man, it can be neither honeſt, nor a benefit.

CHAP. X.

The method of reſtitution.

TO reſtore a thing which a man is put in truſt withall, is a thing to be deſired of it ſelfe; yet ought I not to reſtore it alwaies, nor in all places, nor at all times. Sometimes it skilleth not whether I deny, or whether I reſtore the ſame in all mens ſight, I will reſpect his profit to whom I am to reſtore it, and perceiuing that by my reſtitution I ſhall doe him iniurie, I will deny him his right. The ſame wil I doe in a benefit: I will ſee when I giue, to whom I giue, how I giue, and why I giue. For nothing is to be done without reaſon: it is no good turne, except it be done vpon reaſon, becauſe reaſon ought to accompany all honeſt things. How often haue we heard men, that haue reproued their owne inconſiderate largeſſe, and caſt forth theſe words, *I had rather haue loſt it, then to haue giuen it to ſuch a one*. It is the moſt villanous manner of loſing that may be, for a man to giue fooliſhly, and without conſideration: and it is much more diſtaſtefull to haue employed a benefit badly, then to haue receiued any. For it is another mans fault, if we receiue not, but it is our owne, that we made not better election and choice in beſtowing it. In making my choice, I will reſpect nothing leſſe then thou thinkeſt, namely from whom I ſhall receiue ſatisfaction. Oftentimes he that neuer requiteth is gratefull, and he vngratefull that hath made requitall; my eſtimation aimeth at nothing, but the minde and heart. And therefore will I ouerpaſſe the rich vnworthie man, and will beſtow my courteſies on the poore good man: for in his greateſt wants he will be thankefull, and when all things faile him, his mind and true heart ſhall not faile him. I ſeeke to raiſe no profit for my courteſies, neither affect I pleaſure or glorie: I content my ſelfe that I can pleaſure one man. I will giue to this onely intent and end, that I may giue that which I ought: and that which I ought to doe, is not to be done without choice and election; which, of what qualitie it ſhall be, doe you aske me the queſtion?

Chap. XI.

To whom wee ought to shew friendship.

I Will chuse an honest, simple, mindfull, and gratefull man, that vsurpeth not vpon another mans fortunes, nor niggardly hoardeth vp his owne, or intendeth euil vnto any man. When I haue made this election, although Fortune hath left this man no power to yeeld any satisfaction, yet haue I accomplished my desire, and obtained my wish. If profit or base consideration maketh me liberall, if I profit no man, but to the end that he may pleasure mee: I will not giue a gratuitie to him that trauaileth into diuers and forren Countries: I will not giue vnto him that will be alwaies absent; I will not giue vnto such a one, who is so sicke, that there is no hope of his recouery; I will not giue, whereas I am dying my selfe, for I shall haue no time to receiue friendship againe. But to let thee know, that a benefit is a thing that ought to be desired for the loue of it selfe: we succour strangers, that are vpon the instant cast vpon our coasts, and will presently depart for another: wee giue and rigge a ship for such a one that hath suffered shipwracke, that it may carrie him backe againe into his owne countrey. He departeth suddenly, scarcely knowing him that was the author of his safetie, and making no reckoning euer more to returne or reuisit him againe. He assigneth the payment of his debt vnto the gods, and beseecheth them, that since he hath no meanes of satisfaction, that it will please them to be thankfull in his behalfe: meane while the conscience of a barren benefit doth content vs. For what doe wee when we are at deaths doore, and dispose our goods and possessions? when we make our Wills, doe we not deuide benefits which shall profit vs nothing? How much time is spent? how long are wee secretly deliberating how much and to whom we shall giue? For what skils it to whom we giue, if we shall receiue of none? And yet we neuer giue any thing more diligently, wee neuer more trauell and racke our iudgements, then when as setting all profit aside, we onely set honestie before our eyes: for so long are wee euill Iudges of our owne offices, as long as hope, feare, & pleasure (the dishonestest vice of all) depraueth our iudgements. But when the assurance of death hath made vs lose the hope of all things, and hath sent a iust and vncorrupted Iudge to giue sentence, then seeke we out the most worthy, to whom we may deliuer our inheritance; neyther dispose we any thing with more circumspection and regard, then those our possessions which appertaine no longer vnto vs.

Chap. XII.

Of the content that a willing benefit yeeldeth, and an answer to the Epicures obiection.

ANd vndoubtedly, euen then conceiueth a man the greatest cõtentment, when he thinketh with himselfe; *I will make such a one more rich then he is, by giuing him a peece of my possessions: I wil increase the honor and nobilitie of his house:* In briefe, if we neuer giue, but when we hope to receiue againe, we must die intestate. Thou maintaynest that a benefit is a debt vnrepayable: but a debt is not a thing to be desired for it selfe, *Ergo*, benefiting or good doing, is not a thing to be desired of it selfe. When we call it a debt, we vse a comparison and translation. So likewise say we that the law is a rule of iust and vniust; and yet the rule is not to be desired as a thing of it selfe, but we are constrained to vse these words, the better to expresse our

our intent and meaning. When I say a debt, it is to bee vnderstood as a thing trusted. Wilt thou know all? I adde further, vnrepayable, which shall neuer be satisfied; although there bee not any debt, but either may or ought to bee paid. It is so farre from it, that wee ought to doe a pleasure for our profit sake; that for the most part (as I haue said) we ought to doe it, though it were to our losse and perill. As for example; I rescue a man circumuented by theeues, to the end he may be permitted to passe in securitie: I defend a guilty person, disgraced and oppressed by the credit of his aduersaries, and purchase to my selfe the displeasure and faction of great men for my labour, to receiue perchance by the meanes of the same accusers, the disgraces and miseries I freed the poore man of: whereas I might haue beene partie against him, or beheld a farre off, and with all assurance the debates and contentions which were entertained by other men: I giue caution for my friend adiudged, and suffer not execution to be serued vpon his goods, but offer my selfe to bee bound for him to his creditors, and to saue him from the prescription, I come in danger to bee out-lawed my selfe. No man determineth to buy a place neere *Tusco* or *Tiburtine* for his health sake, or for the sweetnesse of the ayre, and auoyding the summer heats, that debateth for how many yeeres he shall buy it: but when hee hath bought it, hee must keepe it. The same reason is in benefits. For if you shall aske mee, what profit will accrue thereby: I will answere, a good conscience. Askest thou what profit is yeelded by benefiting? I aske thee likewise, what profiteth it to doe iustly, to liue innocently, to bee valiant and stout in honourable dangers, to liue chastely, to be temperate, if thou seekest any other interest then themselues?

Good deeds are not to be done and performed, either for affectation or vaine glorie, but for vertues sake.

CHAP XIII.

TO what end continueth the heauen his daily and vsuall course? To what end is it, that the Sunne enlargeth and shortneth the day? All these are but benefits, for they are made for our profit. Euen as it is the office of this Vniuerse, to turne about and dispose of the order of all things: as it is the office of the Sunne, where he may arise, and where he may set, and to performe all these faire, profitable, and wholesome effects for our sake, without hope of any profit from vs: so is it the duty of one man, amongst other things, to doe good vnto another. Askest thou me, why he giueth these benefits? Forsooth, to this end, that he may not be vpbraided with giuing nothing, and that hee may not lose the occasion of well-doing. But all your pleasure and delight, is to accustome your delicate bodies to a lazie idlenesse, and to long for a securitie, resembling that of sleepe, to couch and lie hidden vnder a close couert and arbor, and to entertaine the dulnesse of your decayed minds, and to humor them with sweet and agreeable thoughts, which you call tranquillitie, and repose of spirit, to pamper your vnweldie carcasses while they wax wan with meates and drinks, in the caues and cabinets of your gardens. Contrariwise, wee feele a pleasure truely worthy a man in giuing benefits (although that they breede vs much sorrow and labour) prouided they set them out of trouble for whom we doe them (although they be full of danger) prouided that wee releeue others from their miserie: although all be to the losse and diminution of our substance,

By the example of the course of the heauen, he sheweth the duty of a good man.

prouided that another mans pouerty and neceſſitie bee releeued. What haue I to doe to receiue benefits at an other mans hands? When I haue receiued them, I muſt imploy and beſtow them. A benefit reſpecteth not our particular, but onely his profit to whom it is giuen; otherwiſe wee giue vnto our ſelues, and not vnto others. And by this reaſon many things which breede another man great profit, loſe their grace, becauſe they are done for gaine. The Merchant is very profitable for the Citie, and the Phyſitian for the ſicke, and the * Regrater for goods that are to be ſold. But becauſe all theſe are not profitable to any, but to inrich themſelues, they obliege not thoſe who receiue good by them.

* Mango *is one that properly ſelleth ſlaues, young boyes or girles, as their old cuſtome was.*

Chap. XIIII.

He that giueth to receiue a profit is vnworthy the name of a Benefactor.

IT is no benefit that is imployed to profit. This will I giue, this will I take, is but open ſale and chaffering. I will not call her modeſt that repulſed her louer, to the end to enkindle his loue the greater, that either feared the Law, or her husband: as *Ouid* ſaith,

She gaue that did not giue becauſe ſhe could not.

Not vndeſeruedly is ſhee numbred amongſt the ſinners, that rather conſecrateth her honeſty to feare, then to the reſpect of her owne ſelfe: In like manner he that hath giuen a benefit to the intent he might receiue a requitall, hath not giuen it. Shall we ſay that we doe good vnto beaſts, when we fatten them for our ſeruice, or nouriſh them to yeeld vs foode? That wee doe good to our fruit-trees, or the Gardens, wherein they grow; when wee digge about them, leſt through dryneſſe or hardneſſe of the earth (if they were not well looked vnto, or timely, and oft-times remoued) they ſhould grow barren and withered? no man manureth his fields for the loue of Iuſtice and honeſtie nor doth any other buſineſſe, without hope of intereſt or gaine. A couetous thought, and addicted to gaine, will neuer breede in vs a deſire to doe good: but a humane and liberall heart, which after it hath giuen any thing, deſireth ſtill to giue more, and redouble new curteſies vpon the old: a heart that thinketh not what profit ſhall ariſe to him that giueth: for otherwiſe it is a baſe contemptible and abiect matter to doe good vnto another, for a mans particular intereſt and profit: what magnificence is it for a man to loue himſelfe? to thinke on nothing but his owne thrift? to trauaile no wayes but for himſelfe? But the true deſire of doing good vnto another, withdraweth vs from all this; and laying hold on vs, draweth vs to our loſſe, and diſdayning our particular good, highly reioyceth in the act of well-doing only.

Chap. XV.

As an iniury is a thing euill in it ſelfe, the benefit which is directly oppoſed againſt it is then to be deſired of it ſelfe, ſince there is no man which taketh not pleaſure to haue done a curteſie.

CAn it be doubted, but that iniurie is contrary to a benefit? Like as to doe an iniurie, is a thing to bee eſchewed and ſhunned of it ſelfe; euen ſo to doe good is a thing to be coueted for it ſelfe. In the one, the ſhame preuaileth againſt all the rewards that encourage vnto wickedneſſe: and in the other, the appearance of honeſtie, which hath great power and efficacie of it ſelfe, ſufficiently inuiteth vs.

I ſhall

I ſhall not lie if I ſay that there is not any one but loueth his owne, and that there is not any man of ſo mortified a will, that conceiueth not a great contentment, to ſee him whom he hath oft-time pleaſured, and hath not a deſire to further him farther, becauſe he hath done for him once before. Which thing could neuer come to paſſe, except wee naturally tooke pleaſure in our good deedes. How often-times maieſt thou heare ſome ſay. *I cannot abandon him whoſe life I haue ſaued, and whom I haue already drawne out of danger? hee beſeecheth me to maintaine his cauſe againſt his aduerſaries, who haue great fauour and authoritie: I will not: but what ſhall I then doe? I haue ſtood his friend once, and ſteaded him againe.* See you not how in this caſe, there is a certaine peculiar vertue and power that conſtraineth vs to ſuccour him, and further, to doe him this good in his vtmoſt neceſſitie; firſt, becauſe it behoueth vs to doe it; ſecondly, becauſe before times we haue done him the like pleaſure? And although at the beginning wee had no reaſon to ſuccour him, yet at this time we will aſſiſt him, becauſe wee haue already done it at another time. So farre is it that profit ſhould impell vs to doe a pleaſure, that contrariwiſe wee perſeuer to maintayne and nouriſh thoſe things that are vnprofitable, and conſerue them for the only loue we beare to our owne benefits, to which, though vnhappily giuen, it is as naturall to giue pardon, as to wicked children.

CHAP. XVI.

He now proueth that thankſgiuing for benefits and pleaſures receiued, is honeſt, and to be deſired of it ſelfe.

THeſe Epicures confeſſe that they themſelues doe yeeld thanks, not for that it is honeſt ſo to doe, but becauſe it is profitable, yet with little labour wee may eaſily approue that it is farre otherwiſe. For by theſe very arguments, whereby wee proue, that to giue benefits is a thing to be deſired in it ſelfe; by the ſame alſo we ſhall gather and conclude this: It is a thing moſt aſſured, and from whence we gather all our prooſes for all this diſpute, that wee priſe not honeſtie, but only becauſe it is honeſt. Who therefore dare draw it into queſtion, that to remunerate a curteſie is not an honeſt thing? who is hee that deteſteth not an vngratefull man, who is only vnprofitable to himſelfe? But what wilt thou ſay of him (when thou heareſt it reported) who is vngratefull and vnthankefull to his friend, for his many and mighty benefits, how wilt thou indure him, and anterpret it, whether he haue plaid an vnhoneſt part in ſo doing, or that hee hath dealt fondly, in omitting that which was for his commoditie and profit? I thinke thou wilt account him a wicked man, and imagine that hee rather deſerueth ſome puniſhment, then needeth an ouer-ſeer to order his eſtate to his profit. Which thing ſhould not fall out ſo, vnleſſe honeſtie were a thing both honeſt and to be deſired of it ſelfe. other things perhaps haue not their excellence and dignitie ſo apparant, and haue neede of an interpreter to expreſſe whether they be honeſt or no. But this is ſo apparant and ſo beautifull, that it can not be doubted, but that the cleareneſſe thereof will ſhine very brightly. What thing is ſo laudable, what ſo equally entertayned and allowed in all mens iudgements, as to be thankefull for benefits?

Chap. XVII.

An vngratefull man neither feareth nor oweth.

TEll me what cauſe induceth vs hereunto? Is it gaine? which, hee that deſpiſeth not, is vngratefull. Is it ambition? and what fooliſh boaſt is it to haue paid what thou oughteſt. Is it feare? The vngratefull man hath none, and therefore the Common-weale prefixeth no Lawes for giuing thanks, becauſe that nature hath ſufficiently commanded vs, and enioyned vs to bee gratefull. Euen as there is no Law that bindeth vs to loue our Parents, nor to tender and cheriſh Children. For it is but loſt labour to conſtraine vs, to doe that whereunto Nature ſummoneth vs of her ſelfe. And like as no man needeth to bee incited to ſelfe loue, becauſe he hath it by kind: ſo is no man to be exhorted to follow honeſt things of himſelfe, Vertue is ſo pleaſing and gracious of her owne nature, that the wickedder ſort alſo haue a certayne inſtinct to approue the better. Who is he that would not ſeeme to be bountifull? Who is hee that deſireth not to bee accounted good, euen when he doth moſt wickedneſſe and wrong? and when he hath moſt exerciſed his tyrannie and crueltie, would not ſhaddow the ſame vnder ſome ſurface of iuſtice, that ſtriueth not alſo to make men thinke, that he hath done good vnto thoſe whom he hath moſt of all offended? And therefore they ſuffer themſelues to be entertayned at their hands, whom they haue moſt of all afflicted, and fayne themſelues to bee good and liberall, becauſe they cannot approue themſelues ſuch: which they would not doe, except the loue of honeſtie, which is to be deſired for it ſelfe, compelled them to ſeeke a contrarie reputation to their corrupt manners, and to conceale and cloke their wickedneſſe, the fruit whereof is deſired, but the thing it ſelfe is ſhamefull and odious to them: neither is there any man ſo farre eſtranged and ſequeſtred from the Law of nature, and degenerated from man-hood, that would bee naught for his minds ſake only. Aske any of theſe Gallants that liue by rapine and ſpoile, if they had not rather get their goods by any honeſt meanes, then by robbing and ſtealing? He that inricheth himſelfe by ſpoiling and killing paſſengers, will rather wiſh to find thoſe things he hath purchaſed, then take them by force; you ſhall find no man but had rather enioy the fruits of his wickedneſſe, without performing the wickedneſſe it ſelfe: we haue this great benefit at Natures hands, that Vertue permitteth each mans minde to bee illuminated with her beames; and they which follow her not, haue a full view of her.

Chap. XVIII.

The miſeries of ingratitude which deſtroyeth humane ſocietie, and maketh worſe then beaſts.

AND to let thee know, that the affection of a grateſull minde is to be deſired for it ſelfe, it is certayne that ingratitude ought to bee fled and eſchewed in it ſelfe. Becauſe there is nothing that ſo much diſmembreth and diſſipateth mens friendſhip, as this vice. For in what other thing are wee ſecure but in this, that wee are helped by mutuall offices, and interchangeable friendſhips? by this one and only commerce of benefits, our life is not only aſſured, but better defended againſt all ſodaine incurſions. Single vs alone, what are we? but a prey and ſacrifice for rauenous beaſts, neither is there any bloud more vile or eaſier to bee ſpilt:

ſpilt: for other beaſts haue ſufficient force to maintayne and defend themſelues. Whatſoeuer beaſts are bred to wander vp and downe, and to leade a ſolitarie and ſeparated life, are armed, weakeneſſe girteth in and galleth man on euery ſide: the force of his nailes, the ſharpneſſe of his teeth, hath not made him terrible to the reſt, being naked and infirme: ſocietie aſſureth and defenceth him. Two things hath ſhee giuen him, to wit, Reaſon and Societie, which make him (although he be expoſed to all other dangers) moſt powerfull and puiſſant. And thus hee, that being alone and ſeparated, was the leaſt and feebleſt of all the reſt, is become the Maſter of all things. Societie gaue him the dominion ouer all liuing Creatures. Societie, whereas hee was borne for the Land, hath tranſmitted him into a Soueraigntie of an other nature, and made him Lord of the Sea likewiſe. Societie hath repreſſed the violence of infirmities, puruayed ſuccours and aſſiſtance for old age, and giuen comfort againſt ſorrow. Shee it is that giueth vs forces, and animateth vs to reſiſt Fortune. Take Societie away, and thou ſhalt extinguiſh and cut off the vnitie of mankind, whereby life is ſuſtayned. But it ſhall bee taken away, if you bring to paſſe that a thankeleſſe mind is not to bee eſchewed by it ſelfe: but becauſe that hee ought to feare ſome other thing. For how many vngratefull men are they, that may be vngratefull without puniſhment. To conclude, I call him vngratefull whoſoeuer is gratefull for feare.

CHAP. XIX.

NO man of ſound vnderſtanding feareth the Gods, for it is a madneſſe to feare thoſe, from whom we receiue all our good, neither doth any man loue thoſe whom hee feareth. Finally, thou Epicure, thou makeſt God forceleſſe, thou haſt diſpoiled him of all his armes and power, and leſt he ſhould bee feared by any man, thou haſt turned him out of the world. Being then after this manner begirt and inuironed with a ſtrong and impregnable wall, ſeparated and retyred out of the ſight, and touch of mortall men, thou haſt no cauſe to feare him, becauſe he hath no meanes to doe either good or euill. Remayning alone betwixt the ſpace and diſtance, which is betweene one Heauen and another, abandoned of all companie of Creatures and Men, diſfurniſhed of all things, he is out of danger of the ruines of the world, which he ſeeth fall aboue him, and about him, not making any reckoning of our vowes and prayers, neither hauing any care of vs. Yet wilt thou ſeeme to worſhip him as reuerently as thy Parents, with a gratefull mind, as I ſuppoſe, or if thou wilt not ſeeme gratefull, becauſe thou haſt no benefit of his, but that thy little *Atomes* and Mites, which thou haſt fantaſtically coyned in thy braine, haue raſhly and vnſurely formed and faſhioned thee ſuch as thou art, why doeſt thou worſhip him? It is (thou wilt anſwere) for the excellency of his great Majeſtie, and for his ſingular nature; I put the caſe that this be thus, at leaſtwiſe thou doeſt it without hope of any good, and without any perſwaſion or appearance of profit. There is therefore ſomewhat that is to bee deſired for it ſelfe, the dignitie whereof inuiteth and draweth thee to loue the ſame, and truly, that is, honeſtie. For what is more honeſt then to bee gratefull? the matter of this vertue extendeth it ſelfe as farre as our life.

It is not intended that the iuſt man hath no feare of God, if feare bee taken for one of the ſeuen giftes of the holy Ghoſt: but this place is to be vnderſtood that feare, which is not compatible with that loue wherewith good men loue God, but a ſeruile feare, which is not of children, but of ſlaues.

Chap. XX.

How ſomething is to be deſired of it ſelfe, and what he gaineth, who acknowledgeth a benefit done vnto himſelfe.

BVt in this good, ſaith he, there is ſome profit likewiſe: for in what vertue is it not? But that is ſaid to be deſired for it ſelfe, which although it haue ſome commodities without it ſelfe, is notwithſtanding well pleaſing and acceptable, euen when thoſe commodities be remoued and taken away. It is profitable for mee to be thankefull, yet will I be thankefull although it be to my harme: what ſeeketh he that is thankefull? Is it to the end that his acknowledgement may get him new friends, and more benefits? what if in ſo doing he ſhould purchaſe other mens diſpleaſure? if a man bee aſſured that he ſhall gaine nothing in reſtoring the good which he hath receiued, but contrariwiſe that hee ſhall loſe much of that he hath alreadie gotten, and hoarded vp in his coffers; would he willingly light vpon this loſſe? vndoubtedly, that man is vngrateſull that fixeth the eye of his deſire vpon a ſecond good turne, when hee ſatisfieth the firſt, hoping to make profit of that pleaſure, whereof he acquiteth himſelfe. I call him vngrateſull that ſitteth by a ſick man, and continually attendeth by him, becauſe he is to make his laſt will and teſtament, or hath ſo much leaſure as to thinke of any inheritance or legacie. Although hee doe all things which a good friend (or ſuch a one as is mindfull of his duetie) ought to doe, if he conceiue in himſelfe any intereſſable hope, he layeth a ſnare, or as a Fiſherman armeth his bait, if he expect and linger after the death of the partie, and houer about his carkaſſe like carion Crowes, which ſtand ſpying neere at hand for the fall of ſome cattel by the rot, hee will giue an occaſion for each man to thinke, that he doth but expect the death of his good friend, and doth but houer and haunt about his perſon.

Chap. XXI.

Two ſorts of men who are not vngrateſull, and of two meanes they haue to acknowledge a benefit.

AThankefull heart conceiueth no pleaſure, but in the onely vertue of his good intent. Wilt thou know that this is true, and that a thankefull man is not corrupted by profit? There are two ſorts of thankefull men. He is ſaid to be thankfull, that maketh ſatisfaction in ſome ſort for that he hath receiued. This man peradventure may vaunt himſelfe, he hath ſomewhat whereof to boaſt, and to ſpeak of. He is called thankfull, that hath receiued a benefit with a good mind, and oweth it with as good. This man hideth himſelfe in his owne conſcience: but what profit may he reape of an affection ſo deepely hidden? But that other man, although he wanteth meanes to doe more, yet is he thankefull: hee loueth, he oweth, he deſireth to yeeld ſatisfaction, whatſoeuer thou requireſt more, he wanteth not. A workeman is a workeman, although he want his tooles to exerciſe his Art; and a cunning Muſitian is a Muſitian, although his very voyce cannot be heard for muttering and noyce that is made about him. I will giue thankes. After this, there remaineth ſomething for me to doe, not that I may be thankfull, but really acquit of my obligation. For oftentimes hee that recompenceth is not thankefull, and contrariwiſe, many that doe it not, are thankefull. For as of all other vertues, ſo the whole eſtimation of this hath reference to the minde, if ſhe be obſeruant of that which concerneth her,

The minde and intent crowneth the action.

what-

whatsoeuer otherwise is deficient, is the errour of Fortune. Euen as a man ceaseth not to be eloquent, although he be silent, nor strong, although his hands be bound and fettered, neither a good Pilote, although he be vpon the firme land, because hee wanteth no perfection in his science, although there be some impediment that letteth them from vsing the same. Euen so also is hee thankfull, that hath onely a will to bee thankfull, and hath no other witnesse of his willingnesse, but himselfe. Nay I will say thus much more, sometimes euen hee is thankefull, which seemeth vnthankfull, and whom mis-deeming opinion traduceth for the contrarie. Wherein then reposeth this man his trust, but in his conscience, which reioyceth in it selfe, although it be oppressed, which reclaimeth and gain-sayeth all that eloquence can vrge, or fauour detract: and reposeth all things in her selfe? And though she seeth neuer so huge a multitude of men that reproue her intentions, she maketh no reckoning of the contrary opinions, but thinketh to iustifie her selfe in her owne secret iudgement. And albeit she perceiue, that her faithfulnesse beare the punishment of perfidiousnes, yet she abateth no whit of her courage, neither is abashed thereat, but standeth still aloft, aboue her punishment.

A good conscience contemneth oppression, being erect and confirmed in it selfe.

CHAP. XXII.

I Haue (saith he) that which I would, and that which I desired: I haue not as yet repented me, neither will I euer repent my selfe: neither shall Fortune (how aduerse soeuer she be) fix in mee this pusillanimitie, as to make me say: *What is that I intended? whereto hath my good will now profited mee?* It profiteth me when I am on the racke: it profiteth me beeing in the middest of the fire, which if it should be applyed to euerie member of my bodie, and by little and little should enuirone and deuour the same on euery side, although my bodie (fraughted with a good conscience) should be put into a flaming fire, and tortured and burned therein, yet would the fire be pleasing to me, because thorow it my spotlesse faith would shine and appeare. I will now once more re-inforce that argument which I haue vsed in times past. Why is it, that when we die we are desirous to be gratefull? Why examine we euery particular mans deserts? Why endeuour we to refresh the memorie of all our life past, to this intent, that we might seeme to be forgetfull of no mans kindnesse. At that time, there remaineth nothing for hope to linger vpon, and yet standing at the pits brimme, our desire is to depart this world, to euery mans satisfaction. The reason is, because the proper act of thankesgiuing draweth with it a most great reward of it selfe, and the force of vertue is very great, to draw mens hearts vnto it, and the beauty of honestie so enuironeth and surpriseth mens mindes, that it rauisheth them with the admiration of the light and brightnesse thereof, yea many commodities ensue thereby. For that life in the better sort is more assured, which is attended with loue, with the fauourable opinion of the best, with secure age, innocencie, and a gratefull mind: Nature hath dealt vniustly with vs, if shee had made vs partakers of so great a benefit, with miserie, danger, and vncertaintie. But, consider I pray you, although thou mightest easily, and without danger attaine very often to this vertue by an assured and easie way, whether thou couldest not find in thy heart to make thy way thereunto, by vnaccessible rockes, through stony waies, full of Serpents and sauage beasts.

A good conscience is a great comfort in aduersitie, and why wee ought to desire to doe good euen then when we are readie to die.

Innocencie in danger is confident, in prosperitie milde, in all encounters happy.

CHAP.

Chap. XXIII.

He proueth against the Epicure, by the consideration of the celestiall bodies that a good thing as to be desired of it selfe.

YEt ought we not to say, that a thing should not bee desired for the loue of it selfe, because it is accompanied with some forraine profit that attendeth it. For wee see almost daily, that the faireſt things are attended with accessary endowments, but yet so as they draw these commodities after them, and they themselues goe before. May it bee doubted, but that the course and circular motion of Sunne and Moone, doe temperate this dwelling place of mankind by their diuers changes? Or that by the heate of the Sunne, all bodies are cherished, the earth is relaxed and opened, superfluous moistures abated, and the irkesomenesse of Winter that bindeth all things allayed, or that by the effectuall and piercing warmth of the Moone the ripening fruits are moistened? Or that the fruitfulnesse of man is answereable and correspondent to the course of the Sunne: but that by his proper motion he maketh the yeere discerneable, and the Moone by her circumuolution in shorter space maketh the month. But letting these passe, were not the Sunne of it selfe worthy to bee beheld and admired in our sight, though he did but swiftly passe before our eyes. Were not the Moone to be beheld by vs, although shee ranne by vs but as an idle Starre? The heauen it selfe here oft by night hath it scattered his starres and shined so much through the innumerable appearance of them, whom hath it not left in admiration? who is he that seeing himselfe to be surprised by so great a wonder, hath leisure at that time to thinke on the good and profit that they bring? Behold, these Starres that glide aloft in the still firmament, after what sort hide they their swiftnesse, vnder an appearance of a standing and immooueable worke? How much is done this night, which thou obseruest only for a reckoning and difference from the dayes? What a troope of things are vnfolded vnder this silence? What an order of destinies doth this certaine bound bring forth? These things which thou beholdest no otherwise, but as matters dispersed for beautifying, are euery one of them occupied in working. Neither art thou to imagine that these seuen Planets only haue their designed motions, and the rest stand fixed, we comprehend the motion of very few. But there is an infinite number of * gods, which are farre seuered and withdrawne from our sight, which both goe and come. And of those which are subiect to our sight there are diuers, that haue obscure motions and hidden courses. What then? art thou not strooken with admiration to behold so huge a worke, although it rule thee not, preserue thee not, cherish thee not, ingender thee not, or moysten thee by his spirit.

Admiration of these things accompanyed with deuotion, what admirable effects worke they in the Soule?

* *A Stoicall error, who ascribe Deitie to the Starres.*

Chap. XXIIII.

An application of that which hath beene said before.

SO, euen as these things, although they haue their first and principall vses, and are both necessary and profitable for our life, yet it is the maiestie of them that occupieth the whole mind. Euen so all vertue (and especially the vertue of gratefulnesse) yeeldeth very much profit, yet will it not be loued for the same, for it hath yet a further thing in it, neither is it sufficiently vnderstood by him, which accounteth it amongst gainefull things. Is a man thankefull because it concerneth his owne profit? *Ergo*, also he is thankfull, but for so much as implieth his profit.

fit. Vertue entertaineth not a couetous and baſe minded Louer, ſhee will bee courted with open hands and a liberall heart. The vngratefull man thinketh thus: *I would faine requite the curteſie I haue receiued, but I feare the charge and expence, I feare the perill, I am afraid of diſpleaſure, I will rather doe that which is more profitable and ſecure for mee.* One and the ſame cauſe and reaſon, cannot make a man thankefull, and vngratefull: as their actions are diuers, ſo their intentions are different. The one is vngratefull, although it behoueth him not, becauſe it is for his profit, the other is grateful although it be againſt his profit, becauſe he ought ſo to be.

CHAP. XXV.

A confirmation by the example taken from the bounty of the Gods.

WEe are reſolued to liue conformable and agreeable to nature, and to follow the example of the gods. But in all that whatſoeuer the gods doe, they follow nothing elſe, but the reaſon of doing that they doe, except haply thou imagineſt, that they receiue the fruit of their labours out of the ſmoake of intrailes, and the odour of the Incenſe which is conſumed in their ſacrifices. Conſider how great things they atchieue and compaſſe daily, with what aboundant fruits they repleniſh the earth, with how ſeaſonable and fauourable winds (fitly ſeruing to conuey vs into all forraine Coaſts) turne they and moue they the Seas, with how many and ſudden ſhowers mollifie they and moyſten they the earth, and repleniſh the dried veines and fountaines, and renew them by infuſing nutriment, by the hidden and ſecret Spring-heads. All theſe things doe they without any recompence, and without any profit that may accrue vnto them. This example alſo ought our reaſon to obſerue (if it diſagree not from this patterne and preſident) leſt it follow honeſt things, as if hired and engaged. Let vs be aſhamed to ſell the leaſt courteſie that we do. The Gods expect no recompence for that they doe.

CHAP. XXVI.

Whether a man may doe a curteſie to an ingratefull man, knowing him to be ſuch a one.

What a burthen hath iniquitie on his backe?

IF thou wilt imitate the Gods (ſaith hee) thou muſt pleaſure euen thoſe that are vnthankful: for the Sunne riſeth vpon the wicked, and Pirats haue the ſea open vnto them. In this place they demand, whether a good man is to imploy his benefits on an vnthankfull man, knowing him to be ſuch a one? Giue mee leaue to ſpeake ſomewhat by the way, leſt I be entangled with a doubtfull queſtion. There are, according to the opinion of the Stoicks, two ſorts of vngratefull men. The one vngratefull, becauſe he is a foole, and wanteth iudgement; but he that is a foole, is conſequently euill, and an euill man is repleniſhed with all kinds of vices, and therefore is vngratefull. In like manner wee terme all men euill, intemperate, and diſſolute, couetous, prodigall, and malicious, not becauſe all theſe are knowne and notorious vices to all, but becauſe they may be, and are, though vndiſcouered. An other is vngratefull, and in all mens iudgement and voyces is termed ſo, for that by nature he is prone and inclined thereunto. To that vngratefull man, that ſo is not free from this vice, as hee is free from no vice, a good man may doe a courteſie and kindneſſe: for ſhould he but reiect

reiect those of this condition, he should doe good vnto no man? But vnto this vngratefull man, which is a defrauder of benefits, who naturally hath his heart addicted to ingratitude, he shall no more giue a benefit, then to trust his money to a banquerout, or leaue a pledge in his hands, who hath heretofore defrauded many others of their right. We call him Coward who is a foole; for this followeth those wicked persons, who are indifferently seazed of all kindes of vices: but properly we account and call him a Coward, who naturally is affrighted with the least trifling noice he heareth. So a foole hath all vices, but is not naturally wicked vnto all: one is subiect to auarice, the other to prodigalitie and outragious expences, the other to shameleſſe petulancie and wantonneſſe.

The description of a Coward.

Chap. XXVII.

He reprehendeth those who vnderstood not well the aforesaid Paradox of the Stoicks. For hee was called Aristides Iustus.

THey then are deceiued, who question with the Stoickes after this manner. What then, is *Achilles* a coward? What then, is *Aristides* (to whom Iustice gaue his name) vniust? What then, is *Fabius* (who by cunctations and delay, restored his decaying Common-weale) rash? What then, feareth *Decius* death? is *Mutius* a traytor? Is *Camillus* a forsaken? Noe, we intend no such matter; neither say wee that all sorts of vices are so inseparably vnited in all men, as in some there are particular faults, and they more eminent. But this we say, that a fooliſh and wicked man is subiect and enclined to all vices, in so much as wee acquit not the bold man of feare, nor discharge the prodigall man of niggardize. Euen as man is naturally endowed with all his fiue senses, and yet all men are not so quick-sighted as *Linceus*: so he that is a foole hath not all vices, so vehement and disordinate as some of them, haue some vices. All vices are in all men; yet are not all of them eminent in euery man. Nature impelleth one man vnto couetousneſſe, this man to lust, that man she addicteth to wine, or if not as yet addicted, yet is so he formed, that his disposition draweth him thereunto. For this cause (that I may returne vnto my purpose) I say that there is no man that is not stained with ingratitude, and that is euill: for hee hath all the seedes of wickednesse in him, yet properly he is called vngratefull, who is more inclined to that vice. On such a one therefore will I bestow no benefit. For like as hee hath very little care of his daughter, that marrieth her to a contumelious and often-diuorced husband: and as he is esteemed an ill husband and housholder, who preferreth to the stewardship of his house, and gouernement of his patrimonie, one alreadie condemned for ill managing his Masters businesse. And as he committeth a great folly, and maketh a mad will, that leaueth such a one Tutor and gouernour of his heire, that hath beene a spoyler, an ouerthrow of innocent Orphelins. So shall hee bee reputed to bestow his courtesies very inconsiderately, who maketh his choyce of vngratefull men, on whom hee may bestow that which is sure will bee lost.

An apt similitude.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How and wherefore God is beneficiall to the wicked.

THe Gods alſo (ſaith he) giue many things to vngratefull men: but theſe, had they prepared for the good, yet befall they the euill alſo, becauſe they cannot be ſeparated. And more reaſon is it to profit the euill for the goods ſake, then to abandon the good for the euills ſake. So thoſe things thou ſpeakeſt of the day, the Sun, the entercourſe of Winter and Summer, the temperate ſweetnes of the Spring and Autumne, the raines, the water-ſprings, and the ordinarie blaſts of windes, were deuiſed by the Gods for all men in generall, they could not ſeuer and ſeparate them, onely for thoſe they intended good to. The King giueth honors to thoſe that are worthie, but he oftentimes yeeldeth publique larges, and preſents of victuals to thoſe that deſerue it not. The theefe, the periured man, the adulterer (prouided alwaies that he be a Citizen) receiued the publike larges of wheat, and whatſoeuer, without reſpect of his manners (when there is any thing that is giuen as to a Citizen, not as to a good man) both good and euill equally ſhare the ſame. God likewiſe hath giuen ſome things in generall to all mankind, from whence no man is excluded. For it could not be, that the winds ſhould be fauourable to the good, and contrary to the wicked. It was the good and profit of all nations, that the ſeas were open and nauigable, for the good of the merchants traffique, and to extend the Kingdome of mankind. Neither could there a law be prefixed to the raine, that it ſhould not ouerflow the lands of the wicked and vniuſt. There are certaine things which are common, both to the one, and to the other. Cities are built, as well to entertaine the good as the euill: the monuments of learned mens wits are publiſhed and vented abroad, to be read as well to the reprobate, as the vertuous. Medicine miniſtreth helpe euen to the moſt debauched. No man euer concealed the compoſition of wholeſome medicines, for feare leſt the vnworthie ſhould bee healed. Seeke thou a ſtrict account and valuation of perſons, in thoſe things which are giuen ſeuerally vnto a man, as a man worthie, and not in theſe things which confuſedly admit the common ſort. For there is a great difference betwixt chuſing a man, and not repulſing him. The Law is open to all men, the Murtherers themſelues enioy the peace, and they which haue ſtolne another mans goods, recouer their owne. Such as are quarrellers, and readie to ſtrike any man in time of peace, are defended from the enemie with a wall in time of warre. Thoſe that haue moſt oftentimes offended the Lawes, are maintained and conſerued with all aſſurance, vnder the authoritie thereof. Certaine things could not happen to particular men, except they were giuen to all. There is no cauſe therefore, why thou ſhouldeſt diſpute of theſe things, whereunto wee are publiquely induced. That which in my choyce and iudgement I would giue to any vertuous man, I will carefully prouide that I caſt it not away on ſuch a one, whom I know to be vngratefull.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

An obiection vpon the former discourse, and what good a man may refuse to doe vnto an vngratefull man.

WIlt thou not then (saith hee) giue counsell to an vngratefull man, who would take thine aduice in his affaires: nor permit him to draw water out of thy fountaines: nor shew him the way if he be out of it? or wouldest thou do these things for an vngratefull man, yet refuse him afterwards all other sorts of good? I will distinguish in this poynt, or at least-wise I will endeuor to distinguish the same. A benefit is a profitable worke, but euery profitable worke is not a benefit. For some things are of so small moment, that they deserue not the name of a benefit. Two things must concurre in making of a benefit. First, the greatnesse of the thing, for some things there are, that vndergoe the measure of this name: who euer accounted it a benefit, to haue giuen a shiue of bread, or a peece of bare money, or to haue permitted a neighbour to enter and kindle fire in his house? And yet sometimes these things doe a man more pleasure then farre greater: but the baseneſse of them diminisheth their reputation, euen then, when the necessitie of the time maketh them needfull. Againe, wee ought to consider that which is principall and of greatest force: which is first of all, that I doe it for loue of that person, to whom I would giue my benefit, and whom I account worthie to receiue the same. Finally, that I doe it with a good will, and that I feele in my selfe a great ioy and pleasure that I doe it. Of which points there are none at all in these things that we speake of; for wee bestow them not as vpon worthy men, but carelesselyas small things, and we giue it not vnto the man, but vnto humanitie.

The difference betweene a profitable worke and a benefit.

CHAP. XXX.

Honour enkindleth good spirits, and maketh labour pleasing.

This Sextus Pompey *was the Sonne of* Sextus Pompeius, *who was consul the yeare* 1218.

These were of the Fabian *Familie.*

IDenie not but that sometimes I may bestow some things on those that are vnworthie for other mens sakes. As oft-times in the pursuit of honours and dignities, the ancient Nobilitie of houses hath beene the cause, that those men were preferred, who were vnprofitable, and of base estimation, before those that were learned and of good spirits. Not without cause is the memory of great vertues sacred; and many men affect goodnesse with greater delight, when they perceiue that the honour of good men dieth not with them. What merit made *Ciceroes* sonne Consull, but the memorie of his father? What thing is it that caused *Cinna* of late (returning from the Enemies campe) to be honoured with the Consulship? why was *Sextus Pompey*, and the rest, that haue borne the name of the *Pompeis*, preferred in the like manner, but for the excellencie and vertue of one only man, whose greatnesse was so great, that his ruine and death could raise so many of his posteritie, to so worthie estimation? What made *Fabius Persicus* lately (that was so hatefull in the most abiectest mens eyes, that they disdained to kisse him) attaine vnto the Priesthood of so many Colledges, but onely the fame of the *Verrucosians* and *Allobrogicks*, and of those three hundred, that opposed one family against the intrusion of their enemies in their Countries defence? So much are we indebted vnto vertues, that wee ought to respect them, not onely while they be present, but also when they are most distant and out of sight. Euen as those vertues wrought this effect, that they profited

fited not only one age, but left their benefits behind them to all ages: so let vs not be gratefull to one age only. This man hath begotten noble children, he is then worthy of good turnes, whatsoeuer he himselfe is, because hee hath brought forth such. Another is borne of noble Ancestors, whatsoeuer hee himselfe is, let him be shrouded vnder the shaddow of his Ancestors. Like as obscure and vncleane places are lightned by the repercussion of the Sunne-beames, so let idle and vnworthy men be illustrated by the light of their fore-fathers.

It is some part of happinesse, to be borne of good Parents.

CHAP. XXXI.

IN this place, my *Liberalis*, I intend to excuse the gods. For sometimes we are wont to say, Whereat aymed the prouidence of the gods, when they committed the gouernement of a Kingdome to * *Arideus* hands? Thinkest thou it was giuen him? It befell him for his fathers and his brothers sake. Why gaue she the Empire of the whole world to *Caius Caligula*, a man so insatiate of mans bloud, that he commanded the same to be shed before his eyes, as if hee had a desire to drinke and deuoure it with his mouth? What, thinkest thou, that this greatnesse was giuen him for his owne merit? No, it was giuen to his father *Germanicus*; it was for his Grand-fathers and great Grand-fathers sake, and to others no lesse famous men their predecessors, although they led a priuate and ordinary life. What, when thou madest *Scaurus Mamercus* Consull, didst thou not know, that he receiued with open mouth the monthly excrements of his vnchaste chamber-maids? For, did he dissemble? Would he seeme to be pure? I will relate vnto thee a speech of his owne, which was ordinarie in euery mans mouth in my remembrance, and was commended in his owne presence: *Asinius Pollio* being on a time laid vpon his bed, hee said vnto him (but with words vnworthy to be named) that he would doe that vnto him, which he had rather suffer himselfe. And seeing that *Pollio* was displeased therewith, and that hee began to bend his browes, *If I haue spoken any euill* (said he) *I would it might fall vpon me and on my head.* This saying of his hee himselfe blased abroad. * Hast thou admitted a man so openly shameless and impudent to the Maces, and Tribunall of Consuls? Verily, when thou bethoughtest thee of that old *Scaurus*, the Prince or prime man of the Senate in times past, thou couldst not suffer his race and posteritie to be abased or extinguished.

* Alexanders Brother.

* *This speech is obiected, not to* Liberalis, *but to Prouidence.*

CHAP. XXVII.

EAsie it is for vs to perceiue how the gods deale more fauourably with some for the merits and deserts of their fathers, and predecessors, and with other some for the towardnesse that shall bee in their children, and childrens children; and in those that hereafter shall descend from their posteritie. For they know the successiue order of their works, and they haue an infallible science of all those things which are to passe through their hands, although they are farre remote from our knowledge and vnderstanding. The things that we suppose to be casuall and sudden, are foreseene and familiar to them. Let these bee Kings (say they)

A confirmation of his former intent, and why the diuine prouidence spareth the wicked so often times.

All these reasons he vrgeth in the person of God.

they) becauſe their anceſtors haue not beene, but imagined it to be a true Kingdome, to be iuſt and abſtinent. And becauſe they haue not vſed the commonweale for their profits, but dedicated their perſons to the ſeruice and increaſe thereof. Let theſe men raigne becauſe ſome good man was their great grandfather, whoſe mind was greater then his fortune, who in ciuill diſcentions choſe rather to be vanquiſhed, then to vanquiſh; becauſe it ſtood with the profit of the Common-wealth. His goodneſſe could not be requited all this while. In reſpect of that man, let this man haue preeminence ouer others, not becauſe he is of knowledge and abilitie how to vſe it, but becauſe the other hath deſerued it for him: for peraduenture this man is in body miſhapen, in countenance loathſome, and will be a ſlander to the place and perſons of his aduancement. * Now will men find fault with me, and ſay, that I am blind, and raſh, and ignorant where to beſtow the things that are due to the chiefeſt and excellenteſt perſons. But I know that the giuing of this thing to the one, is a ſatisfaction of it to the other, to whom it was due long ſince. Whereby do they know ſuch a certaine man, who was ſuch a contemner of glorie, when it followed him, that hee aduentured vpon perill with the ſame countenance that others eſcape it, and that neuer made difference betwixt his owne profit and the profit of the Common-wealth? Where is this man? who is hee? how know you him? Theſe reckonings of ſuch receipts and payments are ſtriken out of my bookes. I know what and to whom I owe. To ſome I make payment after long time, to other ſome I giue aforehand, or elſe I deale with them according as occaſion and the vtilitie of my Common-wealth requireth.

* *From hence, to the end of the chapter all is diſioynted.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

In returning to his purpoſe, he ſheweth how a man may doe good to him that is vngratefull.

SOme things I will then giue to an vngratefull man, yet will I not giue it for his owne ſake. But if (ſaith hee) thou knoweſt not whether he be thankefull or vngratefull; wilt thou expect, vntill thou know the ſame? or wilt thou not loſe the oportunitie of giuing the benefit? It is too long to expect: for (as *Plato* ſaith) it is hard to coniecture what a mans mind is, and not to expect is raſhneſſe. To him we will anſwere, that wee will neuer expect a certaine comprehenſion and knowledge of things, becauſe it is a difficult matter to find out the truth; but that wee follow that way whereunto the ſimilitude of truth leadeth vs. All mens offices and actions proceede this way; vnder this hope we ſow our lands: thus ſaile we, thus vndertake we warre, thus marry we, thus bring wee vp our children; whereas the euent of all theſe is vncertaine. To thoſe things addreſſe we our enterpriſes, whereof we beleeue that we may hope the beſt. For who can warrant a rich harueſt to him that ſoweth, a ſafe Port to him that ſaileth, victory to him that warreth, a modeſt wife to him that marryeth, toward children to him that begat them? Wee follow thoſe things whereunto reaſon induceth vs, not thoſe whereunto truth draweth vs. If thou expecteſt to doe nothing except thou be ſecured of the good ſucceſſe, if thou lingereſt vntill ſuch time as thou haſt found out the truth, thy life will become vnprofitable and idle, neither ſhalt thou euer dare or attempt any thing: whilſt the appearance of truth impelleth me to doe this or that, I will not feare to giue a benefit to him, who in my opinion, and in all likelyhood, will approue himſelfe thankefull.

CHAP.

Chap. XXXIIII.

He satisfieth two obiections against the former answere, and sheweth that a wise man knoweth to whom, when, and how hee ought to doe a pleasure.

MAny things may chance (saith hee) whereby wee may take a bad man to be good, and a good man to be bad, because the appearances of things whereunto we giue credit, doe oftentimes deceiue vs. Who denieth this? But I find nothing else, by which I should gouerne my thoughts. By these foot-steps must I pursue the truth; more assured I haue none. This will I indeauour to examine with all diligence, neither will I assent vnto them ouer quickly. For so may it fall out in war, that being deceiued by some false appearance, I may ayme mine arrow against my fellow Souldier, leauing mine enemie vntouched and in safetie, but this both seldome times falleth out, and not by mine error: whose purpose was to wound mine enemie, and defend my fellow Citizen. If I know him to bee vngratefull, I will giue him no benefit. But he cosened me, he deceiued me; here is no fault of him that giueth, for I gaue it as to a thankfull man. But If (saith he) thou hast promised to doe a man a pleasure, and afterwards thou findest him to be vngratefull, wilt thou giue it or no? if thou dost it, thou offendest willingly, for thou giuest to him, thou oughtest not to giue: if thou denyest, in this case likewise thou offendest, because thou performest not that which thou hast firmely promised. Your sect in this place staggereth and trippeth, and that proud promise of theirs, that a wise man neuer repenteth himselfe of that which he hath done, neither euer reformeth his actions, nor changeth his counsaile, beginneth to be shaken. A wise man changeth not his counsaile, as long as the cause and circumstances continue the same, as they were, when he determined. And therefore neuer repenteth hee himselfe in any thing, because nothing could be better done at that time then was done, nor nothing better ordered then that which was ordered. Finally, all things he vndertaketh, hee attempteth them with this condition, if nothing fall out that may interupt his sage designes. And therefore say we, that all things befall him to his wish, that nothing hath betided him contrary to his expectation, because hee presumeth in his mind, that sundrie things may fall out which may crosse his purpose. Fooles are they, that are too confident, and who promise vnto themselues ouer peremptorily, that Fortune will fauour them, but a wise man considereth her both wayes: he knoweth very well what sway error beareth, how vncertaine worldly things be, and how many things binder mens determinations: he followeth variable Fortune, and the hazards of humane affaires, with an vncertaine and doubtfull hope, expecting with assured counsaile the vncertaine ends thereof. But the conditions, without which he beginneth and enterpriseth nothing, warrantise him sufficiently herein.

Sapientis est mutare consilium.

Chap. XXXV.

Hee sheweth, wherein a man is not bound to doe an other man pleasure, although he hath promised it.

I Haue promised to doe a pleasure, except there fall out some occasion, wherby I am letted from giuing that I intended: but what if the Common-weale command me to giue that vnto her which I haue promised my friend, if a publike Law bee made that no man shall do that which I haue promised my friend to performe. I haue past my word to giue thee my Daughter in marriage, and afterwards thou

thou art conuicted to be a forrainer, with whom wee are forbidden to contract matrimonie. The Law that prohibiteth, that, defendeth also my cause: then shall I breake my word, then shall I be iustly taxed with inconstancie; if all the circumstances continuing as they were when I promised, I neglect to performe the same: Because otherwise whatsoeuer thing is changed, giueth me libertie to determine a new, and discharged mee of my former obligation. I haue promised to pleade thy cause, and afterwards I find that the prosecution thereof will in the end redound to my fathers preiudice. I haue promised thee to take a long iourney with thee, but afterwards vpon better instructions, I vnderstand that the way is dangerous and full of theeues, I intended presently to come and visit thee about thine instant businesse, but my childs sickenesse, or my wiues falling in labour, kept me at howe. All things ought to bee in the same estate, they were, when I promised thee, if thou wilt that my faith bee obliged vnto thee. But what greater change may there happen then if hereafter I am informed that thou art an vngratefull and wicked man? That which I gaue thee, as to a worthy man, I will refuse thee as a man vnworthy, and furthermore I shall haue a iust cause to be angry with thee, because thou hast deceiued mee.

The Law of Lawes is limited by circumstances.

Chap. XXXVI.

An exception vpon the former article, that wee ought to consider what thing it is which is promised.

YEt will I neerely examine the greatnesse of that I haue promised. The value of the thing, which I haue promised to bestow, shall giue me counsaile. If it be a small matter, I will giue it; not because hee is worthy, but because I haue promised. Neither will I giue it as a benefit, but only to redeeme my word, and hereafter will I take better heede, and by my losse I will chastise my rashnesse in promising; and to the end I may haue a more feeling and sensible apprehension of the same, and henceforward be more circumspect in that I speake, I will, (as the common prouerbe saith) pay a fine for my tongue. But if it be a thing of greater price, I would not, (as *Mecenas* saith) spend two hundreth and fiftie thousand crownes, to buy mine owne blame: I will diligently compare both these things betweene themselues. It is something to keepe a mans word when he hath promised, and againe it importeth very much to take care that we giue to such a one as deserueth the same: yet must wee consider how great our promise is: If it be a thing of small value, I will giue it as though I winked thereat. But if it may be either greatly to my losse, or greatly to my shame, I had rather excuse my selfe once for not doing it, then condemne my selfe alwaies for giuing it. All the waight of the matter consisteth (as I say) in this to know of what value and estimate the promise is that I haue made. I will not only retaine that which I haue rashly promised, but I will redemand also that which I haue giuen amisse. He is out of his wits, that performes a foolish promise.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A notable example of the iuſt ſeueritie Philip *vſed toward an vngrateſull man.*

PHILIP of *Macedon* had a valiant and braue Souldier, who had faithfully ſerued him in all his warres, to whom in remuneration of his vertue, he had often-times giuen a good part of that which hee had taken from the enemie, and incouraged him with rewards, he being a man of a mercenarie mind. It fortuned that this Souldier was ſhipwrackt, and that the tempeſt & billowes caſt him on the ſhore neere to a certaine *Macedonians* dwelling place, who being aduertiſed of this his fortune, ran vnto him, and recouered him to life, being wel-nigh dead. He carried him vnto his owne houſe, he lodged him in his owne bed: he entertained this forlorne man ſo carefully and kindly, that he recouered his forces, he maintayned him thirty dayes at his owne charge, hee releeued his neceſſitie, and gaue him monie and meanes to bring him backe againe to the armie. This Souldier, vpon his departure, told told him this very often; *If I euer chance to ſee my Prince againe, I will requite this thy kind entertainement.* Certaine dayes after being arriued at the campe, he failed not to tell *Philip* of his vnhappy ſhipwrack, but he concealed who had ſuccoured him, and forthwith beſought him to giue him a certaine mans lands, and this was his heritage who had ſo graciouſly entertayned him, and with ſo much care and diligence had preſerued him from death. You may ſee (by the way) how Kings now and then, (but eſpecially in warre) giue many things, their eyes being ſhut: no one man alone is able to ſatisfie ſo many armed deſires; there is not any man that at one time can be a good man, and a good Generall. How ſhall ſo many thouſands of vnſatiable men be ſatisfied? what ſhall they haue, if euery man may keepe his owne? This ſaid *Philip* to himſelfe, when hee commanded him to bee put in poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands he demanded. This man thus violently thruſt out of his poſſeſſions, ſmothered and ſmoothed vp this iniurie, not as a Clowne, but with much ſilence and ſufferance, contenting himſelfe with this, that though they had vſurped his poſſeſſions, they had not reſtrained him of his libertie, and priuily wrote a ſhort and ſtout letter vnto *Philip*, wherein hee diſcouered the iniury which was done him, vpon the reading whereof, *Philip* was ſo diſpleaſed, that he preſently commanded *Pauſanias* to reſtore the land to the former Lord, and as for the other reprobate and diſhoneſt Souldier, vngrateſull gueſt, and couetuous caſt-away, to brand him in the forehead, to witneſſe that he was an vngratefull and vnthankefull gueſt, Truely, he was worthy, not that theſe letters ſhould be written, but engrauen on his forehead, that expulſed and expoſed his Hoſt, like to a naked and ſhipwrackt wretch, on that very ſhore, where once he had ſuccoured him. We ſhall afterwards ſee what more greater puniſhment hee deſerued: meane while thoſe goods were to bee taken from him, which hee had ſo iniuriouſly vſurped. And who would bee moued at his puniſhment, who had commmitted ſuch a hainous crime, that might bee the cauſe, that no man hereafter would count miſetable the miſerie of the moſt miſerable?

A leſſon for Princes that are oftentimes thus deluded and blinded.

The reaſon why this vngrateſull man was to be puniſhed.

Chap. XXXVIII.

A iust praise of Philip *for punishing an vniust and thankelesse man.*

SHall *Philip* be constrained to performe his word vnto thee, because he hath promised thee, although he ought not to doe that, though he iniury another man, though hee commit a hainous crime, although by this one act of his, he locketh vp the Hauens, and shutteth vp the Ports against those that are shipwrackt? It is no lenitie to forsake a knowne and damned error. And ingeniously we are to confesse, I thought otherwise, I am deceiued. But this is a perseuerance in an arrogant foolishnesse to say, That which I haue spoken once, whatsoeuer it bee, I will abide by it, and make good my word. It it no shame to change a mans opinion, when the businesse is changed. Goe to, if *Philip* had left him in possession of these demesnes, and that sea-coast which he had gotten by his shipwracke, had he not barred all miserable men from relicfe? It is better (saith hee) that thou shouldest carry throughout my kingdome these letters ingrauen in thy most shameless forehead, more worthy to be written in thine eyes. Shew thou in thy punishment, how sacred a thing the the table of hospitalitie is. Let all the world reade this my Law, enregistred in thy countenance, by which is decreed, that it is no capitall matter, to entertaine any miserable person into a mans house. So shall this constitution of mine be more strongly ratified, then if I had engrauen the same in brasse.

Chap. XXXIX.

An obiection against the act of Philip, *contrary in appearance to that of* Zeno, *with an answere thereunto.*

WHy then (said he) did your *Zeno*, when hee had promised a certaine man to lend him fiue hundred pence, and had found him to be insufficient, and not able to repay him (contrary to the aduice of his friends, who counselled him not to doe it) persecuer in trusting him, because he had promised him? First, there is one condition in a debt, another in a benefit. If I haue lent my money to an euill debter, yet haue I meanes to recouer it againe: I may call any debter into iustice, when the terme of payment is come, and if hee breake or play the banquerupt, I shall haue a portion of my debt, but the benefit is wholly lost instantly. Moreouer, this is the act of an euill man, that of a bad husband. Againe, neither would *Zeno* haue perseuered to credit him, if the summe had beene greater, it was but fiue hundred pence; put case (as it is commonly said) that he had spent it in a sickneſſe, it was so much worth not to reuoke his promise. I will come to supper (although it be cold) because I haue promised, but if it snowed or were bad weather, I would not step out of my doores. I will arise out of my bed to accompany a Bridall, because I haue promised (although I haue not sufficiently slept or digested my meate) but not at all, if a fauor surprise me. I will come and giue my word for thee, because I haue promised, but not if thou wouldest make me stand bound for an vncertaine thing, or if thou wilt bind me to the Exchequer. I tell thee, there is alwaies a secret condition implied; so I be able; so it be lawfull; if these things shall be thus. If thou wilt haue me keepe my promise, set the matter in the same state, that it was in when thou demandedst, that it was in when I promised. It can be no point of lightnesse to disappoint one, if there happen any alteration by the way: why wondereſt

dereſt thou if I change my counſell, when the conditions of my promiſe are changed? I am readie at this time to be the ſame I was then, if thou ſhew mee all things in that eſtate I left them: wee promiſe to make appearance for my friend, yet is it not performed. For if there be any one that is hindered by force, or by a lawfull cauſe, he is excuſed by eſſoyne.

The condition of the Prince may alter the counſell.

CHAP. XL.

THe ſame alſo will ſerue for an anſwer to this demand; whether a courteſie is to be requited in any wiſe, or whether a benefit be euery way to be reſtored? I am bound to yeeld a thankfull heart, but ſometimes mine infelicitie ſuffereth mee not to make requitall; and ſometimes his felicitie, to whom I am indebted: for what can I, being poore, reſtore to a King or a rich man? whereas ſome ſuppoſe it to be an iniurie to receiue a benefit, and ofttimes burthen their benefits with other benefits. What other ſatisfaction can I make vnto ſuch perſons, then to be willing to acknowledge their goodneſſe. For I ought not to reiect a new benefit, becauſe I haue not ſatisfied for the former, I will receiue a benefit as willingly as it is giuen me: I will offer my ſelfe vnto my friend as a ſufficient matter, to exerciſe vpon mee all his good thoughts, and liberalitie. Hee that will not receiue new courteſies, is offended with the old. I, but I render not the like: what is that to the purpoſe? the delay is not in mee, if either occaſion faile, or abilitie be wanting: when he did me a pleaſure, he had the meanes and the commoditie. Whether is he a good or euill man? if he be a good man, my caſe and cauſe is good enough; if he be an euill man, I will not plead before him: neither thinke I it meete alſo to bee ouer haſtie in yeelding recompence, contrarie to the mindes of thoſe who haue done vs pleaſure, or that we importune them to receiue, when they are vnwilling to take it. It is no requitall of a good turne, to render that which thou haſt willingly receiued, to him that is vnwilling to accept the ſame. There are ſome, who if a friend ſend them ſome little preſent, doe ſuddenly after requite them with another, to the end they may vaunt they are not any wayes obliged. This is a kind of refuſall, when a man will make requitall ſo ſoone, and by this meanes deface ſo ſuddenly one preſent by another. Sometimes alſo I will not reſtore a benefit, when I am able; namely, when I ſhall detract more from my ſelfe, and doe my ſelfe more hinderance, then I ſhall profit him; when as he ſhall feele himſelfe nothing amended by receiuing it, and I ſhall find my ſelfe greatly impaired by forgoing it. He then that haſteth to reſtore and requite a kindneſſe, hath not the mind of a gratefull man, but of a debter. And to conclude in few words, he that is deſirous to pay ouer ſoone, doth owe vnwillingly; hee that vnwillingly oweth, is vngratefull.

How a man in what ſtate ſoeuer he be, may acknowledge a curteſie.

Haſtie returne of fauour is rather a defacing of a benefit, then a ſatisfaction.

* * *

The end of the fourth Booke.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THe two ſpeciall parts being concluded and determined; How a benefit ſhould be giuen, and how it ought to be receiued: Hee ſaith that hee paſſeth ouer to certaine things, that are not ſo much in the matter, as of the matter, and both neare and vnited to the ſame. Then annexeth he certaine queſtions, and firſt of all this. Whether it be a loathſome matter to be ouercome in benefits? He denyeth that he may be ouercome, and approueth him to be alwaies equall, that is deſirous to make recompence in good will, if in act he cannot. The ſecond queſtion is: Whether any man may giue himſelfe a benefit? Hee denyeth it, yet argueth the matter on both ſides. The third queſtion he vſeth is, Whether any man according to the Stoicks doctrine may bee called vngratefull? hee affirmeth and teacheth it. His fourth queſtion is, Whether all are vngratefull? he ſaith no; although he confeſſe many. Then as depending of the ſaid queſtion: How farre and whither we are bound one for an other, as the Sonne for the Father, and ſuch like? He anſwereth by a diſtinction, and rather denyeth. The fift queſtion is, Whether an vnpleaſing benefit may be giuen to a man vnwilling to receiue? It may. The laſt queſtion, Whether a benefit may be redemanded?

CHAP. I.

The intention of Seneca in the precedent and ſubſequent bookes, wherein Liberalis vertues are learnedly diſcourſed.

IN theſe my former Bookes, mee thought, I had conſummated and accompliſhed my principall intent, when as I had intreated and diſcouered, after what manner a good turne is to bee done, and in what ſort it is to be receiued, becauſe theſe two points are the Poles, on which the Sphere of this diſcourſe is moued. Whatſoeuer I intreat of, or linger on further, is not of the neceſſitie of the matter, neither much impertinent thereunto, which we ought to follow, whither it leadeth vs, not whither it inuiteth vs. For continually there will ſome arguments ariſe, that will allure and entertaine our mind with the ſweetneſſe therof, which is rather not neceſſarie then ſuperfluous. But ſince you will haue it ſo, hauing ended all that which appertained to the matter, let vs perſeuer,

perſeuer to ſearch out theſe things, that are annexed vnto it, but not coherent, which whoſoeuer doth curiouſly looke into, neither performeth a matter of great moment, neither looſeth his labour. But vnto thee (my *Æbutius Liberalis*) who art a man of the beſt nature, and ſo inclined to curteſie, no praiſe of theſe benefits may ſuffice: I neuer ſaw any man ſo fauourable an eſteemer of the ſmalleſt good offices, as thou art. And thy bountie hath alreadie attayned ſo farre, that thou eſteemeſt the curteſie done vnto thy ſelfe, which is imployed on any other man. Thou art alwaies ready to giue ſatisfaction for the vngratefull, leſt any man ſhould repent him of his bountie and kindneſſe: and ſo farre art thou from all arrogancie and oſtentation, ſo deſirous art thou to diſburthen thoſe whom thou haſt obliged, that whatſoeuer thou beſtoweſt on any man, thou wouldeſt not ſeeme to haue giuen it as a benefit, but to haue repaied it as a debt. And therefore, ſuch things as thou beſtoweſt after this manner, returne vnto thee more plentifully. For commonly good turnes attend vpon him, that intendeth not to redemand them. And, as glorie and reputation doe moſt of all faſten vpon, and follow thoſe who flie from the ſame; ſo the fruit of benefits is more graciouſly correſpondent vnto thoſe as giue men leaue to be thankleſſe, if they liſt. It ſhall not be through thy default, but that they who haue receiued benefits at thy hands, may freely redemand an other, neither wilt thou refuſe to beſtow other, and to adde more and greater to thoſe thy benefits that are either ſuppreſſed or diſſembled. The intent of a generous man, and ſuch a one as hath a noble mind, is ſo long to forbeare, and winke at an vngrateful perſon, vntill he hath made him thankefull: neither will this manner of dealing deceiue thee euer; for naturally vices ſubmit themſelues vnto vertue, and looſe their courage, if thou haſten not too much to hate them.

An extraordinarie commendation of Æbutius Liberalis.

Bountie is redoubled to the worthie benefactor.

This is intended as a debt, not as a guift.

Chap. II.

THou conceiueſt likewiſe a ſingular pleaſure, to heare this magnificent ſaying, that *it is a ſhame to bee ouercome in giuing benefits*, which whether it be true or no, it is wont to be enquired vpon a good ground, and I think it farre different from that which thou imagineſt. For neuer needeſt thou to feare any affront or diſhonour in ſuffering thy ſelfe to be ouercome in the noble competencie of vertuous actions, if ſo be thou forſake not thine armes, but beeing once ouercome haſt a will to ouercome againe. Euery man in a good purpoſe hath not the ſame forces, the ſame faculties, and the ſame fortune: which onely temperateth the ends of the beſt actions. The will of him, that keepeth the right way, deſerueth to be praiſed, although a more ſwifter runner hath ſet foote before him. It is not in this caſe as it is in the publique prizes, ſet out for ſpectacle, wherein the victorie proclaimeth the better man; although in them alſo caſualtie hath often preſerued the worſt. When we ſpeake of dutie, and both the one and the other deſire to acquit themſelues fully; if the one of them had had more meanes, if hee haue had matter at hand correſpondent to his minde, if fortune hath permitted him to doe what him liſteth: And contrariwiſe, if the other hath had as good a will, although that which he hath reſtored is of leſſe valew then that which he hath receiued, or if he haue not ſatisfied at all, yet if hee haue a good minde to make a future ſatisfaction, if hee bend himſelfe wholly to that buſineſſe, if he duly thinke on nothing but the ſame, he is no more ouercome then he

he that dieth manfully fighting, whom his enemie could ſooner kill then put to flight. That which thou ſuppoſeſt to be diſhonorable or diſhoneſt, cannot befall a good man; that is to ſay, to be vanquiſhed: neuer will his heart faile him, neuer will he giue ouer, hee will be alwayes readie to acknowledge, euen vntill the laſt houre of his life. He will dye in this ſtation, and will confeſſe himſelfe to haue receiued great benefits, and will proteſt that he hath a deſire to repay them with the like.

CHAP. III.

THe * *Lacedemonians*, forbad their Citizens to fight at buffets [a] or braces, where he confeſſing himſelfe to be vanquiſhed, doth ſhew him to be the weaker man. The runner that firſt obtaineth the goale, out-ſtrippeth his companion in ſwiftneſſe, but not in courage. The wreſtler that hath fallen, and been foiled three times, hath loſt the palme, but hath not yeelded it to his aduerſarie. Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* being deſirous aboue all other things, that their Citizens ſhould be inuincible, they inhibited & forbad them the vſe of all ſuch games, in which the victory is giuen not by the opinion of the iudges, or by the iſſue of the game, but by the voice of him that yeeldeth, and his that commandeth him to ſubmit and yeeld. Vertue and a good heart giue vnto all men, that which the *Lacedemonians* doe obſerue amongſt their Citizens, vertue and good will yeeldeth all men that they ſhall neuer bee vanquiſhed, becauſe euen amongſt thoſe that are ouercome the minde continueth inuincible. No man therefore ſaith, that the three hundred [b] *Fabij* were conquered, but ſlaine. And *Regulus* was captiue amongſt the *Carthaginians*, but not conquered, and all elſe whatſoeuer oppreſſed by the force and waight of enraged and cruell Fortune. The care is all one in benefits, he that hath receiued more great, more precious, and more often, is not for all this vanquiſhed. It may be that the benefits of one, are ouercome by thoſe of another, in reſpect of thoſe things that are giuen, and are receiued. But if thou wilt make a compariſon betwixt the giuer and him that receiueth (whoſe minds muſt be eſtimate alſo by themſelues) there is neither of them ſhall haue the palme. For we are accuſtomed to ſay, that he who is wounded in diuers parts, and he that hath a ſlight hurt, haue departed on euen hand from the combate, although one may ſeeme to haue receiued the foile.

* Pancratiaſtes, *was he, that not only with naked hands and fiſts, but with his feete and whole bodie entertaineth the fight.* Coſtus *was he, that with armed hand, or heauie buttons or weights of braſſe, iron, or lead, charged his aduerſarie.*

[a] *By the ordinances of the Spartanes, and the example of the Fabians, and of* Regulus, *and the ſimilitude of two combatants, he ſheweth that in matter of benefit he that receiueth is not inferior; prouided that he continew alwaies his ſincere affection towards his benefactor.*

[b] *Thus were three hundreth Citizens of Rome, for the moſt part of one Family, who tooke vpon themſelues the charge of the warres againſt the Veientes.*

CHAP. IIII.

NO man therefore can be ouercome in benefit, if he know that hee oweth, if hee haue a will to recompence, and if that which hee cannot attaine in act, he equalleth in mind and will. This man, as long as he is conſtant herein, as long as he hath a good intent, approuing his gratefull mind by outward ſignes: what skilleth it on whether part more preſents may bee numbred? Thou haſt the power to giue much, and I only the power to receiue the ſame: good fortune is on thy ſide, and good will on mine, yet am I ſo equall with thee, as ſome naked, or flight-

The will to recompence redeemeth the want. A confirmation of the precedent diſcourſe, enriched with the compariſon of Socrates, *and* Diogenes *with* Alexander.

slightly armed, are equall to some that are armed at all poynts. No man therefore is ouercome in benefits. For euery one is as thankfull, as he would be. For if it be an affront and dishonour to be ouercome in kind offices, we ought not to receiue a benefit at mightie mens hands, to whom we can in no sort yeeld any satisfaction. I speake of Kings and Princes, whom Fortune hath entertained in that estate, that they may doe much, and bestow great largesse, but they cannot receiue but verie little, and farre inferiour to their owne gift. I say, Kings and Princes, to whom notwithstanding there may be seruice done, whose greatnes and power is not sustayned but by affection, and the common consent which their subiects haue to obey them. But there are some that are vnattainted with any couetousnes, that are scarcely touched with any humane desires; to whom Fortune her selfe can giue nothing. I must needes be ouercome by *Socrates* in benefits. I must needs be conquered by *Diogenes*, who marched naked amidst the riches & most precious moueables of the Macedonians, and trampled their Kingly treasures vnder his feet. Did not he then (yea and that deserued) both in his owne eies, and other mens sight (whose eies were not sealed vp from seeing the truth) seeme more eminent aboue him, vnder whose greatnes all things lay subiect? Hee was then more powerfull and more rich then *Alexander*, who at that time possessed all things, for there was more, that this man would not receiue, then he was able to giue.

The true propertie of riches appeareth by this, that he is more rich who despiseth, then he that enioyeth riches.

CHAP. V.

IT is no shame to bee ouercome by such as these, for neither am I lesse valiant, though you match mee in fight with an enemie that cannot be wounded. Neither therefore can the fire burne lesse, if it light vpon a matter inuiolable by fire. Neither therefore hath the toole lost his force in caruing, if the stone be so hard that it cannot be pierced, and if naturally it be so rebellious against all things that are hard, that it will rather breake in peeces then yeeld. The same doe I answer of a thankful man, it is no dishonor for him to be ouercome by the benefits which he hath receiued at their hands, whose fortune is so great and mightie, and vertue so excellent, that it hath barred all returne of benefits vnto him. We are for the most part ouercome by our parents, for so long do we hate them, as long as we iudge them to be troublesome and insupportable, and as long as we vnderstand not their benefits. But now, when as our yeares haue taught vs some experience, and we begin to perceiue, that they ought to be beloued by vs, for those things, for which they were misliked; (I meane their admonitions, their seueritie and diligent ouer-sight of our inconsiderate youth) then are they snatched and taken from vs. Few there are, that haue liued so long as to reape the true fruit of their childrens towardnesse, the rest haue felt a burthen by them, and discontent: yet is it no shame for children to be surmounted by their parents. And why should it be shamefull to be surmounted by them, since it is no disgrace to be vanquished by any whatsoeuer? For sometimes wee are equal, and vnequall to one and the same person; wee are equall in good will, which is onely required, which we onely promise and professe: but we are vnequall in fortune, for want whereof, if a man be hindered from being thankful, he ought for that cause to be ashamed and blush, because he is vanquished. It is no dishonour to be vnable to ouertake, so a man pursue and follow still.

The second confirmation by similitudes, and by consideration of the benefits receiued from our parents.

Some-

Sometimes we are enforced, before we haue reſtored the old, to craue new benefits. Neither therefore ſurceaſe we to aske, or demand we diſgracefully and diſhoneſtly, becauſe we runne further in debt, before we bee able to repay the former, becauſe the fault is not through our default, but for that diſabilitie preuenteth our gratuitie. But ſome thing will fall out otherwaies, which will keepe vs from ſatisfying, yet will wee not bee ouer-matched in minde, neither will wee be ſhamefully ouercome in theſe things, which are not in our power.

The miſerable man then is to be excuſed, vnleſſe his mind be faultie in making ſatisfaction.

CHAP. VI.

ALEXANDER King of Macedon, was oftentimes wont to boaſt, that neuer any man could ouercome him in benefits. There is no cauſe why this ouer-haughty minded Prince, ſhould caſt his eyes on the Macedons, Greekes, Carians, Perſians, and other Nations which were bound vnto him by way of conqueſt. He ſhould not thinke that that great Kingdome, which extended it ſelfe from the furtheſt confines of Thrace, to the bankes of the vnknowne Sea, had giuen him the meanes to accompliſh and doe this. *Socrates* himſelfe might vaunt that he had done as much, and *Diogenes* alſo, by whom he was ouercome. Why ſhould he not be ouercome that verie day, wherein the man (ſwelling aboue meaſure with humane pride) beheld ſome one, to whom he could neither giue, nor from whom he could euer take any thing. King *Archelaus* intreated *Socrates* to come and viſit him; to whom (as it is reported) *Socrates* returned this anſwer: *That hee would not come vnto him from whom he ſhould receiue a benefit, which hee could not requite againe.* Firſt of all, it was in his power not to receiue any thing: Secondly, it was he that began to giue a benefit. For he came vnto him vpon his requeſt, and gaue that which the King could neuer equall or ſatisfie. Moreouer, *Archelaus* was to giue him gold and ſiluer, but was himſelfe to receiue the contempt of gold and ſiluer. Could not *Socrates* therefore requite *Archelaus* courteſie? Had he not equalled the good which he was to receiue, had hee made him ſee a man perfect in the skill of liuing and dying, knowing the true ends of them both? If he had taught the King (who ſaw not at mid-day) the ſecrets of Nature, whereof he was ſo ignorant, that vpon a day when the Sunne was in Eclips, he cauſed the dores of his Palace to be ſhut; and (as men were wont to doe in time of mourning and great miſerie) he cut off his ſonnes haire: How great a benefit had it beene, if hee had drawne him loaden with feare out of the lurking places where he lay hidden, and had encouraged him, ſaying, This is no defection or obſcuring of the Sunne, but the encounter of two Planets, when as the Moone, ſhaping her courſe the way lower, hath placed her Orbe vnder the Sunne it ſelfe, and by her interpoſition, holdeth his light obſcured from our ſight: ſometimes couereth no more then a ſmall part of his bodie, when in the coniunction ſhe paſſeth no more but on one ſide; otherwhiles, ſhe ecclipſeth a greater part of his light, when ſhe ſetteth her ſelfe in his front, and before him; otherwhiles, ſhe couereth him wholly, if with a iuſt and equall counterpoiſe, ſhee intirely ſettle her ſelfe oppoſite betwixt the Sun and the earth: yet the ſwiftneſſe of theſe ſtarres ſhall ſuddenly ſeparate the one from the other, the earth hereby ſhall recouer her light: and this order ſhall continue in all ages to come; which haue certaine and deſtinated daies, where-

A third confirmation by the example of Alexander and Archelaus, two great Princes, with Diogenes and Socrates, two graue Philoſophers.

This is againſt Aſtronomie: neuer was Eclipſe at full Moone naturally, but in Chriſts death ſupernaturally.

in the Sunne, for the intercourse of the Moone, shall be forbidden to disperse all his raies. Stay but a while, and thou shalt suddenly see him breake forth, thou shalt see him discharge himselfe of the Moone as it were of a cloud, and (shaking off as it were those impediments that detaine him) thou shalt see him send forth his desired light most freely againe. Might not *Socrates* then haue requited *Archelaus*, if he had giuen him instructions how to gouerne his kingdome? As little as you make of it, it had beene a great benefit in *Socrates*, and greater any waies, then *Archelaus* could haue giuen him. Why then said *Socrates* thus? Forsooth, because he tooke a pleasure to passe the time in figuratiue speech, and iesting discourse, he mocked the whole world, but especially great men, and had rather deny him subtilly, then arrogantly and proudly. He said that he would receiue no benefits at his hands, to whom he could not returne an answerable recompence. He feared haply, lest he should be compelled to take that which he would not, he feared lest he should receiue something that were vnworthie *Socrates*. But some man will say, that he might haue denied the same, if he misliked it, but by this meanes he had incensed an insolent King against him, who would haue all that which came from his hands, highly esteemed. It is nothing to the purpose, whether thou refusest to giue any thing to the King, or receiue ought at his hands, he construeth and conceiteth the one repulse, as badly as the other, and to a proud man it is more distastfull to be disdained, then not to be feared. Wilt thou know what he truely and really intended? he would not entertaine a voluntarie seruitude, whose liberty a free Citie could not endure.

Because the greatest nobility consisteth in this, in doing him good that cannot requite it.

Chap. VII.

WE haue, as I suppose, sufficiently debated vpon this part, whither it were a dishonour to be ouercome in benefiting. Which whosoeuer draweth in question, hee knoweth that men are not wont to giue themselues benefits; for it had beene manifest that it is no shame for a man to be vanquished by himselfe. Notwithstanding amongst some Stoicks, this also is brought in question, whether a man may giue himselfe a benefit, and whether he ought to yeeld himselfe thankes? The causes, why this matter seemed to be disputable, were these that follow: Wee are wont to say, *I thanke my selfe, and I can complaine of no man but my selfe, I am angrie with my selfe, and I will be reuenged of my selfe, and I hate my selfe*, and many other such things besides, whereby euery one speaketh of himselfe, as if it were of an other. If (saith he) I can hurt my selfe, wherefore can I not benefit my selfe likewise? Besides, if those kindnesses which I haue bestowed vpon an other, should be called benefits, why should they not retaine the same name, if they were imployed on my selfe? Had I receiued them of an other, I should owe the same, why then had I giuen them to my selfe, should I not owe them to my selfe? why should I be vngratefull to my selfe? whereas it is no lesse dishonorable and dishoneſt for me, then to be niggardly to my selfe, then to be cruell and tyrannous toward my selfe, and neglectfull of my selfe? As infamous is the bawd of anothers beautie, as shee that setteth her owne to sale: we reprehend a flatterer, and an applauder of other mens sayings, and such a one as is alwaies readie to yeeld a false lustre and laud to euery thing: So likewise, is he most iustly reprehended, that pleaseth himselfe, admireth himselfe, and

Now entreth hee into a new question, whether a man may bestow a benefit on himselfe.

and (if I may say so) * flattereth himselfe. Vices are not only hateful, when they sinne abroad, but when they are retorted vpon themselues. Whom wilt thou more admire, then him that gouerneth himselfe, and that alwaies carrieth in his hands the bridle of his owne motions and affections? It is more easie to gouerne Barbarians, and such as are impatient of forraine gouernement, then to containe a mans mind, and make it subiect to it selfe. *Plato* (saith he) thanketh *Socrates*, because he taught him. Why should not *Socrates* thanke himselfe for teaching himselfe? *Marcus Cato* saith: *That which thou wantest, borrow of thy selfe*. Why can I not giue it my selfe, if I can lend it my selfe? There are innumerable things wherein custome of discourse diuideth vs from our selues. We are wont to say, *Let thou me alone, I will speake with my selfe, and I will pull my selfe by the eare*: Which if they be true, euen as a man ought to be angrie with himselfe, so ought he to thanke himselfe: as he may rebuke himselfe, so may he praise himselfe: as he may harme himselfe, so may he profit himselfe. An iniury, and a benefit are contraries: if we say of any man, he hath wronged himselfe, we may likewise say, he hath done himselfe a good turne.

* ...s meaning is, that it is no lesse error in a man to flatter his neighbour, as himselfe; to intice another to lasciuious entertainments, then to seeke them for himselfe: and the like of whatsoeuer vice, which when it is exercised in a third person, is said to passe abroad; and when it is committed in his proper subiect, it seemeto to be acted in a mans own house.

CHAP. VIII.

NO man is indebted to himselfe; but by the order of nature: wee must first owe, before we pay. There is no debter without a creditor, no more then there is a husband without a wife, or a Father without a Sonne. There must be some one to giue, if there be any to receiue. It is neither to giue, nor receiue, to turne out of the right hand into the left: Euen as no man beareth himselfe, although he moue and remoue his body: As no man, although he hath pleaded his owne cause, is said to haue beene his owne Aduocate, * neither raiseth he a Statue to himselfe, as if he had beene his owne Patron. As the sicke man, when as by his owne diligence he hath recouered his health, requireth no recompence from himselfe: so in all affaites, yea euen in those wherein a man hath deserued best of himselfe, yet ought he not yeeld himselfe thanks, because he hath not any to whom he may yeeld thanks: and if I grant thee that any man man do himselfe a pleasure: I say, that in giuing the same, he receiueth also. Admit I grant thee that any one receiueth a pleasure from himselfe; in receiuing the same, he satisfieth for the same likewise. This cloaking and changing of persons (as the common prouerbe runneth) is made in thine owne house, and passeth away forthwith as a fained and idle debt. For he that giueth is none other then he that receiueth, and both are but one. This word, to owe, hath place, but betweene two seuerall persons: how then may it consist in him onely, which in that very instant requiteth when he is obliged? Euen as in a Bowle or Ball there is neither high nor low, nor first nor last, because that in tossing and turning the same, the order of these things are changed: so as that they which went behinde are now before, and those things that fell, mount vp again; and all things in fine returne vnto one point, in what sort soeuer they be remoued; euen so must thou thinke that it falleth out in man: when thou hast changed him into diuers fashions, he is but one and the same man. He hath beaten himselfe: he hath no man to sue for doing him iniurie. Hee hath bound and shut himselfe vp in prison: he cannot complaine of the iniustice and force he hath done vnto himselfe. He

An answer to the former obiection.

* *It was a ... flame to call a Common-wealth ... the ... ges, to ... publikely in ... behalfe of the prisoners. And when the Delinquent was such a one as of himselfe could iustifie his cause, it was said to plead for himselfe; and if by his oration he discharged and cleared the prisoner of the crime which was laide to his charge, They were wont raise a Statue for him, as a Defender and Patron of that prisoner. This much is gathered from the words of the text.*

hath gratified himselfe, and hath forthwith restored, euen when it was done, and a doing. Nature, the mother of all things, is said to loose nothing; for whatsoeuer is taken from her, returneth to her againe: neither can any thing perish, because it can find no place where to issue out of it selfe, but returneth thither from whence it departed. But what resemblance (saith he) hath this example to our matter in question? I will tell thee: Put case thou bee vngratefull to thy selfe, the benefit will not be lost, because hee that gaue it, retaineth it still: Put case thou wilt not receiue it, it is in thy possession, before it is repaid thee. Thou canst loose nothing, for that which is taken from thee, is notwithstanding gotten for thee. The wheele is turned within thy selfe; receiuing thou giuest, and giuing thou receiuest.

CHAP. IX.

He preuenteth an obiection to the precedent answer, and refuteth it.

A Man (saith he) must doe good vnto himselfe, and consequently he must be thankefull to himselfe. First, that is false, whereon the sequell dependeth. For no man giueth himselfe a benefit, but obeyeth his owne nature, by which hee is composed and framed to loue himselfe, whence there groweth in him an especiall care to auoid those things that are harmefull, and to desire those things that are profitable. For which cause, neither is he liberall, that giueth to himselfe, nor pittifull, that pardoneth himselfe, nor mercifull, that is touched with his owne miseries. That which (were it imployed on other men) might iustly be called liberalitie, clemencie, and mercie: in regard of our selues, is but nature. A benefit is a voluntarie thing, but to profit a mans selfe, is a necessarie matter. The more benefits a man hath giuen, the more bountifull is he. Who euer was applauded for succouring himselfe? for deliuering himselfe out of the danger of theeues? no man giueth himselfe a benefit, no more then he entertaineth himselfe in his owne house, no man giueth to himselfe, no more then he lendeth to himselfe. If any man giueth himselfe a benefit, he alwaies giueth, he giueth without intermission, he can neuer keepe iust reckoning of the number of his benefits. How can he then returne a recompence, when as in that very thing wherein he satisfieth, he giueth a benefit? for how can he discerne whither he giue or restore vnto himselfe a benefit? whereas the matter concerneth but one only man? I haue deliuered my selfe out of danger: haue I giuen my selfe a benefit? Once more I preserue my selfe in perill, do I my selfe a good turne, or do I restore it? Moreouer, although I should grant that first, that we giue a benefit to our selues, yet will I not grant the consequent. For although we giue, wee owe not. Why? because we presently receiue: First, must we receiue a benefit, and then owe it, and then requite it. But here is no time of owing, in so much as we receiue againe without any delay. No man giueth but to an other man, no man oweth but to an other man, no man restoreth but to another man. All that which in this sort requireth two persons, cannot bee done in one.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Continuation and refutation of the answer.

A Benefit is that whereby ſomething is profitably giuen, but this word, to haue giuen, appertaineth to others. Shall he not be ſuppoſed to be a mad man, that ſaith, he hath ſold any thing to himſelfe? becauſe a ſale is an alienation of a mans ſubſtance and right, and a tranſlation thereof vnto an other. But euen as in ſelling, ſo in buying any thing wee ought to make a reall ſurrender of the thing, and to leaue that which a man hath, to ſuffer an other to enioy the ſame. Well, if benefiting be of the ſame nature, then can no man benefit himſelfe, becauſe no man can giue ought to himſelfe. For then ſhould two contraries concurre in one, ſo as giuing and taking ſhould be all one thing. But there is great difference betwixt giuing and taking. And good cauſe why, conſidering that both theſe words are placed as contraries, the one againſt the other, but if a man may giue himſelfe a benefit, there is no difference betwixt giuing and receiuing. I ſaid a little before, that there were ſome words that appertained to others, and are ſo formed that their whole ſignification departed from our ſelues. I am a brother, but an other mans brother: For no man can be his owne brother. I am equall and like; but to ſome man: for who is equall with himſelfe? That which is compared, is not to be vnderſtood without an other; that which is vnited, cannot be without an other: If both, that which is giuen, is not without an other, ſo likewiſe a benefit is not without a receiuer. And this appeareth in the word it ſelfe, wherein this is contained to haue benefited. But no man benefiteth himſelfe, no more then hee fauoureth himſelfe, or taketh part with himſelfe: I might proſecute this thing longer, and with larger examples, and why not? when as a benefit is numbred amongſt thoſe things, which require a ſecond perſon Some things which are honeſt, praiſe-worthy, and of great vertue, haue no place, but with another. Faithfulneſſe and integritie is commended and praiſed by euery man, and are eſteemed amongſt the greateſt bleſſings which appertaine to mankind, and yet haue you euer heard, that any man hath beene faithfull to himſelfe?

CHAP. XI.

The concluſion of the precedent diſcourſe, approuing, that a benefit hath as well relation to him that giueth, as him that taketh.

I Come now to the laſt part. He that requiteth a good turne, muſt imploy ſomewhat of his owne, as he doth who repaieth the mony he oweth: but he layeth out nothing who ſatisfieth himſelfe, no more then he giueth, who giueth to himſelfe. A benefit and a remuneration muſt paſſe from one vnto another: for in one perſon there is no viciſſitude or change: He therefore that requiteth a good turne, pleaſureth him againe, from whom hee hath receiued any thing. Hee that is gratefull to himſelfe, whom profiteth he? himſelfe. But what man is hee that thinketh not, that acknowledgement of a fauour is in one place, and the benefit in an other? He that requiteth himſelfe, profiteth himſelfe; but what ingratefull man was there euer, that would not doe this? nay rather who was not vngratefull that he might doe this? if we (ſaith he) ought to thanke our ſelues for that we haue done well, wee ought likewiſe to yeeld ſome recompence to our ſelues. But we ſay, *I thanke my ſelfe, becauſe I married not that wife, and for that I contracted not ſocietie with that man.* When we ſay thus, we praiſe our ſelues,

and to appproue our fact, we abuſe the words of thoſe that giue thanks. A benefit is ſuch a thing which may not be reſtored, euen then when it is giuen, he that giueth himſelfe a benefit, cannot chooſe but receiue that which hee gaue, *Ergo*, it is no benefit. A good turne is entertained at one time, and recompenced at an other; And in a benefit, the thing that is moſt probable, and of greateſt repute, is, that he forgetteth his owne profit to doe an other man good, and taketh from himſelfe, to giue vnto a ſecond; this doth he not, that giueth himſelfe a benefit. To giue a benefit is a ſociable thing. It ioyneth that mans fauour, and obligeth this mans friendſhip: To giue to a mans ſelfe, is no ſociable thing, it ioyneth no man, it obligeth no man, it incourageth no man to ſay, This man deſerueth to be honoured, he did ſuch a man a good turne, and will doe me the like. A benefit is that which a man giueth, not for his owne ſake, but for his to whom he giueth it: he that giueth himſelfe a benefit, giueth it for his owne ſake; *Ergo*, it is no benefit.

Chap. XII.

The third Paradox.

** He ſaid in the beginning of the firſt chapter of this firſt Booke, that although he had not to entreat of things neceſſarie, yet the Labor ſhould not be loſt.*

Vppoſeſt thou that I lie, and grow deficient in that which I promiſed in the * beginning? ſayeſt thou that in ſtead of performing ſome laudable thing, I runne at randome, and thinking to do well, haue loſt my labour? Expect a little, I pray thee, and thou ſhalt ſay this more truely, (as ſoone as I haue led thee into theſe laborinthes, from whence, when thou haſt eſcaped, thou ſhalt attaine no more, then to flie thoſe difficulties into which it was in thine owne choice not to deſcend:) what profit receiueſt thou to vnlooſe thoſe knots which thou haſt expreſly knit with much trauaile, to the end thou mighteſt, when thou haſt tied them, buſie thy ſelfe to looſen them? But euen as ſome of them are ſo faſtened (for delight and meriment ſake) that it is a hard matter for an vnskilfull man to looſen them, whereas hee who hath tyed them, may eaſily ſlacke them, becauſe hee knoweth the ſtops and entanglings therof, and yet notwithſtanding thoſe haue ſome pleaſure in them, for they try the ſharpneſſe of mens wits, and awaken them to more diligence: ſo theſe things which in appearance are ſubtill and deceitfull, exile ſecuritie, dulneſſe and ſloth from mens mindes, to which ſometimes eaſie paſſages are to be laid open, in which they may wander: ſometimes ſomewhat difficult and dangerous is to be ſet in their way, through which they may hardly creepe without trauell, or in which they may not walke without difficultie. It is ſaid that no man is vngrateful, and this is thus concluded. A benefit is that which profiteth, but no man can profit an euill man (as you Stoicks ſay) therefore an euill man receiueth no benefit, and conſequently alſo he cannot be vngratefull. Furthermore, a benefit is an honeſt and probable thing: with a wicked man there is no place, either for that which is honeſt or profitable, therefore not for a benefit, which if hee cannot receiue, he ought not to reſtore, and therefore is he not vngratefull. Againe, as you ſay, A good man doth all things iuſtly; if he doth all things iuſtly, he cannot be vngratefull. A good man reſtoreth a benefit, an euill man cannot accept it. Which if it be ſo, neither any good or euill man is vngratefull: and conſequently, this name of vngratefull is but a friuolous and imaginary name in this world. There is but only one good with vs, and that is honeſtie. This cannot an euill man apprehend, for he ceaſeth to be euill, if vertue enter into him, but as long as he is euill, no man can

giue

giue him a benefit, because good and euill things are at oddes, and cannot be reconciled: therefore no man profiteth him, for whatsoeuer befalleth him, hee corrupteth it with euill vse. For euen as the stomacke being troubled and corrupted by long sickness, and oppressed by choller, changeth whatsoeuer meats it receiueth, and conuerteth all the nutriment it receiueth into the cause of his griefe: euen so a blinded mind, whatsoeuer thou committest to him, it maketh the same his burthen, his bane, and the occasion of his miserie. They then which haue most riches, and possesse most goods, are subiect to most stormes and tempests, and the lesse find they themselues, the more they fall into a greater occasion of impiety and disturbance: nothing therefore may befall the euill, that may profit them, nay rather, nothing that doth not hurt them. For whatsoeuer befalleth them, they conuert into their owne nature, and those things which in outward appearance are pleasing and profitable, if they were giuen to a better man, are pestiferous and harmefull to them. Therefore also can they not giue a benefit, because no man can giue that which hee hath not, and for that they want a will to doe good.

CHAP XIII.

An answere to the precedent paradox, by the distinct consideration of the goods of the mind, of the body, and of fortune.

BVt although all this were true, yet may an euill man receiue such things as haue a similitude and resemblance of benefits, which being vnrecompenced, hee shall bee iustly termed vngratefull. There are goods of the mind goods of the body, and goods of fortune. Those goods of the mind are such, as foolish and bad men are vncapable of them. To these is he admitted, who can both receiue the same, and is tied to restore them; and if he restoreth them not, he is vngratefull. And this is not our constitution only. The Peripatetiques also (who prefixe such large and ample bounds to humane felicitie) say, that the smaller sort of benefits befall the euill men. These, whosoeuer restoreth not, he is vngratefull. We therefore esteeme them no benefits, which cannot better and ennoble the mind, yet denie we not, but that they are commodities, and such as are to bee desired, these may an euill man giue, and receiue from a good man; as money, garments, honour, life, which if he requite not, he falleth into the name of an vngratefull man. But how call you him vngratefull, for not restoring that, which thou deniedst to be a benefit? There are some things, which although they are not truely such, yet for the similitude and likenesse they haue with them, are comprehended vnder the same word. So call wee a Boxe, both of that which is of gold, as that which is of siluer: so terme we him vnlearned, that is not wholly rude, but as yet vntrayned and taught in higher discipline: so he that seeth a man ill clothed and in ragged garments, saith that he hath seene a naked man. These are no benefits, yet haue they a resemblance of benefits. As these are but benefits in appearance, so seemeth he to be vngratefull, yet is not he vngratefull. This is false, because that he that giueth, and he that receiueth, calleth them benefits. So also he that hath deceiued vnder pretence and colour of a true benefit, is as vngratefull as he is held to be a poysoner, that giueth a stupifying medicine, when he beleeued it was poyson.

And yet is called a Box, from the Box-tree, of which boxes first were made, it answeres to the Greeke word πυξὶς.

CHAP.

Chap. XIIII.

A confirmation of the answer, by the answer of Cleanthes.

Cleanthes vrgeth this more vehemently; Although (saith he) it be not a benefit which he receiueth, yet is he vngratefull, because he would not haue restored it, although hee had receiued it. So is he a theefe (yea euen then before hee hath polluted his hands) because he is already armed to kill, and hath a will to spoile and murther: wickednesse beginneth not, but is exercised and opened in the action. That which he receiued was no benefit, but was so called. Sacrilegious persons are punished, although they lay not their hands on the Gods. How (saith he) may a man be vngratefull towards a wicked man, when as a benefit cannot be giuen to a wicked man? Verily in that respect, because he receiueth of him some of those things, which amongst vulgar and ignorant persons are called goods, whereof, if euill men haue aboundance, he also in the like matter ought to be gratefull, and restore those things, whatsoeuer they be, for good, whereas he receiued them for good: he is said to owe another mans money, both he that oweth gold, and he that oweth leather coyned with the publike stampe, such as was currant amongst the *Lacedemonians*, that standeth in stead of readie money: In that kind wherein thou art obliged, in the same yeeld satisfaction.

Chap. XV.

The fourth Paradox, that all men are vngratefull.

What benefits are, and whether the greatnesse and dignitie of a name so honourable should be imployed in this abiect, and humble matter, it apertayneth not to you, a true benefit belongeth vnto others. Compose you your minds to the resemblance of a true benefit, and whilest you say that thing is honest, whatsoeuer it be, if it be reputed and esteemed for honest, esteeme and praise that: Euen as (saith he) no man in your iudgement is vngratefull, so againe by your reckoning all men are vngratefull. For as you say, all fooles are euill men, but hee that hath one vice is possessed of all, and all men are fooles and euill, therefore all men are vngratefull. What then? doth not the reproach generally light vpon all mankind? Is it not a publike complaint that benefits are lost, & that there are few which requite not euill, for such as haue deserued well? neither hast thou cause to conceiue that this is our particular misconceit, or deceit, and that we alone repute all things euill, and depraued, that fall not out euen and iust, with the rule of right. Behold, I know not what veine it is, or whence it is sent, which cryeth not out of the Philosophers house, but from the midst of the multitude, condemning People and Nations.

Nor from the Hoste the gueſt can be ſecured,
Nor from his Sonne in-law the Father freed,
Nor Brother from his Brother be aſſured:
But Man and wife haue either's death decreed,

But this now is more, benefits are turned into banes, and their bloud is not spared, for whose defence wee ought to spend our owne. Wee follow and gratifie benefits

benefits with Sword and Poyſon. At this time it is reputed dignitie and greatneſſe to violate and ſpoyle a mans Countrey, and to oppreſſe her with her owne authoritie. *He that hath not trodden the Common-wealth vnder his feete, ſuppoſeth himſelfe the baſeſt and ignobleſt in the ſame.* Theſe Armies that were leuied by her, are armed againſt her, and the Generall declaimeth thus. Fight againſt your Wiues, fight againſt your Children, aſſault your Altars, Houſes, and houſhold gods. You that ſhould not enter the Citie (no not to triumph) without permiſſion and command of the Senate, and to whom bringing home their victorious Armies, audience was giuen without the Citie walles, enter the Citie now with diſplayed enſignes, murthering the Citizens, and bathed in the bloud of your neereſt kinſfolks. Let libertie be ſilent amidſt theſe warlike enſignes. And let that conquering Nation, and that people which hath eſtabliſhed peace thorow their whole Empire; and driuen warres out of their Prouinces, and allayed all terror and feare, now beſieged and terrified within their owne walls, be afraid of their owne Standards and Eagles.

CHAP. XVI.

Diuers examples of diuers vngratefull men towards their Common-weale.

VNgratefull was [a] *Coriolanus*, too late pious and penitent after his wickednes committed: he laid aſide his armes, yet ſo laid he them aſide, that it was in the height and midſt of ciuill parricide. Vngratefull was [b] *Catiline*. It is a ſmall matter with him to ſurpriſe his Countrey, except he vtterly ruinate it: except he leade the regiments of the *Sauoyes* and *Dalphinois* to ſpoyle the ſame; and theſe enemies whom he had leuied on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, had ſatisfied and glutted their old and mortall hatreds: except the Romane Captaines had payd their long-due anniuerſaries of infernall ſacrifice to the Sepulchres of the *Gaules*. Ingratefull was [c] *Caius Marius*, who was raiſed from a common Souldier to a Conſular: who except he had equalled the Romane Funerals with the Cymbrian ſlaughters, except he had not only giuen a ſigne of ciuill ſlaughter and murther, but himſelfe had beene the murtherer, he would haue ſuppoſed that his fortune had beene changed very little, and that he had not growne greater: but was buried in his former obſcuritie. Ingratefull was *Lucius Sylla*, who healed his Countrie with harder remedies then the dangers were; who when hee had marched from the towre of *Prænẽſte* to the gate *Collina*, through the bloud of ſlaughtered Souldiers, waged new battels in the Citie, executed new ſlaughters, and ſlue two legions (O cruelty) after victorie, and (that which was moſt impious) when he had driuen and gathered them into a ſtrait, he murthered them notwithſtanding, after he had faithfully promiſed them their pardon, and inuented a proſcription (O ſoueraigne Gods) that hee who had ſlaine a Roman Citizen, ſhould not only be diſcharged and exempted from puniſhments, but receiue reward, and, which is more, receiue the reward done to him that preſerued a Citizen. Ingratefull is [d] *Cneus Pompey*, who for his three Conſulſhips, for his three triumphs, for ſo many honors; which for the moſt part

a *This was a valiant Captaine amongſt the Romanes, who being baniſhed vpon certaine occaſions out of the Citie (as Titus Liuius reporteth in his ſecond Booke, Ab vrbe Condita,) Was ſo skilfull to enter and inſinuate himſelfe amongſt the Volcians, that leuying an Armie of them, he began to inuade his Countrie, vntill being moued by his Mothers prayers and teares, he ceaſed from the battell.*

b *This was another rebellious Citizen of Rome, who leuying an Armie both of his naturall Country-men and ſtrangers, intended to deſtroy the ſame, had he not beene preuented by* Cicero's *wiſedome, as* Saluſt *witneſſeth in the Warres of* Catiline. c *This was another Romane Citizen, who being ſeuerely borne, and of ruſtique converſation, became Conſul in Rome ſeuen times, and ouer-came a Nation called the* Cymbrians, *and afterward being incenſed againſt his Citizens, for baniſhing him for a certayne ſpace into Affricke, he committed huge murthers in the Citie.* d *He was exerciſed in the affaires of the Common-wealth, when he was but twentie three yeares old.*

were

were thrust vpon him, during his immature and yong yeares, returned the common-weale this requitall, that he seazed others of the possession of the same, supposing thereby to discharge himselfe of that enuie, that might bee conceited against his greatnesse and authoritie, if that which were lawfull for no man might bee admitted in many, whilest hee longed after extraordinarie changes and commands, whilest hee distributeth Prouinces, to make choice of that which best liked him, whilest in such sort hee diuided the Common-weale into the hands of the Tribunes, that two parts thereof remayned alwayes in his owne house, he reduced the Romane people to that extreme, that they could not be discharged or secured, but by their seruitude and losse of libertie: Ingratefull was he, who was both *Pompeyes* Enemie and Conquerer, who drew the warre from the vttermost bounds of *Germanie* and *France*, before the walls of *Rome*. He it was (that pretending popularitie, and so great loue and tender care of the Comminaltie) that pitched his Tents in the [c] *Flaminian Round*, nearer then the place where [f] *Porsenna* encamped. True it is, that hee tempered the power which the Law of Armes and Victorie allotted him, and performed that which hee was wont to say, and neuer slue any, except such a one as was armed and addressed to fight against him. But what importeth all this? The rest exercised Armes more cruelly then he did, yet were they satisfied at length, and laid them downe, but this man sheathed his sword quickly, but neuer laid it aside. Ingratefull was *Anthonie* towards his [g] *Dictator*, whom he pronounced to be iustly slaine, and assigned to his murtherers great Prouinces and Gouernements: and hauing torne and tyred his Countrie with proscriptions, incursions, and ciuill warres after so many euils, he decreed, that, that generous Common-weale, which in times past had giuen liberties, exemptions, and particular priuiledges to the people of *Achaia*, and the *Rhodians*, and many other famous Cities, should her selfe become tributarie, not to Romane Kings, but to infamous Eunuchs and Geldings.

[c] *The Romans had in their Cittie three round Courts, or Circles, whither they resorted to see their sports & plaies, whereof this was one, which was therefore called the Flaminian circle or Round, because a Consul called Flaminius builded the same.*

[f] *This was a King of the Etrurians, who waged warre against the Romans, to install Tarquine the Proud, and planted his colours as Iulius Cæsar did, neare to the Flaminian Round or Theatre.*

[g] *Dictator was the highest dignitie and Magistratie that was in the Romane Common-weale. See Aldus in his Booke, de legibus Romanis.*

Chap. XVII.

Diuers examples of the ingratitude of a Common-weale towards priuate persons.

THe day would faile me, if I should reckon vp all those that were vngratefull, euen with the vtter destruction of their Countries. And no lesse endlesse labour would it bee, if I should begin to relate how vngrateful our Common-weale hath beene towards the best, and most tenderly affected Citizens she had, and how as often shee hath sinned in ingratitude her selfe, as others haue sinned against her. Shee sent **Camillus* into exile, dismissed *Scipio*, banished *Cicero* after *Catilines* conspiracie, shee raced his house, spoiled his goods, and exercised against him all those cruelties which *Catiline* himselfe could haue done, had he beene Conquerer. *Rutilius*, in reward of his innocencie, was banished into *Asia*, to liue there in obscuritie. The Roman people denyed *Cato* the Prætorship, and would neuer grant him the dignitie of a Consull. In briefe, we are all of vs generally vngratefull. Let euery one examine himselfe; there is not any man that will not complaine of some ones ingratitude. And it cannot be that all men should complaine, except there were some cause also to complaine of all men. All men therefore are vngratefull. Is this all? and are they thus only? All are couetous, the world likewise is subiect to auarice, all are malicious, all fearefull, and they especially, who seeme to be most confident. Furthermore, all men are ambi-

* *All those were valiant Citizens of Rome, who employed themselues in many notable seruices, and receiued disgraces for their good deserts. This Iland is not exempt from such like presidents.*

tious,

tious and all men are wicked: But thou muſt not be diſpleaſed and grieued hereat, all of them are mad. I will not recall thee to vncertainties, as to ſay vnto thee, ſee how vngratefull youth is. Who is he (bee he neuer ſo innocent) that wiſheth not that his Father had breathed his laſt? who is he (how modeſt ſoeuer he be) that gapes not after his death? who is he (how religious and pitifull ſoeuer he be reputed) that thinketh not of his Fathers death? what huſband ſo feareth the death of a good wife, as he counteth not the gaine he ſhall receiue if ſhe die? what man is he, I pray you, who being intangled in the Law, and deliuered by another mans diligence, that bethinketh him of ſo great a benefit any longer, then vntill a ſecond action? This is confeſſed and certaine without all exception: Is there any man that dieth without complayning? who at his laſt gaſpe dare ſay thus:

My daies are done, now haue I brought to end
The courſe of life, that Fortune did me lend. *Virgil. Æneid. 4*

Who dieth not vnwillingly? who departeth not mournefully? But this is the part of an vngratefull man, not to content himſelfe with the time that was lent him. The daies will be alwayes few, if thou number them. Thinke that the chiefeſt good is not in time, and how little ſoeuer it bee, take it in good part. It addeth nothing to thy felicitie, if the day of thy death be prolonged, becauſe by delay life is not made more bleſſed, but more long. How much better is is to giue thankes vnto the gods for thoſe honeſt pleaſures, which we haue receiued, and not to buſie our ſelues in numbring other mens yeeres, but to eſteeme our owne thankfully, and to put them in the account of our gaines: hath God thought me worthy of this? this ſufficeth me: might he haue giuen me more? but this alſo is a benefit. Let vs be thankefull to the gods, let vs be thankefull to men, let vs be thankefull vnto thoſe, that haue done vs any curteſie, and thankefull to thoſe likewiſe, who haue done any kindneſſe to any of ours.

A pious counſaile from a Pagan, fit to be followed by Chriſtians.

CHAP. XVIII.

THou obligeſt mee infinitely (ſaiſt thou) when thou ſaieſt Ours, prefixe therefore ſome end. Hee that beſtoweth a benefit on the Sonne, as thou ſayeſt, beſtoweth it likwiſe on the Father. Firſt, I aske where, and whether, and afterwards I deſire thee likewiſe to informe me, whether a pleaſure done vnto the Father, be likewiſe done vnto the Brother, the Vncle, the Grand-father, the Wife, the Sonne in law? Tell me where I ſhould end, how long wilt thou that I follow the order and petigree of ſo many perſons? if I haue tilled thy land for thee, haue I not done thee a pleaſure; if I haue quenched the fire that would haue burned thy houſe, or if I haue repaired it, for feare it ſhould fall vpon thee, ſhall I not giue thee a benefit? if I ſaue thy ſlaues life, ſhall I impute it vnto thee? If I preſerue thy Sonne, haſt thou not receiued a benefit at my hands?

A queſtion, whether he that doth a pleaſure to any particular man, doth it likewiſe to his Parents.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

An answer to the former question.

THou ſetteſt downe vnlike and different examples, becauſe that he who tilleth my Land, giueth not the benefit to my Land, but to me: and he that vnder-proppeth my houſe, leſt it ſhould fall, doth the pleaſure to me: for the houſe it ſelfe is without ſenſe. I muſt needs be in his debt, becauſe none elſe is. And he that manureth my land, doth it not to deſerue well of the ſoile, but of my ſelfe. The ſame will I ſay of my ſeruant, for he iuſtly appertayneth to mee, It is for my profit he is preſerued, and therefore I am indebted for him. My ſonne is capable himſelfe of a benefit, and therefore he receiued it; I am glad of the fauour done him: it concerneth mee ſomewhat, yet I am not obliged. Yet would I haue thee anſwere mee, who thinkeſt thou art not indebted, whether thy ſonnes good health, felicitie and patrimonie appertayneth to the Father? He ſhall be more happy if his ſonne be whole and ſafe, and vnhappy if hee loſe him. What then? he that is made happyer by mee, and deliuered from the perill of a mighty infelicitie and misfortune: hath hee not receiued a benefit? no (ſaith he) for certaine things are beſtowed vpon others, which extend alſo vnto vs; but euery thing ought to be required at his hands, on whom it is beſtowed: as money is required at his hands who borrowed the ſame, although the ſame came in ſome ſort into my hand. There is no benefit, the profit thereof toucheth and extendeth not to our neighbors, and ſometimes alſo to thoſe that are fartheſt off from vs. The queſtion is not, whether the benefit be transferred from him to whom it is giuen, but where it is firſt placed, thou muſt alwaies redemand it from the principall debter, and he that ought it firſt. What then I pray thee? ſaiſt thou not thou haſt giuen mee my ſonne, and if had periſhed I ſhould not haue liued? oweſt thou not a benefit for his life, whoſe ſafety thou preferreſt before thine owne? At ſuch time as I ſaued thy ſonne, thou falleſt downe at my feete; thou payeſt thy vowes vnto the gods, as if thou thy ſelfe hadſt beene preſerued? Theſe ſame haſt thou done in ſuccouring my ſonne, as in ſauing mine owne perſon: make account that thou haſt ſaued two, and me eſpecially: Why ſaieſt thou this, if thou receiueſt no benefit? becauſe although my ſonne hath borrowed money, which I will repay vnto his creditor, yet ſhall not I bee indebted: and if my ſonne hath beene taken in adulterie, I may haply be aſhamed, yet ſhall not I therefore be the adulterer: I ſay that I am bound vnto thee for my ſonne, not becauſe I am, but becauſe I will offer my ſelfe vnto thee a voluntary debter. But a great pleaſure hath befalne me by his ſafetie; ineſtimable is the profit I conceiue thereby, and which is more, I haue eſcaped the grieuous wound and corraſiue of being child-leſſe. The queſtion is not now, whether thou haſt profited profited me; but whether thou haſt giuen me a benefit; for a liuing creature, an herbe, a ſtone profit me, yet giue they me no benefit, which is neuer giuen but by ſuch an one as is willing. But thou wilt not giue vnto the Father, but to the Sonne; and in the meane while thou knoweſt not the Father; when therefore thou ſaieſt, Haue I not therefore giuen a benefit to the Father, becauſe I haue ſaued his ſonne? Argue thou this contrariwiſe: How could I therefore giue a benefit to the Father, whom I neuer knew, or euer thought vpon? and why falleth it not out ſometimes, that thou ſhalt hate the Father mortally, and yet bee deſirous to ſaue his ſonnes life? Wouldeſt thou ſay that thou gaueſt a benefit to the Father, whoſe

Marke a glimps of charitie euen in a Pagan.

whose mortall enemie thou wert at that time? But yet dismissing these cauiling disputes I may answere like a Lawyer; The minde of the giuer is to bee respected. He gaue him the benefit to whom he intended it; euen as if hee did it in honour of the Father: the Father receiued the benefit, not the sonne; so is not the Father bound for a benefit bestowed vpon his sonne, although hee enioy it. Yet if occasion be offered, the Father shall not doe amisse, to be willing to giue somewhat, not that he is constrained by necessitie to pay any thing; but that he might haue found a sufficient cause to begin to doe a pleasure. A benefit therefore ought not to bee redemanded at the fathers hands, for a curtesie done vnto the Sonne: and if he voluntarily shew himselfe gratefull for the same, he ought rather to be esteemed iust, than thankefull. For otherwise there would neuer be an end; if I giue a benefit to the Father, the Mother, the grand-father, the Vncle, to the children, kinsfolke, friends, seruants, and countrie: where then beginneth a benefit to rest? For me thinks I am falne into an argument which the Grecians call *Sorites*, which hath neuer an end, because it stealeth on by litle and litle, and ceaseth not continually to passe on further. Men are wont to debate vpon this matter: Two brothers are at deadly feude the one against the other, if I preserue the one, haue I profited the other, who will bee sorrie, that his brother, whom he hateth, hath escaped with life? There is no doubt, but that it is a benefit, although it be against his will that receiueth the same: euen as contrary wise, he hath not giuen a benefit, that profited against his will.

Resolution of the doubts.

CHAP. XX.

He entreth into new questions, and first of all resolueth this, whether for sauing a brothers life mortally hated by his other brother, both of them bee tyed to acknowledge the benefit.

CAlleſt thou that (saith he) a benefit wherewith hee is offended and vexed? many benefits haue a harsh and distastfull appearance; as when we cut and cauterise, to heale: and imprison, to amend. We ought not to respect, whether a man bee sorie for a benefit receiued, but whether bee ought to reioyce. The coyne is not bad, which a barbarous and ignorant person accepteth not for currant and rightly stamped money. He hateth the benefit and yet he receiueth the same, if it be profitable vnto him; and hee that hath giuen the same, hath done it to the end that it should bee profitable: it makes no matter though a man receiue a good turne with an euill will: So to let vs turne this the contrary way: A man hateth his brother, whose life importeth and profiteth him much: him haue I slaine. This action of mine is no benefit vnto him, although he say it is, and reioyce thereat. Most traiterously doth he hurt, who receiueth thanks for doing harme. I do than see, something is profitable, and is therefore a benefit: hurtful, and therefore is no benefit. Behold, I will giue that which is neither profitable, nor hurtfull, and yet it is a benefit. I haue trauersed a desolate place, and found some mans father starke dead, and haue buried his body: neither haue I profited him that was slaine (for what concerned it him after what manner he were consumed?) neither was it profitable for his sonne, for what could he gaine hereby? I will tell you what he hath gained, hee hath discharged by my meanes a necessarie and solemne office. I haue done that to his father: which he himselfe would haue done, nay more, which in duty he ought to doe. Now If I did it not for common pietie and humanities sake only, as I might haue buried any other dead mans body, but knew the carcasse and thought vpon the sonne at the same time, and did it for his sake, then is it a benefit. But if I burie a dead man that is

vnknowne to me, no man is indebted to me for this office, becauſe it was but a point of publique humanitie. Some one will ſay vnto me: Why art thou ſo buſie to enquire, who it is, to whom thou haſt done a pleaſure, as if thou wouldeſt hereafter redemand the ſame? There are ſome, that iudge that it ſhould neuer be claymed againe, and alledge theſe cauſes; The vnworthy receiuer will not repay the ſame, although redemanded, the thankefull and worthy receiuer will of himſelfe yeld recompence. Beſides if thou haſt giuen to a good man, be not too earneſt in clayming it, leſt in demanding the ſame thou doe him wrong; as if he would not haue ſatisfied thee of his owne free will. If thou haſt giuen it to an euill man, haue patience. Corrupt not thy benefit by making it a debt. Beſides, that which the Law biddeth not to bee redemanded, it forbiddeth. Theſe things are true, as long as nothing vrgeth me, as long as fortune inforceth me nothing, I will rather craue a benefit then redemand it. But if it be to ſaue my childrens liues: if my wife be in danger of hers, if the libertie and good of my Countrey conſtraineth mee to goe thither, whither I would not, I will command my baſhfulneſſe, I will proteſt that I haue done my vttermoſt, that I might haue no neede of an vngratefull mans helpe. Laſt of all, the neceſſitie of receiuing a good turne, ſhall ouercome the ſhame of clayming it. When therefore I employ a benefit vpon a good man, I ſo giue it, as if I would neuer redemand the ſame, except neceſſitie inforce me:

CHAP. XXI.

A replication vpon the queſtion precedent touching the repetition of benefits.

BVt the law (ſaith he) not permitting to demand, forbiddeth to claime. There are many things, which neither haue law, nor action, to which the cuſtome of humane life (more powerfull then any law) giueth entrance. No law commandeth vs not to diſcouer our friends ſecrets, neither doth any law in like manner tye vs to keepe promiſe and our word with our enemy. What law tyeth vs to performe that which we haue promiſed to any man? yet will I iuſtly complaine of him, that hath diſcouered my ſecret, and be diſpleaſed with him, that hath giuen me his word, and hath not kept it. But thou (ſaith he) makeſt a debt of a benefit. Nothing leſſe: for I doe not exact it, but redemand it; neither doe I redemand it, but admoniſh: neither ſhall my extreameſt neceſſitie inforce me to this, to come vnto him, with whom I ſhall be forced to vſe long conteſtation. Who ſo is ſo farre plunged in ingratitude, that he will not be content to be aduertiſed and admoniſhed, I will let him paſſe, neither will I thinke him worthy to be inforced to bee thankefull. Euen as ſome vſurer raketh not vpon thoſe debtors, whom he knoweth to haue played the bankerupts, or to bee ſo poore, that nothing is left them to loſe, that may make them aſhamed, ſo will I ouerpaſſe ſome that are publikely and obſtinately thankeleſſe; neither will I redemand a benefit at any mans hand, but from him onely, from whom I ſhall not take away by force, but freely receiue it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

How we ought to behaue our selues towards those, who are negligent and slow to recompence benefits done vnto them. There is as great weakenesse in many men in not being able to limit the opportunities of their satisfaction.

MAny there are that neither know how to denie the good they haue receiued, nor to restore it when it is needefull: who are not so good as the gratefull, nor so euill as the vngratefull: slacke and idle debtors, yet not euill. These will I not challenge, but admonish: and since they forget their duty, I will make them remember themselues, so as they will presently answere me in this sort: *Pardon me, I pray you, in good faith I knew not that you had neede hereof: for had I thought so much, I had offered it you of my selfe: I beseech you account mee not vngratefull, I remember well what kindnesse you haue done vnto me.* Why should I feare to make these men better to themselues, and to me also? I will bind whomsoeuer I can from sinning, much more my friend from offending, and especially against my selfe. I giue him an other benefit, if I suffer him not to bee vngratefull, nei her will I rudely vpbraid him with the good turnes he hath had of me: but as mildly as I can, will I only refresh the memory of them, to the end hee may haue occasion to restore mee some such pleasure: I will pray him to doe mee a good turne, to the end he may vnderstand, that I doe it to redemand mine owne. Now and then will I vse sharpe and bitter words, if I conceiue any hope that he may be amended: for a desperate person, who hath lost all shame, I will not exasperate him, lest of an vngratefull man I make him mine enemie. For if we remit and forbeare to admonish sharply, and call on those that ire vngratefull, wee shall make them more slow to requite our curtesies. But some, that may be amended, and who may be made good, if any thing touch their conscience: shall we suffer them to be lost for want of admonition, wherewith the father hath sometimes corrected his sonne, and the wife recalled and reclaimed her straying husband, and a friend refreshed the languishing faith of his friend?

CHAP. XXIII.

What extremities a man ought to flie in such a case.

SOme there are that so sleepe, that they are not to bee awaked by striking, but by iogging. In like manner there are some that want not the will to yeeld satisfaction, but they are too slacke and slow in the performance thereof, let vs awaken it. Bee not thou the cause that thy benefit be conuerted into an iniurie. Thou shouldest iniure me, if thou wouldest not redemand the pleasure, which thou hast done me, for this cause, that I might become vngratefull. What, if I know not what thou wantest? what if distracted by occupations, and imployed otherwaies, I haue not obserued the occasion? shew me what I may, and what thou wouldest. Why dispairest thou, before thou triest me? why art thou so hastie to lose both thy benefit and thy friend? whence knowest thou, that I will not, or I know not, or whether my mind or meanes be deficient; make triall of me. I will aduise and admonish him then, not bitterly, not openly, but so modestly, that he may thinke, that of himselfe he hath called the matter to memory, and was not put in mind by me.

CHAP. XXIIII.

A notable example to that purpose, of a stout Souldier, and a gratefull Emperour.

A Certaine old Souldier, who had vſed ſome violence toward his neighbours, was drawne in queſtion before *Iulius Cæſar*, and ſeeing himſelfe ouer-charged, and like to loſe the proceſſe. CAESAR (ſaith he) *remember you not, how you once ſprent your ancle in Spaine neere to Sucro*; a riuer of *Valentia*? when *Cæſar* had anſwered him, that he remembred it well, the Souldier continuing his purpoſe, ſaid thus: *Doe you remember likewiſe, that being couched vnder a Tree (that gaue but little ſhadow, and deſirous to reſt your ſelfe, to flie the heate of the ſcorching Sunne, in a barren and rockie ſoile, in which there was not but that only Tree, that grew from amongſt the craggy cliffes) there was one of your Souldiers, that ſpred his cloke vnder you.* When *Cæſar* had anſwered, yea marry, why ſhould I not remember it: for when I was nigh dead for thirſt, becauſe I was not able to goe to the next ſpring, by reaſon of my foote, I would haue crept thither vpon all foure, but that a Souldier of mine, a man both ſtout and valiant, brought mee water in his Helmet. *Emperor* (ſaid this ſouldier) *do you now know that man, and that helmet, if you ſee them.* CAESAR anſwered, that he knew not the Morion, but that he knew the Souldier very well, and further ſaid (diſpleaſed, as I ſuppoſe, for that he interrupted the pleading of the cauſe, to liſten to that old ſtorie which he had told him) I am ſure thou art not he. *Cæſar* (ſaid the Souldier) *I blame thee not, in that thou haſt forgotten me, for when this was done, I was whole and ſound, afterwards I loſt an eye at the battell of Munda, certaine ſplinters of my ſkull were taken out of my head, neither would you know the Helmet if you ſhould ſee it, for it was cleft in pieces by the ſtroke of a Spaniſh Curtelax.* Hereupon *Cæſar* commanded, that he ſhould not be troubled any further, and gaue vnto his Souldier thoſe ſmall parcels of Land, through which the way lay, that made this ſtrife betwixt him and his neighbors.

Or Munda, a people of Andaluzia.

CHAP XXV.

WHat then? ſhould he not re-challenge the benefit at the Emperors hands, whoſe memory was confuſed through the multitude of his affaires? whoſe great fortune in diſpoſing of his army, ſuffered him not to remember and reward euery priuate Souldier? This is not to redemand a benefit, but to reſume it againe, being ready at hand, and laid vp in in a good place, and yet if a man will haue it, hee muſt ſtretch out his hand. I will therefore redemand the ſame, if I be conſtrained to doe it, either by neceſſitie, or for his ſake, of whom I muſt require it. A certaine familiar of *Tiberius Cæſars*, pretending ſome ſuite vnto him in the beginning of his Empire, began his ſpeech thus: *Sir, remember you not?* to which he anſwered, before he vttered any further tokens of their former and ancient friendſhip, *I remember not, what I was.* From ſuch as this Prince was, not only ſhould a good man forbeare to aske recompence of former curteſies, but alſo he ought to deſire and procure, that he might forget them vtterly. He diſdayned the memorie and knowledge of all thoſe perſons, whom he reputed either for his friends, or equals, before his Empire, his only deſire was, that they ſhould reſpect that preſent fortune and authoritie, wherein hee was placed,

that

that only would he haue to be thought vpon, that only to bee ſpoken of; hee reputed his ancient friend for a buſie Inquiſitor. It is better to redemand a pleaſure thou haſt done in times paſt in time and place, then to require & craue anew. Moderation of words is to be vſed, that the vngratefull man whatſoeuer, cannot pretend to haue forgotten them. If we liued amongſt men of ſcience and conſcience, we might hold our peace and exſpect, and yet it were better to giue them notice of our affaires, and the eſtate of our neceſſities. Wee pray vnto the gods, who know all things, our prayers obtayne not that which we demand, they only aduertiſe them of that which we would intreate at their hands. That Prieſt which ſpeaketh in *Homer*, repreſenteth vnto the gods the honour, which was done vnto them: and thoſe Altars which were deuoutly addreſſed, and dreſſed for them, to the end they might be fauourable to his petitions, and attentiue to his prayers. It is a ſecond vertue, both to be willing to be admoniſhed, and to be able to entertaine good aduertiſements. The mind is to bee reigned ſoftly this way and that way: few there are that are perfectly gouerned by the ſame, but they that by honeſt aduertiſements returne into the right way, hold the ſecond place; and from theſe wee ought not to take the guide that conducteth them. The eyes that are ſhut haue a light, but without vſe, which then grow in vſe, when the day-light (which the gods ſend vs) calleth them forth and awakeneth them to performe their offices. Inſtruments and tooles lie by and ſerue no vſes, except the workeman moue them, and employ them in his labour: meane while there is a good will in his ſoule, but either idleneſſe or delight benummeth it, or the ignorance of his art maketh him erre. We ought therefore to amend our will, and not to ſuffer it through deſpite to languiſh long time in error: but following the cuſtome of Schoole-maſters, who inſtruct yong children, we ought patiently to endure, and diſcreetely to pardon them, if they haue forgotten any thing through defect of memory. And euen as in telling them a word or two, they faſhion them to conſtrue their whole leſſon: ſo by ſome little admonition we ought to reclaime ſuch as are forgetfull, and faſhion them to acknowledge a Benefit.

The will is to bee awakened, leſt it languiſh in error.

The end of the fift Booke.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE SIXT BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

AGaine continueth he his queſtions after the manner of CHRYSIPPVS. *Firſt, he enquireth, whether a benefit may be taken away? hee differently diſputeth thereupon, yet concludeth that the vſe thereof may be taken away, but not the benefit it ſelfe. His ſecond queſtion is, whether we be indebted to him, who either profited vs willingly, or ignorantly? he denieth. His third is, whether wee bee obliged to him that profited vs for his owne ſake? if only for himſelfe, he denieth it; but if for mine alſo, he admitteth it. Hee mixeth ſubtilties with examples. The fourth is, whether it be lawfull to wiſh another man an euill turne, to the end thou mayeſt reſtore him his benefit? it is not lawfull, and he condemneth it. Hee openeth another way of reſtitution, euen to thoſe that are happie, yea to Kings, by counſailes, admonitions, and doctrines.*

CHAP. I.

THere are ſome things (my *Liberalis*, the worthieſt of men) which are only drawne in queſtion to exerciſe the ſpirit, and haue no vſe in them. There are other things alſo, which not onely moue delight, whileſt they are diſputed vpon, but after they are debated, are greatly profitable vnto vs. I will preſent thee with all ſorts of them. Thou mayeſt, as it pleaſeth thee, aduiſe me, either whether I ſhall finiſh thoſe that are begunne, or that I preſent them only on the Theater, for ſhow and oſtentation ſake: and although thou commandeſt them to be incontinently retired, yet will there ſome profit ariſe thereby: for although there are ſome things which are vnneceſſarie to be ſpoken of, yet it auaileth vs ſomewhat to know them. I will therfore be at thy diſpoſition and becke, and ſhape my proceedings according to thy pleaſure: ſome will I debate vpon more amply, other ſome will I expell, and ſuffer to periſh.

CHAP.

Chap. II.

THe queſtion is, whether a benefit may be taken away. Some deny that it may, for a benefit is nothing but an action, euen as the gift is one thing, and the giuer another, and hee that ſaileth one thing, and the Nauigation it ſelfe another thing. And although the ſicke man be not without ſickneſſe, yet is not he that is ſicke and the ſickneſſe it ſelfe all one: ſo the benefit it ſelfe is one thing, but that which commeth to each one of vs by the benefit, is another thing. A benefit is a thing incorporeall, which cannot be fruſtrated, the matter thereof is toſſed hither and thither, and changeth his maſter. When therefore thou takeſt the ſame away, Nature it ſelf cannot vndoe thoſe things ſhe hath done. She ſtoppeth the courſe of her benefits, but cutteth them not off. He that dieth, yet hath liued, and he that hath loſt his ſight, hath formerly ſeene. It may be brought to paſſe, that thoſe things that are come to vs, may not be: but that they may not haue bin, it is impoſſible; but the part of the benefit, and the moſt certaine is that which was. Sometimes we hinder the vſe and long poſſeſſion of a benefit; the benefit it ſelfe cannot be razed out. Though nature ſummon all her forces to this end, yet hath ſhe no power ouer that which is paſt. Thou mayeſt take away the houſe thou gaueſt mee, the money thou lendeſt me, the ſlaue I bought, and whatſoeuer elſe, wherein the name of a benefit conſiſteth, but the benefit it ſelfe is ſtable and immutable, no force can effect this, that the one hath not giuen, and the other hath not receiued.

Chap. III.

A confirmation of the answer, by an Apothegme of Marke Anthony, *who giueth a notable inſtruction vnto great Lords, who may doe much good by the meanes of their riches and credit.*

* *This was a noble Poet that wrote the Ciuill wars, and commended by* Ouid.

MArcvs Antonivs (as the Poet * *Rabirius* ſetteth it downe) ſeeing his fortunes tranſlated to *Auguſtus*, and that no other refuge was left him, but the priuiledge of death, and that that alſo (except he tooke hold of the preſent occaſion) would quickly be taken from him, cried out in my opinion moſt heroically.

That onely now I haue,
Which I to others gaue.

O how much might he haue had, if he would? Theſe are the moſt aſſured riches which will continue at one ſtay, in whatſoeuer inconſtancie and leuitie of humane fortune, which the greater they be, the leſſe enuie will they haue. Why art thou ſo ſparing of that thou haſt, as if it were thine owne? thou art but Fortunes factor. All theſe things which thus puffe you vp, that enflame you with pride, that ſeeme to make you more then men, cauſe you to forget frailtie. Theſe therefore which you keepe within iron walls, with armed hands, theſe goods which you haue purchaſed with others mens blouds, and defended with your owne, for which you rigge forth whole Nauies to ſtaine the Seas with bloud, for which you beleager Cities, and yet ignorant, what ſtore of weapons Fortune hath prepared againſt thoſe, who are oppoſed againſt her. Theſe for which two ambitious pretenders of Empire (the lawes of affinitie, friendſhip and confederacie beeing broken) haue ſo oftentimes cauſed the world

world to be ſo cruſhed and confounded, are not yours; they are but as things in truſt left in your hands, and ſhall ſuddenly bee tranſlated to another Maſter. That enemie, from whom you haue pillaged them, or ſome ſucceſſour of his enmitie and hatred ſhall come and force them from thee. Askeſt thou me, how thou mayeſt make them thine owne? I anſwere thee, by well beſtowing them. Be prouident therefore in thy affaires, purchaſe vnto thy ſelfe an aſſured poſſeſſion of thoſe things which can neuer be taken from thee: thy riches ſhall not only be more ſecure, but alſo more honeſt: that which thou admireſt and priſeſt ſo much, that which in thy iudgement maketh thee rich and powerfull, as long as thou detayneſt it in thy hands, retayneth no other title but the villanous name of auarice, as for example, thy houſe, thy ſlaue, thy money; but after thou haſt giuen them, they are accounted and reckoned for benefits.

All greatneſſe is tranſitorie, the perdurable good is leaſt apprehended.

CHAP. IIII.

THou confeſſeſt (ſaith he) that ſometimes we are not obliged and indebted to him, of whom we haue receiued a benefit: *Ergo*, it is taken from vs. There are many cauſes, which diſcharge vs of the obligation, whereby we are tyed for the good we haue receiued, not for that it is violently taken from vs, but becauſe it is corrupted by an other meanes. A certayne man defendeth me, being accuſed and guiltie of ſome capitall crime, and afterwards vſeth infamous violence to my wife, and rauiſheth her; he hath not taken away the good that he did me, but oppoſing an equall iniurie to the ſame, hee diſchargeth mee of my debt; and if he hath hurt me more then he profited me before, the good turne is not only extinguiſhed, but I haue free libertie both to complaine, and to reuenge, where, in compariſon of the benefit, the iniurie ouer-weigheth it: ſo the benefit is not taken away, but ouer-preſſed and drowned. What? are not ſome fathers ſo hard-hearted and wicked, that it is both lawful and rightfull to lothe and ſhun them, and not to acknowledge them? haue they therefore taken from them that which they gaue them? nothing leſſe: but the impietie of ſucceeding times hath taken away the commendation of euery former office and kindneſſe: the benefit is not taken away, but only the thanks, which ought to bee acknowledged for the ſame, and it is brought to paſſe, not that I haue it not, but that I owe it not. As if a man lend me money, and afterwards burne my houſe, his debt is ſatisfied by my damage; I haue not paid him, and yet I owe him nothing. Euen ſo ſtandeth the caſe here: though a man hath done me ſome friendly good turne, though he hath dealt with me ſomewhat liberally, yet if afterwards he many wayes vſe mee proudly, contumeliouſly and cruelly, hee hath left me at that ſtay, that I am as free from him, as if I had neuer receiued any thing at his hands, for the fault is his owne, and hee himſelfe hath violated his owne benefits. The Land-lord cannot conſtraine his Tenant to pay his Rent (although the Deeds remayne in force vncancelled) if hee tread downe his Corne, fell downe his fruit-trees, not becauſe he hath receiued that which hee couenanted, but for that he himſelfe is the cauſe, that his Tenant cannot ſatisfie him. So is the Creditor oftentimes endamaged towards his Debter, if he take more for ſome other pretext, then that which he lent did amount vnto. The Iudge ſitteth not between the Creditor and Debter to ſay only this, Thou haſt lent him money: what then? thou haſt driuen away his Cattell, murthered his Seruant,

How ſometimes we are excuſed from ſatisfying pleaſures done vnto vs.

Seruant, taken poſſeſſion of his land, which thou neuer payedſt for; when all theſe things ſhall be well conſidered of, and valued: depart thou a debter, who cameſt a creditour. There is therefore a iuſt rating and valuation betwixt benefits and iniuries to be made. Oftentimes, I ſay, the benefit remaineth, and we are not obliged to ſatisfie the ſame, if he that gaue it, repented himſelfe afterwards, if he ſay he was vnhappy in that he gaue the ſame, if when he gaue he ſighed, or bent his browes, if he beleeued he hath loſt, and not giuen: if he hath done it for his owne profit, or at leaſt not for mine? if he hath not ceaſed to inſult, bragge, and boaſt euery where, and make his benefit bitter and diſtaſtfull to the receiuer. The benefit therefore remaineth, although it be not due, euen as certaine moneyes are due, but not exacted, becauſe the creditor hath no law to recouer them.

Chap. V.

Whether a man may or ought to acknowledge a benefit, and reuenge himſelfe of an outrage done vnto him by one and the ſame perſon.

THou gaueſt a benefit, and afterwards diddeſt an iniurie, there is both a thankes due to the benefit, and a reward for the iniurie, for I owe him no thanks, nor he me any puniſhment; the one ſatisfieth the other. When we ſay, I haue ſatisfied his benefit, we ſay not thus, that we haue reſtored that which we receiued, but this for that; for to reſtore, is to giue one thing for another. Why not? becauſe euery payment reſtoreth not the ſame, but as much in value: for we are ſaid to haue ſatisfied our debt, although we haue paid ſiluer for gold, and although we pay no money at all, but either by aſſignement to other, or by way of exchange we make our ſatisfaction. Me thinks thou telleſt me, that I loſe my labour: for what profiteth it me to know, whether that which is not due remaineth ſtill in obligation? Theſe are but impertinent ſubtilties of the Lawyers, who ſay that no man can acquire the poſſeſſion or dominion of an inheritance, but onely the goods thereof, as if the heritage were ought elſe, then thoſe things which are in the inheritance? I had rather thou ſhouldeſt diſtinguiſh me this (which may be pertinent to the matter) namely, when as the ſame man had done me a courteſie, and afterwards offered me an iniurie, whether I ought to requite his kindneſſe, and notwithſtanding reuenge my ſelfe for the iniury offered me, and make a ſeuerall ſatisfaction, as it were, for two different debts, or recompence the one with the other, and not to take any more care of it, ſo as the benefit be taken away by the iniurie, and the iniurie by the benefit. For I ſee that this is obſerued in the Courts of pleas: what the reſolution of your Schoole is, you your ſelues know. The actions are ſeuerall: and conformably to the courſe of our pleadings, ſo anſwerably are we dealt withall. For otherwiſe there ſhould bee a great confuſion in the Iudgement-ſeat, and courſe of Law: if he that ſhould leaue in my cuſtodie goods or money in truſt, ſhould afterwards ſteale from me, I ſhould enter my ſuite of felonie againſt him, and contrariwiſe he plead againſt me, for the money left in truſt with me.

CHAP. VI.

An answer to the former question.

THose examples (my *Liberalis*) which thou haſt propoſed, are contained vnder certaine lawes, which we muſt needs follow, for one law is not confounded with another, each one keepeth his one way. As for the matter in truſt, there is a diſtinct action, ſo is there alſo for the theft. A benefit is not ſubiect to any law, only I that receiued the ſame, am the arbitrarie Iudge thereof: I haue authoritie to compare together, how much good another man hath done mee, or what damage I haue receiued by him: whether I be indebted more vnto him, or hee obliged more to me. In iudging by law and ordinances I haue not any power, thither muſt wee goe, whither they leade vs. But in matter of benefit, all the power and priuiledge is mine owne, and therefore I iudge them, and ſeperate not the actions, I ſummon the benefits and iniuries before our Iudge: otherwiſe, thou commandeſt mee at one and the ſame time, to loue and hate one and the ſame perſon, to complaine of him, and to giue him thankes, which nature cannot permit: nay, rather by comparing the benefit and wrong together, I ſhall ſee, whether any thing be owing me of ſurpluſage. Euen as he that imprinteth other lines aloft vpon my writings, taketh not away the former letters, but only raceth and hideth them: euen ſo an iniurie that ſucceedeth a benefit, blemiſheth it ſo, that it cannot appeare.

CHAP. VIII.

BVt thy countenance (to whoſe direction and becke I ſubmitted my ſelfe) beginneth to frowne, and thou bendeſt thy browes vpon mee, as if I ſtrayed from my purpoſe, mee thinkes I heare thee ſay:

Whither ſo farre diſioyned from the port,
Doſt thou vpon thy right hand ſaile before?
Ply hitherwards, vnto this hauen reſort,
And leaue the maine, and loue and like the ſhore.

whether we are obliged to him that hath aſſiſted vs willingly, or at vnawares. Virgil Æneid. 5

Pardon me, I can keepe no neerer. If therefore thou thinkeſt that I haue ſatisfied and ſufficiently debated on this matter: let vs paſſe onward to the other, and examine whether wee bee indebted to him that hath done vs a pleaſure againſt his will. I could ſpeake this more plainly, but that the propoſition ought to be more confuſed, to the end that the diſtinction which followeth preſently after, ſhould ſhew that we diſpute both the one and other point: that is to ſay, whether we are bound vnto him that hath procured our good, and meant it not, and alſo whether we be beholding to him, that hath done vs good, and knew it not. For if any man by compulſion hath ſhewed vs any kindneſſe, it is a matter ſo manifeſt, that he obligeth vs not, that there need no words to bee ſpent to this purpoſe. And this queſtion may eaſily be anſwered, and whatſoeuer may be obiected of the ſame nature, if wee often conuert our thoughts to this generall principle; That there is no benefit but that which is accompanied with a good thought towards vs, and ſuch a thought and intent likewiſe, as is both friendly and bountifull. And therefore we thanke not the riuers, although they

they beare great ſhips, and with a large and perpetuall chanell, fleet along to furniſh vs with commodities, & although wooing the wondring eye, and full of daintie fiſh, they ſteale along and moiſten our fatned fields: neither will any man iudge that he is indebted to *Nilus*, or diſpleaſed therewith, if it hath ouerflowed and drowned his land, or too ſlowly growne to ebbe: neither doth the wind befriend vs, although it blow a gentle and proſperous gale, nor the victuals we eat, although they be profitable and holſome. For he that properly will giue a benefit, muſt not onely profit me, but haue a will to doe me good. Therefore men are not indebted to dumbe beaſts: yet how many hath the ſwiftneſſe of a horſe deliuered out of danger? nor to trees, and yet how many troubled with heat, hath the ſhadow of their branchie armes deliuered and couered from the ſcortching Sunne? what concerneth it me, whether he that did mee good, know not that he doth it, or be not able to know it, when both of them wanted will to doe it? And what difference is there, whether you command me to owe a benefit to a ſhip, or a chariot, or a ſpeare, or to ſuch a one, who, as theſe, had no purpoſe to doe good, but was profitable vnto me only caſually?

Chap. VIII.

By diuers reaſons and ſimilitudes, he proueth, that wee are not obliged to him that hath done vs good, in thinking to doe vs iniurie.

A Man may receiue a benefit vnwittingly, but no man doth good without knowing of the ſame: euen as many men haue been healed of their infirmities, by ſome caſual accident, and yet for all that they are no true remedies: As ſome men haue recouered their health by falling into a riuer in an exceeding cold day: As a quartaine ague hath been driuen from ſome men by whipping, and a ſodaine fright hath diſappointed the expected houre of an ague, by fixing the imagination on an other diſtaſtfull euill, and yet none of theſe, although they haue beene the cauſe of recouery, can be ſaid but to be a ſoueraigne remedie, ſo ſome men profit vs while they would not, or rather becauſe they will not doe vs good, yet are we not indebted to them for the benefit. What if fortune hath altered their pernicious counſailes, and drawne them to a better end? Suppoſeſt thou that I am any waies bound vnto him, whoſe hands ſtriking at me, light vpon and hit mine enemie, which would haue hurt me, except it had ſwarued? Oft-times a witneſſe whileſt he manifeſtly forſweareth himſelfe, hath detracted from their credit, who were true witneſſes, and hath made the Iudges to commiſerate the priſoner, ſuppoſing that it was but ſome ſlanderous circumuention and conſpiracie. Oft-times the very great power and authoritie of the aduerſary, hath deliuered the delinquent out of the Iudges hands, who would not condemne him vpon the credit and fauor of the accuſer, whom otherwaies they had conuicted by the iuſtice of the cauſe. Yet did not theſe giue a benefit, although they profited, for the queſtion is, whereat the dart was aimed, not where it lighted: and it is the minde, and not the euent, which diſtinguiſheth a benefit from an iniurie. Mine aduerſarie, whileſt he ſpeaketh contraries, and offendeth the iudge by his pride, and raſhly diſmiſſeth one of his beſt witneſſes, giueth great aduantage to my cauſe. I aske not, whither hee erred to pleaſure me, becauſe his intention was to hurt me.

CHAP. IX.

No benefit deſerueth the name, except it be accompanied with a good will.

VErily, to approue my ſelfe gratefull, it behoueth me to haue a will to doe that which he hath done: if he would that I ſhould take it for a benefit, he ought to haue a will and intent. For what is more vniuſt then that man who hateth him, that hath kicked him in a throng, or ſoyled him with dirt, or thruſt him thither, whither he would not? But what other thing is there that may exempt him from the blame whereas there is an iniurie in the action, then that he knew not what hee did? The ſame thing that priuiledgeth the one from being iudged to haue done iniurie, exempteth the other alſo from being thought to haue done a pleaſure. It is the will that maketh vs either friends or enemies. How many hath ſickneſſe diſcharged from warfare? Some haue beene letted from being oppreſſed with the ruine of their owne houſes, by keeping their day of appearance at the ſuit of their enemies. And ſome by ſhipwrack haue eſcaped the hands of Pyrates, yet are we not obliged to theſe misfortunes for any benefit, becauſe caſuall euents haue no correſpondencie with amitie; nor to our enemie, who would trouble vs by proceſſe, and detaine vs vnder arreſt. It is no good deede that proceedeth not from a good will, except he that gaue it acknowledge it. Hath a man pleaſured me, and know not of it? I owe him nothing. Did he doe me good when he would haue hurt me? I will doe the like to him.

CHAP. X.

A continuation of the precedent reſolution.

LEt vs returne againe to the firſt poynt: Thou wilt that (to the intent I ſhould be thankefull) I ſhould doe ſomewhat, and yet he that did me kindneſſe, hath done nothing. Let vs ſpeake now of the other. Thou wilt haue me giue thankes to this man, and that I ſhould willingly reſtore that which I haue receiued, from him that gaue vnwillingly. For what ſhall I ſay of the third, whoſe iniury is exchanged into a benefit? If thou wilt haue me to owe thee a good turne, it is not enough for thee to be only willing to doe me good: but to make mee vnbeholding to thee, it is enough that thou meaneſt it not towards me. For the bare wil cannot make a benefit. But euen as that ſhould not be a benefit, if a good & free will were abandoned by fortune; ſo likewiſe is it not a benefit, if the will marcheth not before the fortune. For if thou wilt haue me beholding to thee, thou muſt not only doe me good, but alſo thou muſt doe it with a will to profit.

CHAP. XI.

A confirmation of the precedent, by the example of Cleanthes *two meſſengers.*

CLEANTHES vſeth this example, I ſent, ſaith he, two Boyes into the Academie to ſeeke out *Plato*, and to bring him vnto me. The one of them ſought him out in all the Galleries and Porches, where he was wont to walke, and ranne through all other places wherein he had any hope to find him out, and at length being wearie with his way, and fruſtrate of his hope, returned home. The other ſtood gazing at the next Iugler, or mounte-bank, or whilſt he wandreth vp and down

and plaieth with his fellows and companions, seeth *Plato* passing by, and found him whom he sought not. I, saith *Cleanthes*, will commend that Boy who performed that he was commanded to his vttermost, and will chastise that other who was more fortunate in lazinesse. It is the will that is the lawfull Mistris of these actions, the condition whereof must be considered, if thou wilt haue me to be thy debter. It is a small matter to wish a man well, except thou pleasure him; It is a small matter to haue pleasured, except thou hadst a will to doe it. For put case a man had a will to giue, yet gaue not, vndoubtedly I haue his hart, but not his benefit, which consummateth and perfecteth both the thing and the will: euen as I owe him nothing that would haue trusted me with his mony, but did not: so will I be a friend, but not obliged to him, that would haue done me a curtesie, but could not: and I shall haue a will to doe him good, because he had a will to pleasure me. Notwithstanding, if fortune be so fauourable vnto me, as that I may haue the meanes to giue him any thing, it shall not bee to gratifie his curtesie, but to giue him a benefit. It shall be his dutie to yeeld me thankes, and the beginning of the debt shall be deriued from me.

Chap. XII.

Of those that benefit others, for the loue of themselues.

I Perceiue now already what thou meanest to demand: thou needest not to tell me, thy lookes expresse thy thoughts. Are we indebted in any sort to him (sayest thou) who, to profit himselfe, hath done vs a pleasure? For of this thing oft-times I heare thee complaine, that there are some men, who reckon that kindnesse to be done vnto another, which they giue to themselues. I will satisfie thee herein, my *Liberalis*: but first of all I will diuide this little question into two parts, and separate that which is iust, from that which is vniust. For there is a great difference, whether a man giueth vs a benefit for his owne sake, or for our behoose, or for his owne and ours. He that solely respecteth his owne commoditie and profit, and profiteth vs notwithstanding (because otherwise hee cannot further himselfe) seemeth, in my iudgement, to be all one with him who prouides prouender and summer-fodder for his cattell; or him that feeds his captiues liberally, to the end they may be the better sold; or him that fattens and curries his Oxen, to make them more vendible; *or that Master of skirmish and defence, who exerciseth his family of Fencers with great care, & adorneth them most diligently, to the end they may get him maintenance. There is a great difference (as *Cleanthes* saith) betwixt a benefit, and a negotiation or bargaining.

* *The Romans had a custome, amongst their common sports, to see certaine skirmishes or combats, with naked weapons; and these combatants were such men as long time before had beene taught by a Master of fence. And to these the Munerary went to buy, whole office, from the Emperour, was to prouide combatants for these sports. And those Masters of Fence that had the most valiant and able to fight, receiued the greatest profit and gaine from the Munerary.*

Chap. XIII.

We should not desire that our neighbour should profit vs, to his owne disaduantage.

A Gaine, I am not so neglectfull or euill, as to forget my acknowledgement towards him, who in being profitable vnto mee, was as prouident and carefull to procure his owne good. For I doe not exact this, that without respect of his own estate, he should aduance mine: but rather I wish that the benefit which is giuen

uen me, ſhould moſt of all redound to his profit that gaue me the ſame. As long as he that gaue the ſame had a reſpect vnto two in giuing it, & diuided the ſame betwixt himſelfe and me. Although he for the moſt part poſſeſt the ſame, if he hath admitted me as a co-partner with him, if he thought on two: I am not only vngratefull, but vniuſt, except I reioyce that he found profit by that which was profitable to me. It is an effect of exceſſiue malice, not to call that a benefit, except it be ſuch a thing as returneth the giuer thereof ſome incommodity. I will anſwer him after another maner, who giueth the benefit for his own ſake: why wilt thou ſay, that thou haſt rather profited me, then I pleaſured thee? Put caſe (ſaith he) that I cannot otherwiſe obtaine a Magiſtracie, except I redeeme ten captiue citizens, amongſt a number of others that are in thraldome and ſeruitude: ſhalt thou owe me nothing, when I haue deliuered thee from ſeruitude and bonds? yet will I doe this for mine owne ſake. To this I anſwer: Herein doſt thou ſomewhat for thine owne ſake, and ſomewhat for mine. It is for thine owne ſake that thou redeemeſt me, and for my ſake that thou chuſeſt me. For it is enough for thee, in regard of thine owne profit, to haue redeemed any whatſoeuer. I therefore am indebted to thee, not becauſe thou haſt redeemed me; but becauſe thou choſeſt me: for thou mightſt haue attained as much by another mans redemption, as thou doſt by mine. Thou diuideſt with me the profit of the thing, and makeſt mee partner of that benefit which ſhould profit two. Thou preferreſt mee before others, thou doeſt all this for my ſake: if therefore the redemption of ten captiues ſhould make thee Pretor, and we were only ten captiues, none of vs ſhould any waies be indebted vnto thee, becauſe thou ſhouldeſt haue nothing that were with-drawne from thy profit, that thou mighteſt impart to any of vs. I am no malicious interpreter of a benefit, neither deſire I, that the pleaſure ſhould redound only to my ſelfe, but to thy ſelfe likewiſe.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of caſuall and mercenary benefits.

WHat therefore (ſaith hee) if I had commanded all your names to be caſt into lots, and your name amongſt the number of ſuch as were to bee ranſomed, were admitted to paſſe, ſhouldeſt thou owe me nothing? vndoubtedly I ſhould be indebted vnto thee but very little. And, what this is, I will let thee know, thou doeſt ſome-what for my ſake, becauſe thou admitteſt me to the fortune of redemption: becauſe my name was regiſtred amongſt the reſt. I owe this to fortune that my name was drawne amongſt the reſt, to thee that it might be drawne. Thou gaueſt me an entrance to a benefit, the greater part wherof I owe vnto fortune: but the abilitie I had to be indebted to fortune, that owe I to thee. As for thoſe whoſe benefits are mercenary, I will wholly ouer-paſſe them: becauſe they reſpect not to whom they giue, but for what aduantage they gaue, and ſuch a benefit as this, returneth euery way to his hands that gaue the ſame. A certaine man hath ſold me corne. I cannot liue except I buy the ſame, yet am I not obliged to him for my life, becauſe I bought the ſame: neither eſtimate I, how neceſſarie it was without which I could not liue, but how freely it was beſtowed, which I ſhould not haue had, except I had bought it. In the conueyance whereof vnto mee, the merchant thought not, how much ſuccours hee ſhould bring me, but how much profit hee ſhould breed vnto himſelfe. That which I bought, I owe not.

Chap. XV.

Of the acknowledgement due to our Physitians and Masters: and whether he that buyeth, receiueth a benefit from him that selleth.

IN this manner (saith he) thou wilt say, that thou art no wayes indebted to the Physitian, except it be for some smal fee, nor to thy master, because thou hast paid him some money: but amongst vs wee yeeld them much reuerence, and offer them more loue. To this I answer, that there are some things more precious, then we prize them. Thou buyest at the Physitians hands an inestimable treasure, to wit, thy life and health: from thy master and instructer in good Arts, liberall studies, and the certaine ornaments and riches of thy mind. To these therefore we pay not the price of that they giue vs, but the reward of their labours, because they serue vs, and abandon their owne particular affaires to intend ours. They receiue the reward, not of their merit, but of their trauaile. Another answer may bee giuen to this, more answerable vnto truth, whereof hereafter I will intreat, when I haue first of all made it apparant, how this may be disproued. Certaine things (saith hee) are more worth then they were sold for, and therefore although they are bargained for and bought, thou owest mee somewhat ouer and besides for them. First of all, what skilleth it, how much they are worth, when as both the buyer and seller are agreed vpon the price? Againe, he sold it not at his own price and valuation, but at thine: it is more worth (saith he) then it was sold for; but it could not be sold for more. And the time is it that giueth the price vnto all things, when thou hast praised them to the vttermost, they are worth but as much as may be gotten for them; besides, he oweth nothing to the seller, that hath bought it cheape. Moreouer, alrhough these things are more worth, yet is it no thankes to thee, considering that the estimation of these things dependeth not vpon the vse and effect of them, but vpon the custome and scarcitie of them. What pay dost thou allot him, that crosseth the seas, and hauing lost the sight of land, cutteth thorow the middest of the waues an assured and direct course, and fore-seeing future tempests, euen then when there is greatest appearance of securitie, commandeth suddenly to strike the sailes, to stoope the top-sailes, and to be addressed to endure the sudden assault of a storme? yet pay we the reward of so great a merit, no otherwise, then with an ordinarie fare. How much valuest thou a lodging in a desart, a sheade in a shower, a stoue or fire in cold weather? yet know I, how much I shall pay for this, when I come to mine Inne. How greatly befriendeth he vs, that keepeth our house from falling, that vnderproppeth it with great cunning, and vpholdeth it in the aire, being cleft and wind-shaken from the very foundation? yet neither the supporting nor vnder-setting cost me very much. The wall of a Citie keepeth vs in safetie from our enemies, and the sudden incursion of theeues: Yet, is it well knowne what wages the Mason deserued by day, that builded those faire Towers and strong Bulwarks, that were raised for the publique securitie of the Inhabitants.

CHAP. XVI.

He returneth to his former purpose, and intreateth of the obligation which we owe to our Physitians and Tutors.

IT were an endlesse matter for me, if I should gather together those plentie of examples, whereby it might appeare that there are great and precious things, which cost vs verie little. What then? Why is it, that I owe some great matter to my Physitian and Master, and faile in the satisfaction of that which they haue worthily deserued? Because, of a Physitian and Schoole-master they become our friends, and oblige vs not by the Art they sell vs, but by their gracious and familiar good will. To the Physitian therefore (who doth no more then touch my purse, and numbreth me amongst one of those his patients, whom hee ordinarily walketh to, and visiteth, prescribing me without any particular affection, what I ought to doe, and what I ought to eschew:) I owe no more, and am no whit indebted: because he visiteth me not as a friend, but for that I had enioyned him to come vnto me: neither haue I cause to reuerence my Master, if he hath made no more account of mee, then of one of his ordinarie Schollers, if he thought me not worthie of priuate and peculiar care; if he had neuer setled his thoughts vpon me, and when generally he imparted his knowledge to the rest of his Schollers, I rather gathered from him, then learned of him. What is the cause then, why I should owe so much vnto these? Not because that which they sold is more worth then we bought, but because in particular they haue giuen vs something ouer-plus. This Physitian bestowed more labor on mee then he was bound to doe, he had more care of me then of his reputation and credit, he not onely contented not himselfe to prescribe me remedies, but also vouchsafed to apply and minister them. In the meane while, hee sate carefully by mee, and succoured mee, and preuented the suspected time, and rigor of my accesse, no office distasted him; no paine disliked him, if hee had seene me bemoane my selfe, he was sorrowfull. Amongst all those that called him, he had a particular care of me, hee implied no other time in visiting the rest of his sicke patients, then such wherein my infirmitie remitted and gaue him oportunitie. To this man I am not tied, as to a Physitian, but as to a friend Againe, that other Schoole-master tooke great care and paines in teaching and instructing mee; and besides those lessons and common lectures which hee communicated to all particularly, hee reformed me in some points of importance, he quickened my spirits by good exhortation, and sometimes by praises he animated mee in my studies, and sometimes by admonitions discussed my sloth. Furthermore (if I may so speake it) he by the hand of his industry drew out and whetted my hidden and heauy wit, too much drowned in the prison of my bodie, neither lingeringly and subtilly dispenced he his knowledge, to the end I might haue longer vse and need of him, but desired, if he might, to communicate vnto me at one instant, all that which he knew. Vngratefull am I, except I loue him as one of my most gratefull and trueſt friends.

Chap. XVII.

Of recompence dew vnto Artificers, Labourers, and Maſters in any honourable profeſſion.

WE allow alwaies ſomewhat (ouer and aboue the ordinarie rate we buy at) to merchants and ſailers (euen in the moſt mechanique and baſeſt trades and offices) if we perceiue ſome extraordinarie diligence in the ſeruice we employ them in, and to the maſter of a ſhip and workman of a baſe price, how baſe ſoeuer they be, although they be but day-hirelings, we allow ſome ouerplus aboue his pay. Vnthankfull then is he, that in the beſt Arts, which either preſerue or adorne mans life: that ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be no more indebted, then for that he couenanted. Adde hereunto that the tradition of ſuch ſtudies vniteth and allieth minds together: when this is done, both the Phyſitian and the Schoole-maſter haue receiued the reward of their labour, but their affections and good minds reſt yet vnſatisfied.

Chap. XVIII.

An example to that purpoſe.

WHen *Plato* had croſſed a certaine riuer in a ferry-boat, and the ferry-man had exacted nothing for his paſſage, ſuppoſing that it had beene done for his honours ſake, he ſaid vnto the Ferry-man, that *Plato* ought him a good turne; but anone after perceiuing, that with no leſſe diligence he freely tranſported many others: Friend (ſaid he) thou haſt now diſcharged me of that obligation, whereby I held my ſelfe tied and bound vnto thee. For to the end to make me thy debter, for any thing thou giueſt me, thou art bound not onely to giue it me, but to giue it mee ſolely, as to my ſelfe: for that which thou giueſt vnto a multitude, thou haſt no reaſon to redemand at a priuat mans hand. How then? is there nothing due for this? nothing, as for one in particular, I will pay with all that I ow thee withall.

Chap. XIX.

A confirmation of the former diſcourſe, and of benefits receiued in publique.

As Claudius *did at that time,* Seneca *wrote this.*

THou denieſt (ſaith hee) that he giueth me a benefit, that freely and without recompence tranſported mee ouer the riuer of *Pœ*. I denie it: he doth me ſome good, but he giueth mee no benefit, for he doth it for his owne ſake, or at leaſt-wiſe not for mine. In ſumme, neither doth he himſelfe iudge that he giueth mee a benefit, but he doth it either for the Common-weales ſake, or for his neighbours ſake, or for his owne ambition ſake; and for this expecteth he ſome certaine other commoditie, then that which he is to receiue from euery priuate perſon. What then (ſaith he) if a Prince ſhould giue immunities to all French-men, and diſcharge all Spaniards of paying tribute, ſhould not euery one of them in this caſe be particularly bound vnto him? Why ſhould they not bee obliged? vndoubtedly they cannot be otherwiſe, yet not for a particular, but for a part of a publike benefit. But (ſayeſt thou) he neuer thought on me. At that time when he did ſo much good vnto all men; he had no particular intent to giue me the Citie, neither addreſſed he his purpoſes to my profit: wherefore then ſhould I be obliged to him in any thing, who no wayes thought on me at ſuch time as he

he was to act that which he intended. Frſt, when as hee bethought himſelfe to doe good vnto all the Gaules, he thought alſo of me, for I was a Gaule, and comprehended me, although not by my proper name, yet vnder the publike name of the nation. Againe, I ſhall not be tyed vnto him, as if the good were properly and particularly mine, but as one that partaked his fauour amongſt the comminaltie. I will not ſatisfie as in mine owne behalfe; but I will contribute as for the common good of my countrey.

CHAP. XX.

How a particular man is obliged for the good and pleaſure done vnto his Countrie.

IF a man lend a ſumme of money to my countrey, I will not ſay that I am indebted to him, neither will I acknowledge it as my debt, although I ſued for a publike office, neither alſo if I were ſued as a debtor; yet will I contribute my part in payment of this debt. In like ſort, I denie that I am debtor for the fauour that is done vnto all my nation, becauſe hee gaue it mee, yet not for mee; and in ſuch manner gaue it me, that in giuing the ſame he knew not whether he gaue it me, yea or no: yet know I, that I muſt pay ſome portion thereof, becauſe the good by one meanes or other appertaineth to me, and tyeth me to requite it. It muſt be done for me, that ſhall oblige me. In the ſame ſort (ſaith he) neither oweſt thou any thing to the Moone or Sunne; for they are not mooued for thy ſake: but whereas they are moued to this end, that they may preſerue all things, they moue for me alſo, for I am a part of the Vniuerſe. Moreouer, our condition and theirs are different: for he that profiteth mee, to the intent that by my meanes he may further himſelfe, gaue me no benefit, becauſe he made mee the inſtrument of his profit. But the Sunne and Moone, although they doe vs good, yet to this end profit they vs not, that by our meanes they ſhould profit themſelues: for, what can we be-friend or further them in?

CHAP. XXI.

What benefits we may receiue from Sunne and Moone, and how they ſh uld be conſidered.

I Shall know (ſaith hee) that the Sunne and Moone haue a will to profit vs, if they had the power not to bee willing: but they cannot ſurceaſe their motion, neither can they abridge or intermit their accuſtomed traueli. See by how manie waies this may be refelled. A man is not therefore the leſſe willing, becauſe he cannot be vnwilling, nay, rather it is a great argument of a firme will, not to be able at any time to change. A good man cannot chooſe, but doe that which he doth: for he ſhall not be a good man, except he doe it. Therefore a good man beſtoweth no benefit, becauſe hee doth that which hee ought to doe, but hee cannot doe otherwiſe then that wich he ought. Beſides, there is much difference, whether thou ſayeſt, He cannot chuſe but doe this, becauſe hee is compelled: or, He cannot be vnwilling to doe it. For if he muſt needes doe it, I am not tyed vnto him for his benefit, but to him that compelled him. But if the neceſſitie of his willingneſſe proceede of this, becauſe he hath nothing better that he can will, then is it he himſelfe that compelleth himſelfe. And ſo, looke for what thing I ſhould not haue beene beholding to him, as compelled by others; for the ſame ſhall I be beholding to him, as to the compellet of himſelfe. This will

will make them ceaſe (ſaith he) I pray you thinke a little on this matter: What man is he, ſo void of vnderſtanding, that will denie that it is no willingneſſe in him that acteth any thing, which is not accompanied with danger of impediment in performance, or altering it ſelfe to the contrary, ſeeing that on the other ſide no man may of right ſeeme ſo willing, as he whoſe will is ſo aſſuredly certaine, that it remaineth eternall and immutable? If he be willing, that may anon after be vnwilling: ſhall not he be thought to be willing, who is of that nature that he cannot be vnwilling?

Chap. XXII.

A continuation of the diſpute debated in the former chapter.

Well (ſaith he) let them reſiſt if they can. It is as much as if thou ſaiedſt, that theſe ſtarres which are ſeparated by ſo great diſtances the one from the other, that are ranged in ſo godly an order, to conſerue and entertaine the whole world in his entire, ſhould abandon their places, that the Planets being troubled with a ſudden confuſion, ſhould interchecke and come one againſt another, and hauing broken the repoſe and concord of all things: that the heauen it ſelfe ſhould fall into an irreparable ruine, that the courſe of ſo violent a ſwiftneſſe, which had promiſed to bee neuer interrupted, ſhould ſtay in the midſt of his way: that the heauen and ſtarres, that moued themſelues of late, the one after the other, in ſo iuſt a meaſure, that equally and by agreeable ſeaſons tempered the whole world; ſhould be burned and conſumed in a ſudden flame: that ſo great a varietie of all things ſhould bee diſſolued and aboliſhed, that they ſhould returne into one, that the fire ſhould ſeaze all, that afterwards a darkeſome and heauie night ſhould obſcure this world, and that finally a bottomleſſe gulfe ſhould deuoure and ſwallow this great number of the gods. Wee muſt not admit an euill ſo pernitious; it muſt not coſt ſo deere to proue thee a liar. The ſtars haue power to giue thee all this in deſpite of thy ſelfe: they finiſh their courſes and ordinarie reuolutions for thy great profit, although there be another more great and originall cauſe that moueth them.

Chap. XXIII.

From his former purpoſe hee entereth into diſcourſe of the immutable ſtate of diuine Prouidence, which firmely and ſtedly dureth with vs: but he ſpeaketh after his vſuall manner, like a Stoick, and toucheth in few words how great mens ingratitude is towards God.

Now adde hereunto, that no externall things conſtraine the gods: but their eternall will is a law vnto them: they haue eſtabliſhed that which they would not alter. They therefore cannot ſeeme to doe any thing againſt their will: for whatſoeuer they cannot end, they would haue to continue ſtill: neither doe they euer repent them of their firſt counſels. Vndoubtedly they cannot ſtand ſtill, or run a contrary courſe, yet not for all this doe they keepe their wonted courſe out of weakeneſſe, becauſe their owne force keepeth them in the ſame purpoſe ſtill; yet obſerue they not the ſame of weakeneſſe, but becauſe it becommeth them not to alter or erre from the beſt courſe, and becauſe they haue determined ſo to goe and ſhape their courſes. Moſt certaine it is, that amongſt their firſt ordinances they eſtabliſhed in diſpoſing all things, they likewiſe had a care of ours, and conceiued ſome ſpeciall regard of man. They therefore cannot ſeeme to ſhape their courſes for their owne cauſe only, and to accompliſh their

their owne works for their owne ſelues, becauſe we alſo are a part of the worke. We are then obliged to the Sunne and Moone, and the other powers of heauen for the good they doe vs. For although they haue more great ends for which they riſe and ſet, then only for vs, yet ayming at greater, they helpe vs alſo purpoſely. And for this cauſe we are obliged vnto them, becauſe we did not light vpon their benefits without their knowledge, to whom they gaue them, but they knew certainely that we ſhould receiue them. And although their intentions be more eminent, and the fruit of their trauell more great and pertinent, then to nouriſh and conſerue mortall things: yet ſo it is, that in the firſt beginning of the world, they haue imployed their thoughts on our profit, they haue prefixed ſuch ordinances & lawes vnto the heauens, that it euidently appeareth what care they had of vs, and that it was neither their leaſt, nor laſt. We owe our parents honour and reuerence, yet many of them matched and married without deſire to beget chilren. The gods cannot ſeeme to be ignorant of that they ought to doe, whereas they haue ſuddenly prouided vs of nouriſhment, and all other things that are neceſſary for vs; neither careleſly created they them, for whom they created ſo many things. For Nature minded vs, before ſhe made vs: neither are we a worke of little importance, that ſhe could make vs by chance, as doing ſomething elſe. See how great a power ſhe hath giuen into our hands: Conſider how the condition of command, which ſhe hath giuen to man, is not only ouer men. See what liberty our bodies haue, to wander and trauerſe ouer many places. See how ſhe limiteth them not within any certaine bound of land, but ſendeth them into all places, yea, into euery corner of the world. Conſider the confidence of humane vnderſtanding: ſee how they only either know or ſeeke the gods, and raiſing their minds aloft, they conuerſe with, and contemplate thoſe diuine influences continually. Know then, that man is not a raſh or vnthought-vpon worke. Nature amongſt her greateſt works hath nothing, whereof ſhe may more vaunt, or to whom ſhe may vaunt of her workemanſhip, or that ſhe would repleniſh with more great glory. How great a madneſſe is this to call the gods in queſtion about their owne bleſſings? How can hee bee thankefull to them, whoſe curteſies hee cannot requite without charge? who denieth that hee hath receiued them from the gods, which will both giue alwaies and receiue neuer? What refractary and peruerſe mind hath he, that will not be gratefull or beholding to any, becauſe his liberality extendeth to ſuch a one, as denieth the good that is giuen him, and to terme the continuation an immetable order of their benefits, an argument of one that giueth of neceſſitie? and to ſay, *I care not for his curteſies, let him keepe them to himſelfe, who requireth them at his hand?* And all other ſuch like purpoſes, proceeding from an impudent mind, which thou maieſt packe and number with theſe: yet ſhall not he deſerue the leſſe at thy hands, whoſe bountie redounds vnto thee, euen whilſt thou denieſt it, and of whoſe benefits euen this is one of the greateſt, that he is ready to releeue thee, euen then when thou complaineſt moſt againſt him.

CHAP.

Chap. XXIIII.

An apt example to confirme the contents of the former Chapter.

SEest thou not how parents in their childrens moſt tender infancie, conſtraine them to ſuffer thoſe things patiently, which are moſt healthfull for them? With diligent care they nouriſh their tender bodies, and ſtill them when they crie, and ſwathe them when they ſtruggle; and leſt continuall ſlackneſſe might make them grow a-wry, they bind them ſtraight to make them grow right: when their infancie is paſt, they preſent them liberall ſciences, threatning them with the rodde if they be negligent: and finally, when they grow to more maturitie, they teach them to be ſober, and counſell them to doe nothing that ſhould breede their ſhame: they faſhion them in good manners, and if their youth as yet bee not lyable to obedience, forcibly they conſtraine that by awe, which counſell could not effect: at laſt hauing attained to full growth and maturitie, and to haue a feeling of their owne gouernment, if either by intemperance or feare, they reiect the counſels and remedies, which are giuen them for their profit, they vſe greater violence and ſeruitude. So that the greateſt benefits which we receiue of our parents, is at ſuch time as we know them not, or when we refuſe them wholly.

Chap XXV.

He entereth into another diſcourſe concerning thoſe that wiſh an incommoditie to thoſe that haue done them curteſie, thereby to make them a ſubiect of their vaine-glorious ſatisfaction.

TO this ſort of vngratefull men, and ſuch as refuſe benefits (not becauſe they deſire them not, but for that they would not remaine indebted) are they like, who contrariwiſe will bee ouergratefull: and wiſh that ſome aduerſitie and miſhap may befall thoſe to whom they are obliged, in which they might approue their mindfull affection of the benefit they receiued. The queſtion is, whether ſuch ſort of men doe well to deſire and wiſh the ſame, and whether their deſire be honeſt? Theſe kind of thankefull men, in my iudgement, reſemble them very much, who, inflamed with laſciuious loue, doe wiſh their louer baniſhment, to the end they might accompanie her in her diſtreſſe and departure: or wiſh to ſee her in neceſſitie, to the end they might relieue her miſerie: or to ſee her ſicke, to the end they might ſit by her, and tend her: and finally, which vnder profeſſion of loue, doe wiſh whatſoeuer her enemie would haue wiſhed vnto her. Aſſuredly, the iſſue of this fooliſh loue and capitall hate are wel-neere all one. Into this very inconuenience doe they fall, who wiſh that their friends were in miſery, to the end they might afterwards releeue them, and make way to benefiting, by doing them wrong, whereas it were much better vtterly to deſiſt, then to ſeeke occaſion to doe a curteſie by meanes of wickedneſſe. What if a Maſter of a Ship ſhould pray the gods to ſend them cruell ſtormes and tempeſts, that by the danger his Arte might be held more gratious? What if an Emperor ſhould beſeech the gods, that a great multitude of enemies might beſiege his camp, and with ſudden aſſault fiill full the Trenches, and raze downe the Rampiers, and (to the great amaze of his army) aduance their colours euen in the very entrance of his Fortifications, to the end he might receiue more honour and glorie, in ſuccouring his armie in this great danger, and at that very inſtant, when his whole campe imagined the field to bee loſt, and the armie diſcomfited

Non ſunt facienda mala, vt inde eueniant bona.

comforted: all these conuey their benefits by a detestable way, who call the gods to plague him, whom they themselues would profit, and to hate them whom they themselues would releeue. Inhumane and peruerse is the nature of this gratefull mind, which wisheth euill vnto him, whom hee cannot honestly forsake.

CHAP. XXVI.

An answere to the obiection of such benefactors as desire other mens aduersitie, to the end they may releeue them.

MY wish (saith he) hindereth him no wayes, because I wish the perill and remedie both at once. This is as much as if thou saidst, that thou hast committed some small fault, but that thou sinnest lesser, then if thou shouldest wish him danger without remedie. It is meere wickednesse to plunge a man into a Riuer, to the end to draw him out: to ruinate, that thou maiest reedifie: to imprison, that thou maiest deliuer. The end of an iniurie is no benefit, neither is it a part of kindnesse to withdraw that from one, which he himselfe had laid vpon him. I had rather thou shouldest not wound mee, then that thou shouldest not heale mee. Thou maiest deserue my thanks, if thou healest me, because I am wounded, but not if thou wound me to the end I may be healed: the scarre neuer pleased, but in comparison of the wound, for the healing whereof wee so reioyce, that we had rather not to haue been wounded: if thou shouldest wish this vnto him, that had neuer done thee good turne, the vow were vnhumane, but how much more inhumane were it to wish it him, to whom thou art indebted for a curtesie.

CHAP. XXVII.

He continueth his answere, and inforceth it with many powerfull reasons.

I Wish (saith hee) that presently I may yeeld him some succour. First, that I may preuent thee in the midst of thy wish; thou art already vngratefull. I heare not as yet, what thou intendest to doe for him, yet know I well, what thou wouldest he should endure: Thou wishest that care, feare, or some greater mischiefe should befall him, thou desirest that he may want helpe, and this is against him. Thou desirest that he may neede thy helpe; this is for thee, thou wilt not succour him, but pay him satisfaction. He that hasteth the matter thus, would himselfe be payd, not pay. So that the only thing that might seeme honest in thy vow, is vnhonest and vngratefull, to wit, not to be willing to owe any thing. For thou desirest not, that thou mayest haue abilitie to requite a curtesie, but that he may haue neede to implore thy helpe. Thou makest thy selfe his superiour, and (which is a hainous wickednesse in thee) thou castest him downe at thy feete, that hath deserued well at thy hands. How much better is it to owe with an honest good will, then to pay by an euill meanes? If thou shouldest denie that thou hast receiued, thou shouldest sinne lesse, for hee should lose nothing more then he had giuen. But now thy intent is, to bring him vnder thy subiection, euen with the losse of his owne fortunes, and to bee drawne to that disaster by the change of his estate, that hee must lie lower then his owne benefit. Wilt thou that I report thee for a gratefull man? Wish it in his presence, to whom thou wilt yeeld profit. Termest thou this a wish, which is as well diuided

uided betweene a friend, as an enemie? which vndoubtedly an aduerſary or enemie would haue made, if the latter points only were excepted. Enemies alſo haue wiſhed, that they might ſurpriſe certaine Cities, to the end they might preſerue them, and to ouercome ſome enemie of theirs, to the end they might pardon them: neither therefore are their vowes other then hoſtile, in which, that which is moſt curteous and calme, ſucceedeth crueltie. To conclude, what kind of vowes iudgeſt thou them to be, which no man would wiſh leſſe proſperous vnto thee, then hee for whom thou voweſt them? Thou dealeſt moſt iniuriouſly with him, to whom thou wiſheſt, that the gods ſhould hurt, to the end he may be helped by thee; and impiouſly alſo with the gods themſelues, for thou putteſt ouer the cruelty to them, and reſerueſt the humanitie to thy ſelfe. Shall the gods be iniurious, to the end thou mayſt bee curteous? If thou ſhouldeſt ſuborne an accuſer, whom afterwards thou wouldeſt remoue, if thou ſhouldeſt entangle him, in ſome ſuite of law, to the end thou mighteſt deliuer and diſcharge him thereof, there is no man that would grow doubtfull of thy impietie: what difference is there, whether this thing bee attempted by fraud, or by vow? ſauing that thou ſeekeſt more powerfull aduerſaries for him. Thou canſt not ſay, what wrong haue I done vnto him? Thy vow is either fruitleſſe or iniurious, nay, rather it is wrongfull, although it be not ſucceſſefull. What ſoeuer thou effecteſt not, it is Gods mercy, but whatſoeuer thou wiſheſt, is meere iniurie. The matter is plaine inough. We ought no otherwiſe to bee diſpleaſed with thee: then if thou hadſt effected it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Continuation of the precedent refutation.

IF vowes (ſaith he) had beene any waies auaileable, they had preuailed in this, that thou ſhouldeſt bee in ſafetie. Firſt of all, thou wiſheſt me an aſſured perill, vnder an vncertaine helpe. Againe, ſuppoſe both are certaine, yet that which hurteth is formoſt. Furthermore, thou knoweſt the condition of thy vow: A tempeſt hath ſurpriſed me, vncertaine of either Hauen or helpe. How great a torment, thinkeſt thou, is it to haue wanted, although I haue beene releeued, although I was ſaued, yet that I was frighted, although I was acquitted, that I was called in queſtion? There is no end of feare ſo pleaſing, that a ſolid and vnſhaken ſecuritie is not more acceptable: wiſh that thou mayſt reſtore mee a benefit when I haue neede; not that I may haue neede. If that thou wiſheſt, were in thy power, thou thy ſelfe wouldeſt haue done it.

CHAP. XXIX.

He reproueth the precedent wiſh, and ſheweth what wee ought to deſire for an other man.

HOw farre more honeſt is this vow? I deſire hee ſhould continue in that eſtate wherein he might alwaies diſtribute benefits, and neuer neede. Let the meanes and matter which hee ſo bountifully vſeth in giuing and aſſiſting, ſo follow and ſecond him, that hee neuer want occaſion of giuing benefits; or repent him of that he hath giuen. Let the multitude of gratefull men ſtirre vp and prouoke his nature (of it ſelfe prone inough to humanitie) to mercie and clemencie: Whom let him neuer want to befriend, nor haue neede to trie. Let him be mercileſſe to none, and haue no neede of being reconciled to any man. Let Fortune preſeuer

to

to be so equally fauourable vnto him, that no man may bee gratefull vnto him, but in mind and acknowledgement. How farre more iust are these vowes, which deferre thee not in expectation of any occasion, but make thee presently gratefull? For what letteth vs to be thankfull to those that are in prosperitie? How many meanes are there, whereby we may yeeld satisfaction to those to whom we are obliged, although they be happie? Faithfull counsell, diligent conuersation, familiar speech and pleasing, without flatterie, eares diligent, if he would deliberate, secret, if he would trust, familiaritie in conuersation. Prosperitie neuer raised a man so high, that by so much the rather he had not want of a friend, by how much he had affluence in all things.

CHAP. XXX.

THis hatefull and damnable occasion is euery way to bee detested and driuen farre from vs. Must thou needes haue the gods displeased, to the end thou maiest be gratefull? And vnderstandest thou not, that hereby thou sinnest more, because hee to whom thou art vngratefull, hath the better fortune? Propose vnto thy mind imprisonment, chaines, stincke, seruitude, warre, pouerty; these are the occasions of thy vow: if any man hath couenanted with thee, by these he is dismissed. Why rather wouldest thou not haue him mighty and blessed, to whom thou art most indebted? For what (as I said) forbiddeth thee to be gratefull euen vnto those that are indued with the happiest estate, whereas thou hast ample and seuerall matter and occasion to expresse thy selfe? What, knowest thou not, that men pay debts euen vnto those that are the wealthiest? neither will I constraine thee against thy will. Truely, although most powerfull felicitie hath excluded all things, yet will I shew thee what thing it is, that greatest estates are poorest in, and what things are deficient to those that possesse all things. Truely such a one that will speake truth, that will exempt a man (astonished and amazed amongst flatterers, and drawne from the knowledge of truth by the very custome of hearing rather pleasing then profitable counsailes) from the company and consent of deceitfull men. Seest thou not how extinguished libertie, and faith transformed to seruile obsequiousnesse, doth driue them head-long to their ruine, where no man perswadeth or dissuadeth a man then according to his conscience, but each man striueth who may flatter most, and the only office and contention of all their friends is, who can deceiue most pleasingly. They knew not their owne forces, and whilst they suppose themselues to be so great, as they heare they be, they brought vpon themselues vnnecessary warres, and such as should hazard their whole estates, they brake the true and necessary concord, and feeding their owne wrathfull spleene, which no man reuoked, they drew many mens bloud, being at last like to lose their owne; whilst they seeke to get vncertanties for certainties; and thinke it no lesse disgracefull to be perswaded, then to be ouercome, and suppose those things to be perpetuall, which being brought to the highest, doe most of all stagger. They ouer-turne great kingdomes vpon themselues and theirs, neither vnderstood they in that stage (glistering both with vaine and transitorie goods) from that time forward that they should expect very great aduersities; since when they could heare nothing that was true.

Benefits are in heart to be acknowledged, that the benefactor receiue not in the act or wish of our recompence, any harme.

CHAP.

Chap. XXXI.

The vaine of greatnesse, in the falshood of flatterers.

When *Xerxes* proclaimed warre against Greece, there was no one but enkindled his proud and forgetfull mind, to what fickle and fraile things he trusted. One said, that they would not endure the first message of the warre, and that vpon the first rumour of his approach, they would turne their backs. Another, that it was not to be doubted, that not only Greece would be ouercome by that huge multitude, but that it might be ouer-whelmed: that it was more to bee feared, lest they should find their Cities desert and desolate, and the vast solitudes left to their discomfited enemies, not hauing any opposites whereon to employ so puissant power. Another, that the whole world was not sufficient for him, that the seas were too narrow for his Nauie, his camp for his souldiers, the fields to embattell his cauallerie: nay, scarce the heauen large enough to containe the shafts that should be darted from euery hand. When after this manner many things were tossed and talked of on euery side, which incited the man, too much enraged and besotted with esteeme of himselfe. *Demaratus* the Lacedemonian was only he that said, that that very multitude so disordered and so mightie, which was so pleasing vnto him, was most of all to bee feared by him that conducted them, because they were rather combersome then strong, that ouer great things can hardly be ruled, neither indureth that long, which cannot be gouerned. Presently, said he, vpon the first encounter, the Lacedemonians will come and present themselues vnto thee vpon the first mountaine, that thou wouldest passe, and will make thee know what they are: Three hundred souldiers shall make stand these so many thousand men; they shall plant themselues strongly in the passages, and defend the straits committed to their charge, and stop them vp with their bodies: all Asia shall not remoue them from their places. A few men shall sustaine so great affront of war, and the charge almost of all mankind that intendeth to rush in vpon them. When Nature changing her Lawes, hath made thee passe into Greece, thou shalt sticke in the straite, and shalt esteeme thy future damages, when as thou shalt thinke how much the straits of *Thermopolis* cost thee. Thou shalt know that thou maiest bee put to flight, when thou vnderstandest that thou mayest be stayed. Haply in diuerse places they will giue thee passage, and retire, as if carried away after the manner of a torrent, whose first forces ouer-floweth with great terrour, afterwards they shall muster and charge thee on euery side, and shall ouerpresse thee with thine owne power. True it is, that is said, that thy shew of warre is greater then these regions can containe, which thou intendest to conquer. But this thing is against vs: for this very cause will Greece ouercome thee, because shee is not able to containe thee, and thou canst not vse thy whole selfe. Moreouer (which is the only safe-guard of things) thou canst not preuent or be present at the first assaults, neither second those that begin to retreate and decline, neither sustaine and confirme those things, that fall to ruine. Thou shalt be vanquished long before thou shalt perceiue thy selfe to be ouercome. Furthermore, thou art not therefore to suppose that thine armie is inuincible, for this cause, because the number of them is vnknowne, euen vnto him, who is their Leader. There is nnthing so great that cannot perish; and thought other occasions wanted, yet would the owner thereof bee the cause of his owne destruction. The things that *Demaratus* foretold, came truely to passe. He that thought to enforce both

Profitable prediction of succeeding miserie.

heaue

heauen and earth, and he that changed whatsoeuer withstood him, was driuen to a stand by three hundred souldiers. And so *Xerxes* being defeated and ouerthrowne en euery side thorow all *Greece*, began to learne how much difference there was betwixt a multitude and an armie. *Xerxes* therefore being more miserable in his shame then in his losse, gaue *Demaratus* thanks, for that hee alone had told him the truth, and permitted him to require what he would: he desired that he might enter *Sardis*, the greatest Citie of *Asia*, in a Chariot triumphant, hauing an vpright *Tiara* on his head, an ornament which the Kings did only vse to warre. Worthy was he of this reward, before he demanded it, but how miserable was that nation, among whom there was not one man that would speake the truth vnto the King, except he whom it least concerned.

CHAP. XXXII.

THe Emperour *Augustus* banished his daughter, that was growne so impudent, that her modestie exceeded this common course, and blazed abroade the whooredomes of the imperiall house, as how she had admitted whole troups of adulterers, spent the whole night in banquets here and there in the Citie, how shee had soiled and sinned with her adulterers, in that very Court and iudgement seate, from whence her father had published lawes against adulteries, her daily haunt and concourse to *Marsias* staule, whereas from an adulteresse she became a common strumpet, and required the libertie of all licentiousnesse, vnder an vnknowne adulterer. These things which a Prince ought as well to conceale, as to punish (because the dishonor and disgrace of some things oftentimes redoundeth to him who would punish the same) he vnable to conquer his displeasure published abroade. Afterwards some few dayes past, when remorsefull shame had supplied the place of his displeasure, lamenting that hee had not obscured those things in silence, which so long time he was ignorant of, till it was loathsome for him to speake it, he oftentimes exclaimed, *None of these things had befalne me, if either* AGRIPPA *or* MECÆNAS *had liued.* So hard a thing is it to him that had so many thousands at his becke, to supplie the want of two. His legions are slaine, and forthwith new are leuied: his Nauie defeated, and within few daies a new floated: fire had defaced and consumed the common buildings, and better were raised then those that were burned; but all his life time he could not find any to supplie *Mecænas* or *Agrippas* places. What shall I thinke? Did there want such to succeede them, or that it was his errour, who had rather complaine, then seeke friends? There is no cause we should imagine that *Agrippa* and *Mecænas* were wont to speake truth vnto him, who had they liued, had beene amongst his dissemblers. It is the manner of Kingly dispositions, in contumely of the liuing, to praise those that are lost, and to giue them the honour of speaking truth, from whom they are now out of danger of hearing any more.

An other example of the same miserie in Augustus, *who for want of good Counsellers was brought to extreme anguish in his owne house.*

where good counsell is wanting, impatience breedeth remedilesse harmes.

A corrigible custome for great men to eschue.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A lesson for vpright Counsellers, and the meanes whereby a poore man may profit a noble man.

BVt that I may returne vnto my purpose : thou seest how easie a thing it is to be thankefull to those that are happie, and are planted in the height of humane riches. Tel them not that which they are willing to heare, but that they should bee contented alwayes to hate. Let sometimes a true word enter their eares which are filled with flatteries : giue profitable counsell. Thou askest what thou maiest doe for a happy man? Bring to passe that hee bee not too confident in his fortune, that he may know, that many and faithfull hands must sustaine the same. Is the fauour litle thou bestowest of him, if thou shalt once driue him from this foolish confidence, that his power shall be alwayes perdurable, and shalt teach him that these things are transitorie, which Fortune gaue, neither returne in the same measure, as they were attained vnto in their height, and fleete away with greater forwardnesse, then they come, neither returne by those meanes, whereby they attained their felicitie? That oft-times there is but little difference betwixt the greatest and lowest fortune. Thou knowest not the valee of friendship, if thou vnderstandest not, that thou shalt giue him very much to whom thou giuest a friend, a thing not only rare in houses but in ages, which is no where so deficient, then where it is supposed to be most abundant. What, thinkest thou, that these books of thine, which scarce thy remembrancers or registred memory, or hands can comprehend, are the names of thy friends? These are not thy friends which in great troupes knocke at thy doores, who are disposed according to the first and second admissions to visit. This is an old custome of Kings, and those that counterfait Maiestie, to number a multitude of friends. It is the propertie of pride to make great account of his doore, and touch of his threshold, to giue it as a fauour to sit neerest to his closet, that thou step the first foote into his house, in which besides there are many doores, to let out those that were entertained.

Few friends, many flatterers.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

An example of this vanitie in Gracchus *and* Drusus, *whereupon he intreateth, and that very fitly, what true friends are, and where a man ought both to seeke and find them.*

THe first amongst vs that commanded their troupes should bee separated, and that some should be receiued in secret, other some with many, and other some with all men, were *Caius Gracchus*, and after him *Liuius Drusus*. These therefore had their first friends : they had their second also, but neuer any true. Callest thou him thy friend, whom thy seruants successiuely admit to salute thee; or can this mans faith be apparant vnto thee, who entreth not, but slippeth and throngeth into thy doores, that are so hardly gotten open? May that man presse into thee with full vse of his libertie, which may not salute thee with *God saue thee*, a common and vsuall word to all persons, yea, euen to those that are strangers; but in his turne. To whomsoeuer therefore of these thou shalt come, whose salutation shaketh the Citie : know thou likewise, if thou marke it, that although thou see the streetes besieged with a great assembly of people, and the passages locked vp with the presse of those that goe and come to salute, yet that thou commest to a place filled with men, but voyd of friends. A friend is sought in the brest, not in the Court of thy house : there must he be entertained, there

retained,

retained, and in the very entrails muſt he be lodged. Teach this, thou art gratefull. Thou eſteemeſt very baſely of thy ſelfe if thou art vnprofitable, except it be to one in affliction, or if thou thinke thy ſelfe vnneceſſarie in time of proſperitie. Euen as thou demeaneſt thy ſelfe wiſely both in doubtfull, aduerſe, and proſperous affaires, that in doubtfull thou handleſt them wiſely, in aduerſe conſtantly, in proſperitie moderately: ſo likewiſe maiſt thou ſhew thy ſelfe profitable in all things in thy friends behalfe. Although thou neither forſake him in his aduerſities, neither wiſh his miſerie; yet in ſo much varietie many things may fall out that thou ſhouldeſt not wiſh, which will afford thee matter to exerciſe thy faith. Euen as hee that wiſheth riches to any man, to this end, that he himſelfe may partake a part thereof, although hee ſeeme to wiſh for him, hath a reſpect vnto himſelfe: whoſoeuer wiſheth that his friend ſhould fall into ſome neceſſitie, to the end he might releeue him, ſheweth himſelfe vngratefull, in preferring him ſelfe before the other, for his ingratitude is remarkeable in this, becauſe that to the end he might appeare a thankfull man, he wiſheth his friend ſhould be miſerable, and laboureth to diſcharge himſelfe, as it were, of a heauie burthen. There is a great difference, whether thou haſteneſt to giue thanks, to the end thou maiſt reſtore a benefit, or to the end thou mighteſt not owe it. Hee that will bee gratefull, will apply himſelfe to his friends commoditie, and deſireth that he may haue a fit opportunitie. He that deſireth nothing elſe, but that himſelfe may be diſcharged, deſireth by any meanes to accompliſh the ſame, which is an argument of a moſt euil will.

What true friends are, and where they ſhould be found.

He that reiects his friends miſerie to the end he may ſuccor him, is vngratefull.

CHAP XXXV.

THis too much haſtning, ſay I, is the act of an vngratefull man: this can I not more manifeſtly expreſſe, then if I ſhould repeate what I ſaid. Thou wilt not reſtore a benefit thou haſt receiued, but thou wilt flie from it. This ſeemeſt thou to ſay: When ſhall I be rid of this fellow? I muſt indeauour by all the meanes I can, that I may not be beholding vnto him. If thou ſhouldeſt wiſh that thou mighteſt pay him with his owne, thou ſhouldeſt ſeeme to bee very diſhoneſt and vnthankefull, but this thou wiſheſt, is farre more wicked. For thou curſeſt him, thou deſireſt that miſchiefe might fall on his head, whom thou ſhouldeſt account both Holy and Sacred. No man, as I thinke, would doubt of the impiety of thy mind, if thou ſhouldeſt openly wiſh him pouertie, if captiuitie, if famine and feare. And what difference is there whether this be thy voice, or thy vow? wiſh any of theſe in thy right wits. Goe to now, and ſuppoſe this to be a point of thankefulneſſe, which the moſt vngratefull Man would not attempt, that were not growne ſo farre, as to hate, but only to denie his benefit.

That man is vngratefull, that deſireth to yeeld ſatisfaction for a pleaſure receiued to the intent hee may not any more bee obliged to his neighbour.

Chap. XXXVI.

The precedent reasons are confirmed by example.

WHo would intitle *Æneas* by the name of pious, if hee would haue his Countrey sacked, to the end he might deliuer his father from captiuitie? who would not imagine the yong men of *Sicily* vnnaturall, if to shew good example to their children, they had wished that *Ætna* burning with an vnmeasurable force of fire aboue custome should giue them occasion to expresse their pietie by carrying away their Fathers out of the midst of the fire. *Rome* is nothing indebted vnto *Scipio*, if hee wished the continuance of the *Carthaginian* warre: nor beholding to the *Decians* who saued their Countrie by their owne slaughter, if they had formerly wished, that extreame necessitie should make place for their constant deuotion. It is the greatest disgrace for a Physician that may bee, to wish for businesse. Many, who increased and exasperated diseases, to the end they might cure them with greater glorie, could not afterwards expell them, or to the great agonie and vexation of the miserable patients, haue at last ouercome them.

A lesson for Physicians.

Chap. XXXVII.

An other answer to the former, by the examples of Calistratus *and* Rutilius.

THey say that *Calistratus* (for truely *Hecaton* testifieth of him) when he departed into exile, into which the seditious and intemperately free Citie, had expulsed many with him: when a certaine man wished, that the *Athenians* might bee enforced to recall their banished men, was much distasted with such a returne. Farre more manly and full of magnanimitie was that of *Rutilius*; for, when as a certaine man comforted him, and assured him, that ciuill warre was intended shortly, and that in few dayes all banishments should bee reuersed. *What euill* (saith he) *haue I done thee, that thou wishest me a worser returne, then I had a departure? I had rather, my Countrie should be ashamed of my banishment, then bewaile my returne.* This is no exile, where no man is more ashamed thereof, then he that is condemned: euen as they performed the duty of good Citizens, that would not recouer their natiue homes with a publike slaughter, because it was more fitting, that two should be punished vniustly, then all perish publikely; so obserueth he not the affection of a gratefull man, who wisheth that hee who hath deserued well at his hands should be oppressed with difficulties, which he might redeeme. Who although hee thinke well, wisheth euill. It is a poore excuse and a weake glorie to extinguish a fire, which thou thy selfe hast kindled.

Chap. XXXVIII.

A third confirmation hereof.

IN some Cities a wicked wish hath beene reputed for a wicked crime. True it is, that *Demades* in *Athens* condemned him that sold necessaries for funerals, when as hee had proued that hee wished for great gayne, which could not befall him, except it were by many mens deaths. Yet is it wont to bee demanded, whether he were worthily punished. Perhaps he wished, that he might not sell vnto many, but that he might sell deere; that they might cost him litle, which

which he was to ſell. Whereas negotiation conſiſteth in that which is bought and ſold, why wreſteſt thou his vow one way, whereas profit is in both? Beſides, although thou condemneſt all that are in this negotiation (for all will the ſame, all wiſh the ſame in their hearts:) thou wilt condemne the moſt part of men. For who hath not profit by another mans incommoditie? The Souldier, wiſheth for warre: Dearth of Corne, ſets vp the Huſbandman: The greateſt Lawyers, deſire moſt pleas: A ſicke yere, is the Phyſitians harueſt: Such youths as are prodigall and diſſolute, enrich the Merchants of delicate wares: Let houſes be neither hurt by fire or tempeſt, the Carpenter may betake him to his reſt. One mans vow was excepted at, where all mens are alike. Thinkeſt thou that *Arruntius*, and *Aterius*, and all others that profeſſed the art of Executorſhip, had not the ſame vowes and wiſhes, as the maſters of funerall Ceremonies and they who were Miniſters in burying the dead? yet know not they whoſe death they wiſh: they deſire that ſome one of their neareſt familiars ſhould die, in whom for friendſhip ſake they had moſt hope. No man liueth by the loſſe of thoſe, whoſoeuer differreth the other, vndoeth them. They therefore wiſh, not onely that they may receiue that which they haue deſerued by baſe ſeruitude, but alſo that they may be freed of a grieuous tribute. It is not therfore to be doubted, but that theſe men rather wiſh that which is condemned in one man. They by whoſe death any profit may accrew, are hurtfull to them by their life. Yet all theſe mens vowes are as well knowne as vnpuniſhed. To conclude, let each one take counſaile of himſelfe, and examine his inward conſcience, and ſee what he hath ſecretly wiſhed, how many vowes are they which we are aſhamed to confeſſe vnto our ſelues? how few which wee dare iuſtifie and effect before a witneſſe?

One mans pleaſure is anothers preiudice.

CHAP. XXXIX.

BVt euery thing that is to be reprehended, is not to be condemned as this vow of a friend, whereof at this preſent we entreat, abuſing his good will, and falling into that which he flieth from. For whilſt he haſteneth to expreſſe a gratefull mind, hee is vngratefull. This man ſaith, let him fall againe into my hands, let him want my fauour, let him neither be ſecure, in eſteeme, or ſafe without me, let him be ſo poore and miſerable, that whatſoeuer is reſtored him, may ſerue him in ſtead of a benefit. And this in the hearing of the Gods. Let domeſticall treaſons circumvent him, which I alone may ſuppreſſe. Let a potent and heauie enemie aſſault him, deadly foes, and they armed, charge him, a creditor and accuſer vrge him.

To will or wiſh good to an other mans preiudice, is vaine glorie in him that affecteth it.

CHAP. XL.

SEe, how iuſt thou art, thou haddeſt wiſhed him none of theſe, except he had giuen thee a benefit. To ouerſlip the reſt more haynous, which thou committeſt by returning the worſt for the beſt, truely thou art faultie in this, that thou expecteſt not the proper time of euery thing, which, who ſo followeth not, ſinneth as much as he that preuenteth it: euen as a benefit is not alwaies to be receiued, ſo

It is better neuer to be obliged, then to requite out of ſeaſon.

so is it not to be restored in all seasons. If thou shouldest restore it me, when I required it not, thou shouldest be vngratefull: how farre more vngratefull art thou, if thou compellest me to desire it? Expect: Why wilt thou not suffer my benefit to rest in thy hands? Why grieueth it thee to be obliged? Why art thou so hastie to leuell thy account with me, as if thou haddest to deale with a cruell Vsurer? Why seekest thou my trouble? Why incensest thou the Gods against me? How wouldest thou exact thy debt, if thou satisfie in this sort?

Chap. XLI.

Instructions to take opportunite in requitall.

ABoue all things therefore, my *Liberalis*, let vs learne this, to owe benefits securely, and to obserue the occasions of restitution, and not to seeke them, and let vs remember our selues, that this very desire to discharge our selues speedily, is the act of an vngratefull man. For no man willingly restoreth that which he oweth vnwillingly: and that which he repineth to keepe by him, hee rather iudgeth it a burthen, then a benefit. How much better and iuster were it, to beare the deserts of our friends in memorie, and to offer them, and not to presse them, nor to think our selues too much in their debt, because a benefit is a common bond, and lincketh two together. Say, I care not how thy benefit returneth to thee. I desire thou shouldest receiue it cheerefully, if any of vs both be threatned with necessitie, and it be giuen vs by a certaine fate, either that thou be compelled to receiue thy benefit againe, or I to take another; let him giue rather, that was wont to giue. I am readie, there is no delay in *Turnus*: I will shew this willing resolution, as soone as time shall happen; in the meane space, the gods shall be my witnesses.

Chap. XLII.

What meanes are to be obserued in acknowledging a good turne.

OFtentimes, my *Liberalis*, I am wont to note this affection in thee, and, as it were, touch it with my hand, that thou feareſt and fretteſt, leſt thou ſhouldeſt be tardie in any office. Anxietie becommeth not a grateful mind, but contrariwiſe, an aſſured confidence of himſelfe. The conſcience of true amitie ſhould put this care out of our mindes. It is as great a vice to receiue againe that which thou oughteſt not, as not to giue that which thou oughteſt to giue. Let this be the firſt law of a benefit giuen, that he which gaue the ſame, may make choice of the time when he is to receiue it back againe. But I feare me, leſt men ſhould ſpeake ſiniſterly of me; Hee doth badly, that is grateſull rather for reputation and fame ſake, then for conſcience and honeſty. Thou haſt two iudges of this thing; thy ſelfe, whom thou canſt not deceiue, and him whom thou canſt. What then, if no occaſion hath happened? Shall I alwaies be indebted? Thou ſhalt be indebted, but openly indebted, but willingly indebted, but with great conrentment ſhalt thou behold the gage laid vp by thee. Hee repenteth himſelfe of a benefit receiued, that is ſorrie, that as yet he hath not requited it. Why ſhould he that ſeemed worthie to beſtow a benefit on thee, be reputed vnworthie to haue thee his debter?

Chap.

CHAP. XLIII.

The extremities which wee ought to auoid, either in doing a curteſie to another man, or acknowleaging a fauour receiued.

GReat are their errours, who beleeue it to bee the act of a great and generous mind to doe many courteſies, to giue and fill another mans boſome, and enrich his houſe, whereas ſometime it is not a great mind, but a great fortune that doth it. They know not how much more great and hard a matter it is ſomewhiles to receiue, then to lauiſh courteſies. For to the end I may detract from neither, becauſe both of them when they are done out of vertue are equall. It is no leſſe proper to a noble hart to owe, then to giue, yet more laborious is this, then that, as the keeping of things receiued, requireth more diligence, then doth the giuing of them. We therefore ought not feare, that we reſtore not time enough, nor haſten to doe it out of ſeaſon, becauſe he ſinneth as much that haſteneth to recompence a good turn out of due time, as he that requiteth not when the opportunitie is offered him. It is laid vp with me for him, neither feare I in his, nor in mine owne behalfe. He is wholy aſſured, he cannot loſe this benefit, but with me, no not with me alſo. I haue giuen him thankes, that is as much as I haue requited him. He that thinketh very much vpon the reſtoring of his debt, imagineth that the other thinketh vpon his ſatisfaction too much. It behoueth him to be prone to doe both the one and the other, if he will receiue a benefit againe, let vs tender it, and deliuer it willingly, if he had rather continue it in our cuſtodie. Why ſhould we dig vp his treaſure? Why refuſe we to keepe it? He is worthie to doe what he liſteth. Touching opinion and report, let vs ſo priſe them, as that they ſhould attend vs, and not lead vs.

He that requiteth vnſeaſonably, is no leſſe faultie, then he that requiteth not in time and place.

The end of the ſixt Booke.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

LIke vnto the first: Certaine questions, and yet things profitable, intermixed with subtill. That in the beginning serious: that curiositie is to be restrained, and too much desire of knowledge: that the mind is rather to be applied to manners and vertue, that is, to wisedome. After this, a question, vpon occasion of the word; Whether any man may giue ought to a wise-man, whereas all things are his? Hee saith, that hee may, because he possesseth all things in mind, but not in vse. Another, whether he that hath endeuoured or assayed to restore a benefit, hath restored it. He hath: yet notwithstanding, he teacheth him to endeuour againe and againe. The third, whether thou art to restore that thou hast receiued from a good man, to the same man being now euill. Thou shalt restore it, but with caution, not that he vse them wickedly, or to his owne or another mans harme. The fourth, whether he that giueth, ought to forget himselfe of that benefit hee hath bestowed. By no meanes: nay more, he saith he may keepe the same in memorie, yea, and sometimes exact it. The last, how gratefull men are to be borne withall, with a pleasing, mild, and great mind.

Vpon occasion of his word a question.

CHAP. I.

COurage, my LIBERALIS;

Now haue we got the shore, I will not here
Tire thee with long discourse, or taske thine eare
To lingring proemes, or dilated words.

Hauing determined in this booke to resemble that which he might forget in the former, he declareth in the beginning, that as formerly his intention was to confirme men in good manners, so now he aymeth at the same end: which he confirmeth by the recital of the graue discourses of Demetrius, which

The remainder this booke concludes, and the matter being spent, I looke about me, not what I shall say, but what I haue not said: yet accept thou in good part whatsoeuer is the remainder, whereas it is reserued to thy selfe. Had I had an intent to polish my worke, it should haue increased by litle and litle, and that part had beene reserued till the conclusion, which euery one would haue longed for, although he had been

according to the stoicall doctrine, is, that we ought rather to studie to be wise and vertuous, then to be learned. A good proiect to fashion mens manners, followed somewhat interruptly, but learnedly to the end.

satis-

satisfied. But whatsoeuer was most necessary, I presently gathered and congested into the beginning of the Booke: Now, if any thing hath escaped me, I recollect it. Neither truely, if thou aske me, doe I thinke it much pertinent to the matter, whereas those things are spoken which gouerned manners, to prosecute the rest, which were inuented, not for the cure of the mind, but for the exercise of the wit. For *Demetrius* the Cynique (a man in my iudgement great, although he were compared with the greatest) was wont very worthily to say this, *That it is more profitable for thee, if thou remember a few precepts of wisdome, and haue them in vse and readinesse, then if thou learnedst many things, and hadst not the readie vse of them.* For (saith he) like as that man is a worthy wrestler, not that hath perfitly learned all the trickes and sleights, which hee shall seldome haue occasion to make vse of against his aduersarie: but he that is well and diligently exercised in one or two, and intentiuely expecteth and waiteth the occasions of them (for it skils not how much he knoweth, if he know so much as sufficeth for the victorie) so in this studie, many things delight, but few accomplish. Although thou be ignorant what cause it is, that moueth the Ocean to ebbe and flow, why euery seuenth yeare impresseth an alteration and signe in our age, why the latitude of a gallery to those that behold it a farre off, keepeth not his proportion, but gathereth his ends or sides into a narrownesse, so as the farthest spaces of the pillars are ioyned in one: what it is that seperateth the conception of twins, and ioyneth their birth: whether one act of conception be diuided into two distinct creatures, or else they are begotten at seuerall conceptions: why their destinies be different who are borne twinnes together, and their conditions proue so greatly different, whose birth was one, or at least in the same instant. It shall not much hurt thee to ouerslip those things which neither thou canst know, nor is profitable for thee to know. Truth lyeth couered and hidden in the depth: neither can we complaine of the malignitie of nature, because the inuention of any thing is not difficult, but onely of that which yeeldeth vs not any fruit, except the onely inuention thereof; whatsoeuer should make vs better or more blessed, nature hath either laid open before vs, or neere vnto vs. If the mind hath contemned casualties: if she hath raised her selfe aboue feare, and with greedy hope embraceth not things infinite, but hath learned to aske riches of her selfe: if shee hath cast out from her the feare both of gods and men, and knoweth that there is a verie little to be feared from men, neither any thing from god: if contemning all things whereby life is tortured, whilst it is most adorned; he hath attained so much, that it manifestly appeareth vnto him, that death is no matter of any mischiefe, but the end of many: if he haue consecrated his mind vnto vertue, and thinketh that way plainest, whither soeuer she inuite him: if he be a sociable creature, and born to communitie: if he respecteth the world as one house, and openeth his conscience to the gods, and liueth alwaies as it were in publique: if more afraid of himselfe then others, being discharged of these tempests, he hath retired himselfe to an assured and quiet repose, he hath consummated a very necessary and profitable science. The rest, are but the delights of leasure: for now is it lawfull (the mind once withdrawne into safetie) to expatiate and arriue at these also, which rather yeeld ornament then courage to our minds.

He meaneth that many things delight the vnderstanding, and there are few things that conquer the will.

Be not Stoicall: The feare of God is the beginning of wisdome.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A continuation vpon the discourse of Demetrius, *showing the fruits which proceed from the studie of wisdome, to which he apposeth the evils which are caused by carnall pleasures, and the ambitious desire to be great in this World, all which he exemplifieth in the person of* Alexander the great.

THese are the things which our friend *Demetrius* willeth him that is proficient to lay hold on with both hands, to abandon them neuer, nay, rather to affix them to himselfe, and make them a part of himselfe, and by daily meditation to bee instructed so farre, that these wholsome instructions may present themselues before his eyes freely; and being desired for, might be at hand at all times and places, and that instantly, that distinction betwixt good and euill may bee remembred, whereby hee may know, that neither there is any vice, which is not villeinous, nor any good which is not honest. Let him dispose his actions by this rule of life: according to this law, let him execute and exact all things, and iudge those the most miserable amongst men (how rich and refulgent in wealth whatsoeuer) they are slaues to their belly and lust, whose minds are benummed with sloathfull idlenesse: let him say vnto himselfe, Pleasure is fraile and fleeting, she is quickly wearied of her obiect; the more greedily shee is deuoured, the more hastily is she disposed to a contrary desire: she is alwaies of necessitie accompanied with repentance or shame: there is nothing in her that is honourable or vertuous: there is nothing in her that is either noble or worthy the nature of a man, who would resemble the gods. It is a bare thing, proceeding from the most loathsome and vildest ministeries of our bodies, shamefull in the end. This is the pleasure that is worthy a man and a noble mind, not to fill and flatter the bodie, not to prouoke his lustful desires, which are least hurtful when they are most quiet. But to liue exempt from the passions of the mind, especially of that which enkindleth the ambition of those men, who entertaine quarrels and contentions among themselues, and also of that intollerable passion, which comming from high, hath made vs beleeue all that of the gods, which report and fables haue forged, and hath planted this opinion in vs, to measure them by our owne vices. This equall, dreadlesse, and neuer-loathing pleasure, doth this man enioy, whom we here fashion and describe, who (as I may say) being skilfull both in diuine and humane lawes, contenteth himselfe with the things that are present, and dependeth not on those that are future: for neuer liueth that man in assurance, that doateth on vncertainties. Exempted therefore from mightie cares, and such as distract the mind, he hopeth nothing, hee coueteth nothing, he hangs not on expectation, but contenteth himselfe with his owne: neither suppose you that such a man is contented with small riches; for all things are his: yet not in such sort as they were *Alexanders*, who although he had conquered as much as to the shore of the red Sea, yet wanted he more then he left behind him from whence he came. Those very countries, which either he possessed, or had conquered, were not his. When as hee had sent *Onesicritus*, the generall of his Gallies, to discouer the Ocean, and to search out further warre in an vnknowne Sea: did it not sufficiently appeare, that hee was poore, who extended his warres beyond the limits of nature, and thrust himselfe headlong through his blind couetousnesse into a vast, vnattempted, and boundlesse Sea? What skils it, how many Kingdomes he hath violently taken, how many he hath giuen, how many countries he hath loaden with tributes? He wants as much as he desireth.

Chap. III.

In prosecution of his matter, according to the Stoicall custome, he sheweth that a Wise-man only is not ambitious, although he be Lord and Master of all things.

NEither was this *Alexanders* errour onely, whom happy temerity inforced beyond the tract of *Bacchus* & *Hercules*, but of all those whom fortune hath made greedy by ouer-glutting. Run ouer and reckon vp *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*, and all the progenie of the Kings of Persia, whom wilt thou find contented and satisfied with his Empire? that ended not his life in thinking on some further proiect? Neither is this to be wondred at, what so falleth into a couetous hand, is forthwith exhausted and hidden: neither skilleth it much, how much thou throngest into that which will neuer be satisfied. The wise-man is onely he that is Master of all things, neither costeth it him much to keepe them. He hath no Embassadors to send beyond the Seas, nor campes to pitch in his enemies country, nor garrisons to dispose in conuenient fortresses, he needes no legions or troups of horsemen. Like as the immortall gods, without the assistance of any armes, doe gouerne their Kingdomes, and entertaine their greatnesse in all assurance, without disturbance or forsaking the place high & eminent wherin they repose: euen so the wiseman executeth and gouerneth his offices, although they haue a large extent, without tumult, and beholdeth all other mankind, being himselfe the powerfullest and best of all vnder himselfe. Although thou laugh hereat, yet is it a token of a generous spirit, after thou hast in mind diligently considered both East & West, wherby also thou mayest penetrate into the remote and most retired solitudes, when as thou hast beheld so many liuing creatures, such affluence of all things which beautiful nature most blessedly lauisheth, to break into this discourse, beseeming a god, *All these things are mine.* So commeth it to passe that he desireth nothing, because there is nothing which is not his.

Chap. IIII.

From the precedent matter, he taketh a fit occasion to reenter into the discourse of benefits; and for the first point, to wit, whether a Wise-man, such a one as he hath described, may receiue a pleasure or benefit from an other, considering that (according to the doctrine of the Stoicks) a Wise-man is Lord of all things.

THis is that (sayest thou) that I intended, I haue ouertaken thee, and intend to see how thou wilt rid thy selfe of these incombrances, whereinto thou art wilfully falne. Tell mee, how may any man giue ought to a wise-man, if all things are his? For, that also which he giueth him, is his owne. A benefit therefore cannot be bestowed vpon a * wise man, who can haue nothing giuen him which is not his owne: yet say you, a man may giue somewhat vnto a wise-man. But know this, that I demand the like in respect of friends. You say that all things are common amongst them, therefore can no man giue any thing to his friend: for hee giueth that which is common to him. There is no cause but that somewhat may be both a wise-mans, and his that possesseth it, to whom it is giuen and assigned. In ciuill law all things are the Kings: and yet those things whose intire possession appertaineth to the King, are distributed amongst seuerall lords, and each thing hath his possessor. Therefore may we giue the King our house, our bond-slaue, and our money: neither for all this are we said to giue him his owne. For to Kings appertaineth the power ouer all, but to seueral men the property. We cal them the bounds of the Athenians, or Campanians, which otherwise the neighbours by priuate termination distinguish amongst themselues: and all the lands belonging to this or that man, are the Common-weals,

** Vnder this name Wise-man, he intends to signifie thorow the whole body of this discourse, the same which it signifieth in the booke of Prouerbes, and Ecclesiastes, and Wisdome, where this word Wisdome, signifieth vertue or iustice; and the name of Wise-man, is in this sense a vertuous or iust man.*

and

and yet each part hath his determinate owner, we therefore may giue our lands to the Common-weale, although they be said to be the Common-weales, because in one sort they are theirs, in another sort mine. Can it bee doubted, but that a slaue, and whatsoeuer substance he hath, is his masters? Yet giueth hee him a present. For a man cannot therefore say that the seruant hath nothing, because he could not haue, if so be his lord said he should not; neither therefore faileth it to be a present, when as he gaue it willingly, because it might be taken from him, although he would not. Euen as we say, that all things appertaine vnto a wise man (for we are alreadie agreed in this poynt) so we must at this present expresse, that we haue more matter then we need, to giue liberally vnto him, whom we confesse to be the master of what wee haue. All things are the fathers, which are in the possession of his children; yet who knoweth not that the sonne also may giue his father somewhat? All things appertaine vnto the gods, yet haue we sacrificed at their Altars, and offered many times in their Temples. That therefore which I haue, faileth not to be mine, because it is thine, for one and the same thing may be thine and mine. He (sayest thou) is a Bawd, that is the owner of common harlots, but a wise man is owner of all things, and amongst all things the prostitute are comprehended: therefore a wise man is a Bawd. In like manner they forbid him to buy, for they say no man buyeth his owne, but all things appertaine vnto a wise man, a wise man therefore buyeth nothing. In like manner restraine they him from borrowing any thing, because no man payeth interest for his owne money. Innumerable are the things they contend and cauill about, whereas notwithstanding they fully conceiue what is spoken by vs.

In what manner a man may giue vnto a wise man.

CHAP. V.

VNdoubtedly in such sort conclude I all things to be a wise mans, that each one notwithstanding remaine master and lord of that hee hath, euen as vnder the gouernement of a good Prince, the King possesseth all things by regall authoritie, and euerie priuate man by particular tenure and title. The time will come when we shall proue this; meane while let this suffice for this question, that I may giue a wise man that, which in one kind is his, in another mine: neither is it a strange matter, that somewhat may bee giuen him, who is Lord of all. I haue hired a house of thee; in this house there is something thine, and something mine. The house it selfe is thine, the vse of this house is mine. Thou therefore shalt neither touch the fruit, if the Farmer forbid thee, although they grow on thine owne soile, and if there should be a scarcitie of corne, or famine:

Alas, how all in vaine shalt thou
Behold anothers mightie mow.

That grew in thine owne ground, was stacked in thine owne barne, and must be stored in thine owne garners. Thou shalt not enter my hired tenement, although thou be lord thereof, neither shalt thou carrie away thy slaue, which is my hireling; and if I hire a wagon of thee, thou shalt take it for a kindnesse, if I giue thee leaue to sit in thine owne wagon. Thou seest therefore that it may so be, that man receiuing that which is his owne, may receiue a courtesie.

An answer to the precedent obiection confirmed by familiar examples.

CHAP. VI.

The second confirmation by other examples.

ON all these things which I lately recited, both one and the other are masters of one and the same thing. But how? Because the one is the lord of the thing it selfe, the other of the vse. We say that these bookes are *Ciceroes*, and *Dorus* the Booke-seller saith, those very same books are his; and both these are true, the one challengeth them as the author therof, the other as the buyer, and rightly are they said to appertaine to both; for the right is in both of them, yet not after the same manner. So may *Titus Liuius* receiue in gift, or buy for mony his owne books at *Dorus* his hands. I can giue that to a wise man, which particularly appertaineth vnto me, although all things be his. For since after a kingly manner he possesseth all things freely, and the proprietie of euery thing is distributed to euery particular person, he can receiue a present, he can owe, and buy, and hire. All things are *Cæsars*, yet nothing but that which is his owne patrimonie and particular demeanes is returned into his Exchequer: all things are subiect to his soueraigne power, but his peculiar heritage is properly his owne. The question is, what is his, and what is not his without diminution of his empire. For euen that which is adiudged to be none of his, is in another sort his owne. So a wise man in mind possesseth all things, but by law and right onely that which is his owne.

He answereth the former obiections.

CHAP. VII.

The third confirmation by the examination and refutation of Brons crosse and subtill arguments for and against sacrilegious men.

BION somewhiles in his Arguments concludeth all men to bee sacrilegious, sometimes no man. When he would cast all men from the * rocke, hee saith, whosoeuer hath taken away or lauished that which appertaineth to the Gods, and conuerted the same to his owne vse, is sacrilegious, but all things are the Gods, and whatsoeuer euery one taketh away, hee taketh it from the Gods, (to whom all things appertaine) therefore whosoeuer taketh away any thing, is sacrilegious. Againe, when he would haue Temples broken open, and when he commandeth that the *Capitol* should be pillaged without punishment, he saith; That it is no sacriledge, because that whatsoeuer is taken out of that place, which appertaineth to the Gods, is transferred into another place, which appertaineth likewise vnto the Gods. To this it is answered, that all things are the Gods, but that all things are not dedicated to the Gods, and that sacriledge is obserued and committed onely in those things, which religion hath consecrated to the Gods. So say we likewise, that the whole world is the Temple of the immortall Gods, onely worthie to containe their Maiestie and magnificence: and yet that prophane things are different from sacred, and that it is not lawfull to act all things in a corner of the earth, (that is called a Temple) which we may lawfully doe in the sight of heauen, and view of all the Starres. Vndoubtedly, the sacrilegious cannot doe any iniurie to God, whose diuinitie hath planted him without the shot, yet is he punished, because he hath done, as it were, to God: for both our and his owne opinion obligeth and maketh him subiect to the penaltie. Euen as therefore hee seemeth to be sacrilegious who taketh away any sacred thing, although whithersoeuer he transferreth that he hath taken away,

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* This was the Tarpeian rocke, whence hainous offenders were headlong cast downe.
Capitol is a place in Rome dedicated to Iupiter, which in times past was called Tarpeia.

is within the limits of the world: In like manner, may be robbed a wise man: For that is taken from him, not which is his, as he is Master of all things in this world, but that whereunto he had a peculiar title, which he reputeth and vseth as his owne in seuerall. That other possession he acknowledgeth, the other he would not haue, though he might: and into this discourse will he breake (which the Roman Emperour vttered, when as for his vertue and good gouernement, so much land was decreed and allotted him, as in one day he could enuiron with his plow:) *You haue not need* (saith he) *of such a Citizen, that hath need of more then one Citizens liuing.* How much more worthie, thinkest thou, was this man in refusing this gift, then in deseruing it? For many great Captaines haue broken and defaced other mens bounds, but neuer a one of them hath limited his owne.

CHAP. VIII.

The fourth consideration taken from the vertue of Demetrius.

WHen as therefore we behold a wise mans mind, powerfull ouer all things, and spreading his Empire ouer all the whole World, we say that all things are his, when as we referre him to the right of daily custome, he shall be taxed by the powle, if the cause so require. There is a great difference, whether his possession be estimated by the greatnesse of his minde, or by his reuenues; he would hate to be lord ouer all these things whereof thou speakest. I will not reckon vp *Socrates, Chrysippus*, or *Zeno*, and such other great personages, who in this are greater, because Enuie obscureth not the prayse of such, who haue liued in times past. A little before I made mention of *Demetrius*, whom nature, in my iudgement, seemeth purposely to haue bred in our time, to shew that neither we could corrupt him, nor he correct vs. A man (though himselfe deny it) of exact wisdome, and of firme constancie in those things which be determined, yea and of that eloquence which best fitted matters of greatest strength, not polished or painted in words, but proofe, prosecuting his causes with great courage, according as the heat carried him. I doubt not, but the diuine prouidence gaue this man such a life and such abilitie in discourse, to the end our age might neither want good example, nor reproch.

CHAP. IX.

Being entred into a discourse of Demetrius, he sheweth in him, what the thoughts of a wise man are, who is a Lord and contemner of earthly things, describing by the same meanes the strange dissolution of his time, which grew to head within the compasse of fiftie yeares.

IF some one of the Gods would deliuer all our goods into *Demetrius* possession vpon this condition, that it might not be lawfull for him to giue it away, I dare auerre it, hee would refuse them, and would say, I will not intangle my selfe with this inextricable waight: I will not plunge this man so cleane and free from auarice, into this deepe bog and sinke of these things. Why bringest thou mee the mischiefes and infelicities of all men? which I would not receiue, although I could giue them away presently, because I see many things which I might not honestly giue? I will contemplate those things which dazle the eyes of Kings and Nations. I will behold those things for which you spend your blouds, and hazard your soules. Set before mine eyes the chiefest spoiles of superfluitie,

whether it be, that thou wilt vnfold them in order, or (as it is better) deliuer them in groſſe. I ſee a vaulted roofe moſt cunningly carued with curious variety: and the ſhels of diuers the moſt loathſome and ſluggiſh creatures bought at exceſſiue prices. Wherein that very varietie, which moſt pleaſeth, is made of counterfeit colours, according to the ſimilitude of the things themſelues. I ſee in the ſame place tables and wood, eſtimated at no leſſe then a Senators ſubſtance, by ſo much more precious, by how much the infelicitie of the tree had writhed and wrefted it into infinit knots. I ſee in the ſame place veſſels of Chryſtall, whoſe brittleneſſe enhanſeth the price. For, amongſt ignorant men, the pleaſure of all things is augmented, euen by that verie danger, which ſhould cauſe vs hate them. I ſee pots and veſſels of Murrhine, as if ſuperfluitie and riotous expence had not been ſufficiently prized, if they had not vomited in great veſſels of pretious ſtone the exceſſiue wine they had drunke to one anothers health. I ſee pearles not ſeuerally fitted for euery eare one; for now the eares are accuſtomed to beare burthens, diuers of them are tied together, and if there be but two, two other are placed aboue them. The madneſſe of women had not ſufficiently brought their huſbands into ſubiection, except they hanged at either of their eares the worth of two or three mens patrimonies. I ſee ſilken garments, wherein there is nothing that may couer either their bodies, or at leaſt-wiſe their ſhames; which when a woman hath put vpon her, ſhee may ſcarcely ſweare that ſhe is not naked. Theſe for a great ſumme, are by way of commerce fetched from forraine Nations, that our matrons may ſhew no more of themſelues to their adulterers in their chambers, then in publique.

They were called Murrhine veſſels, as Gruterus and Iuretus write, and were made of a pretious ſtone condenſed by the Sonne.

CHAP. X.

To expreſſe the precedent proofes as touching the contentment of a wiſe-man, he ſheweth on the other ſide, the great euills that proceed from auarice, and the fooliſh couetouſneſſe of worldly men.

WHat doſt thou, auarice? How many things are they, which in value ſurpaſſe thy gold? All theſe things which I haue reckoned vp, are of more honour and better price. Now will I recognize thy riches, the plates of both mettals, at which our couetouſneſſe is dazeled. But the earth, which produced whatſoeuer was profitable for our vſe, hath buried theſe mettals, yea, and with her whole waight hath caſt her ſelfe vpon them, as vpon hurtfull and hatefull things, which could not come to light, but to the common hurt of all nations. I ſee that Iron is taken out of that very darkneſſe, whence gold and ſiluer were had, to the end that neither inſtruments for mutuall ſlaughters, neither price for the murtherers ſhould be wanting, yet haue theſe things ſome matter of eſteem in them. There is ſomewhat, wherein the mind may follow the errour of the eyes. I ſee theſe Patents, theſe Indentures, and Obligations, the empty images of couetouſneſſe, certaine ſhadows of ſicke auarice, by which they deceiue the mind, that delighteth in the opinion of tranſitorie things. For what are theſe? What is intereſt? What, day bookes and vſurie, but certaine names of humane couetouſneſſe, which nature neuer heard of? I can complaine of nature, becauſe ſhe hath not hidden gold and ſiluer deeper, becauſe ſhe hath not caſt a heauier burthen on them, then that it might be remoued. What are theſe Regiſters, theſe computations, and ſailable time, * theſe bloudie vſuries of twelue for a hundreth? They are voluntarie euils, depending on our conſtitutions, in which there is nothing that may be ſubiected to the eies, or held in the hand, the dreames of vaine couetouſneſſe. O! how wretched is he, who taketh delight to read ouer the great rentall

* *Theſe were called* Centeſima, *which was a kind of vſury amongſt the Romans: the creditor was wont to giue his debtor 100. crownes, and for the vſe thereof he paid for euery moneth a crowne for his intereſt, till a hundreth moneths were paſt; at the end whereof he returned the principall to his creditor.*

rentall of his patrimonie, or large demeanes to be tilled by his bondmen, or infinite heards of cattell, that neede whole countries and Kingdomes to feede them, or his family greater then warlike nations, and priuate buildings, that in bigneſſe exceede great cities! When he hath well examined theſe things, wherby he hath diſpoſed and ſpread out his riches, and made himſelfe proud; if he compare that which he hath, with that which he deſireth, hee is a poore man. Let me goe, and reſtore me to thoſe riches of mind: I know the Kingdome of wiſedome to bee great and ſecure: ſo enioy I all things, as all men may enioy theirs in particular.

CHAP. XI.

A deteſtation of auarice, by a compariſon, taken from the contentment of Demetrius.

WHereas therefore *Caius Ceſar* gaue *Demetrius* two hundred talents, he ſmiled and refuſed them, not deeming the ſame of ſuch value, as he might iuſtly glory that he had refuſed them. O gods and Goddeſſes, with how ſmall a thing would he either haue honoured or corrupted ſuch a mind! I muſt teſtifie for ſo worthy a man: I haue heard a great matter reported by him, that when he had wondred at *Cæſars* indiſcretion, in that he thought that he could be changed for ſo ſlight a matter, he ſaid thus: If, ſaid he, he had intended to tempt me, he ſhould haue tempted me with his whole Empire.

CHAP. XII.

Hee returneth to his purpoſe, and ſheweth by diuers reaſons how a man may giue ſome thing to a wiſe man, who is Lord of all things.

SOme thing therefore may bee giuen to a wiſe man, although all things be his: ſo likewiſe nothing letteth but that ſomething may be giuen to a friend, though we ſay that all things are common amongſt friends. For in ſuch ſort are not all things common betwixt me and my friend, as they are with a partner, ſo as my part and his ſhould be all one: but as children are common to their fathers and mothers, who hauing two betwixt them, haue not each of them one, but two apiece. Firſt of all I will make him know whatſoeuer hee bee that will bee copartner with mee, that there is nothing common betwixt him and mee: and why? becauſe this aſſociation cannot be but amongſt wiſe men, who only vnderſtand and practiſe the vſe of true friendſhip; the other are no more friends then they be co-partners. Againe, goods are common in diuers kindes. The ſieges in the Theater ordayned for Knights, appertaine to all the Knights of Rome; and yet in theſe, the place that I ſate in is mine owne. If I haue yeelded vp my place to any, although I giue him place in a thing common to all, yet ſeemeth it that I haue giuen him ſomewhat. There are things which appertaine to ſome men, vnder certaine conditions: I haue my place amongſt the Knights, not to ſell, not to hire, nor to poſſeſſe continually; but onely to this end, to behold the publike ſports. I ſhall not therefore lie, if I ſay I haue a place amongſt the Knights; but when I come into the Theater, if the places bee all taken vp, yet in right I haue a place there, becauſe it is lawfull for mee to ſit there: and I haue it not becauſe it is occupied by thoſe, who haue as much title to the place as my ſelfe. Suppoſe the caſe is the ſame amongſt friends. Whatſoeuer our friend hath is common to vs, yet the property is his that poſſeſſeth it: I cannot vſe

vſe it againſt his will. Thou mockeſt me (ſaieſt thou,) if that which appertayneth to my friend be mine, I haue libertie to ſell the ſame: but I haue no libertie; for thou canſt not ſell Knightly dignities, yet are they common to thee, as to thoſe of the ſame order. It is no argument therefore that a thing is not thine, becauſe thou canſt not ſell it, becauſe thou mayſt not conſume it, becauſe thou mayſt not change it for worſe or better: for it is thine, although it be thine but vpon a condition. I haue taken the place, yet haſt thou it neuertheleſſe.

Chap. XIII.

He now entreth into another queſtion, which is, whether he is acquit who hath endeuored himſelfe to ſerue, and could not find the meanes to requite and ſatisfie a good turne that is done him. But here at the beginning of the chapter ſeemeth to be the end of ſome other diſpute, which Muretus *learnedly obſerueth, ſo that here in this place the only concluſion is extant.*

NOt to delay thee any longer, one benefit cannot be greater then another: but thoſe things, whereby a benefit may be giuen, may be better and more; into which beneuolence may extend it ſelfe, and ſo pleaſe it ſelfe: as louers are wont, whoſe many kiſſes and cloſer embracements increaſe not, but exerciſe their loues. This queſtion alſo that enſueth, is fully debated in our former, and therefore it ſhall be ſhortly handled: for the arguments we haue vſed in the other queſtions, may be employed here. The queſtion is, whether he that hath done his beſt to reſtore a benefit, hath giuen ſatisfaction. That thou mayeſt know, ſayſt thou, that he hath not ſatisfied, hee hath done all hee can to recompence him: it appeareth therefore that that thing is not done, becauſe hee had not the meanes to doe it, as he hath not paid the ſiluer which he ought vnto his creditor, who, to performe the ſame, had ſought him euery where, and could not find him. Some things are of that condition, that they muſt needes be effected, and in ſome things it is as much to haue attempted what a man could, as to haue effected the deede. If the Phyſitian hath done his vttermoſt to heale his patient, he hath performed his part. The Orator, although his clyent be condemned, if he haue ſhewed the vttermoſt of his art, hath not loſt the honour of his eloquence. The Generall and Captaine, although conquered, is commended, if in as much as in him lay, he proceeded with prudence, induſtrie and fortitude: He hath attempted all meanes to recompence thy curteſie, but thy felicitie letted him. No calamitie hath falne vpon thee, whereby thou mighteſt make tryall of his true friendſhip. He could not giue vnto a rich man, ſit by a healthfull man, ſuccour a happie man. He was thankefull vnto thee, although thou receiueſt no benefit. Beſides intending this matter alwaies, and expecting the time and oportunitie of this ſame; he that hath ſpent many cares to this end, and imployed much diligence to find an occaſion of requitall, hath endeuoured more then he whoſe fortune it was, to make ſatisfaction ſuddenly.

Chap. XIIII.

In continuing his diſcourſe, hee ſheweth that hee who hath done his beſt endeuour to acknowledge a benefit, is as worthy of praiſe as hee that without indeuour annexeth the effect to the will, which he inricheth with diuers oppoſitions and compariſons.

THe example of the debtor is vnlike, who hath done litle in gathering in his money, except he payeth it: for there his importunate creditor ſtandeth ouer his head, who ſuffereth not a day to paſſe without intereſt; but there thou art matched with a bountifull creditor, who, when he ſhal ſee thee trotting vp and downe, careiull and penſiue to ſatisfie, ſaith vnto thee,

Diſlodge this care from out thy breſt.

Ceaſe to be ſo vrgent in thine owne trouble: I am wholly ſatisfied. Thou doſt me iniurie, if thou thinkeſt that I deſire any thing more at thy hands: I am fully poſſeſſed of thy good mind. But tell me (ſaith he) wouldeſt thou ſay that he had reſtored a benefit that had only beene thankefull? By this reckoning hee that hath requited, and he that hath not ſatisfied, are of like reckoning. Contrariwiſe, put caſe; if any other hath forgotten the benefit hee hath receiued, and hath no waies endeauoured himſelfe to requite the ſame: wouldeſt thou ſay that he had requited? But this man (of whom wee ſpeake) hath wearied himſelfe day and night, and renouncing all other offices only to thinke vpon this, hath wholly intended ſatisfaction, and laboured that no occaſion ſhould ouer-ſlip him. Shall therefore the like reſpect be had of him, that hath caſt away the care of returning gratuitie, as of him that neuer thought thereon? Thou dealeſt vniuſtly with me, if thou exacteſt that recompence at my hand, when thou ſeeſt my mind euer addicted to content thee. To bee ſhort; put caſe thou wert in captiuitie, and that to ranſome thee (hauing engaged all my goods vnto a creditor, who had taken them in aſſurance of the money which I borrowed for thee) I put forth to ſea in a ſore ſtormie winter, by coaſts and promontories beleagred by Pyrates; and furthermore ſuffered all the perils that may chance euen in a peaceable Sea, and after that hauing trauerſed all the deſerts, which all men liuing fled, and ſought to find thee; and comming at laſt to the Pyrates, from whoſe hands alreadie another had diſcharged thee: wilt thou denie, that I haue not requited thy goodneſſe, if in vndertaking this iourney, I haue by ſhipwracke loſt that money which I borrowed for thy ranſome? If I fall my ſelfe into that captiuitie from whence I would deliuer thee; wilt thou not confeſſe that I haue beene thankefull vnto thee? Yet vndoubtedly the *Athenians* called *Armodius* and *Ariſtogiton* Tyrant-quellers, and *Mutius* hand left vpon the enemies Altar, was as much as if he had ſlaine *Porſenna*: and vertue likewiſe wreſtling againſt fortune, although the intended action was not effected, was alwayes honoured. He hath performed more, who hath followed flying occaſions, and euer hunted after new by which hee might bee thankefull, then he whom the firſt occaſion made gratefull, without paine or trauell.

Thucidides *ſixt booke*, Titus Liuius, Plutarch, *and other Romane hiſtoriographers.*

CHAP. XV.

HEe hath (ſaith hee) lent thee two things, his will and goods: thou likewiſe oweſt him two. Worthily mighteſt thou ſay this vnto him, that had only yeelded thee an idle will, but thou canſt not ſpeake it to him, who both willeth, and endeauoureth, and leaueth nothing vnattempted, for he performeth both, as much as lieth in his power. Againe, a number is not alwaies to bee equalled by a number, for ſometimes one thing ouer-ualueth two. Therefore ſo forward and deſirous a will to make reſtitution, ſtandeth in ſtead of the benefit. But if the mind without the act be not ſufficient to requite a benefit, no man is thankefull to the gods, on whom there is nothing beſtowed but the will, wee can (ſaith he) giue nothing to the gods, but our will. But if I haue no other thing to giue him to whom I am obliged, why ſhould I not bee gratefull toward man in that, whereby and no otherwiſe I yeeld thanks vnto the gods.

Becauſe that in the reply to that which is alone ſaid, that in matter of acknowledgment the will and effect ought to march together: he anſwereth thereunto, and ſheweth, that he in whom a man obſerueth a free will, ought to be borne withall, although he cannot effect his deſire, which he approueth by our acknowledgment towards God.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

How hee that doth, and he that receiueth a good turne, ought to be affected, but effectually hee sheweth, that a man who findeth himselfe obliged to his neighbour, ought to make proofe by all meanes possible of the sincere and inward affection he hath to acknowledge the pleasure and good that hath beene done vnto him.

YEt if thou aske me what I thinke, and wilt subscribe vnto mine answer, let this man iudge that hee hath receiued the benefit, and that man know that hee hath not requited it. Let the one release the other, & the other confesse the debt. Let this man say, I haue it, and that man, I owe it. In all controuersies, let vs respect the common good, let vngratefull men be exempted from excusations, to which they may flie, and vnder which they may colour their refusall. I haue done all that I could. Doe it now likewise. What, thinkest thou, our ancestors were so imprudent, that they vnderstood not that it were an vniust act to set no difference betweene him, who had spent the money he had borowed of his creditor in ryot and sports, and him, who either by fire or theeues, and by any other more grieuous misfortune, both lost his owne and other mens? They admitted no excuse; to the end that men should know that faith was to be obserued euery way. For it was better that a iust excuse amongst few should not be accepted, then that all men should attempt any. Thou hast done all thou canst to satisfie. Let this to him be inough, to thee a litle. For euen as he is vnworthy to receiue any requitall, who suffereth thy serious and sedulous endeuour to slip away vnregarded; so likewise art thou vngratefull, if thou thinke not thy selfe more freely obliged to him, who taketh thy good will for payment, and by this meanes acquiteth thee of that thou owest. Lay not hold of this rashly, neither contest, yet seeke thou occasions of restitution. Requite the one, because he asketh it, the other, because he releaseth thee. Repay this man, because he is wicked, and the other because he is not euill. And therefore thou hast not cause to thinke this question may stand thee in any stead: whether he that hath receiued a benefit from a wise man, when he is wise, is bound to restore it afterwards, when he is become foolish, and shall no more bee a good man. For thou wouldest restore a thing committed to thy trust, which thou haddest receiued from a wise man, yea and to an euill man wouldest thou satisfie that he had lent thee: and why then not a benefit? Because he is changed, shall he change thee? What if thou hadst receiued any thing from a man in health, wouldest thou not restore it when he were sicke, whereas we are alwaies most obliged to our friend when hee is weakest? Truely this man is sicke in minde, let him be helped, let him bee borne withall: folly is a sicknesse of the mind. To the intent that this may be the better vnderstood, mee thinketh it good to vse some distinction herein.

CHAP. XVII.

A distinction drawne from the doctrine of the Stoicks, which is not approued by other Philosophers.

THere are two kinds of benefits, the one which a wise man cannot giue, but to a wise man, and this is an absolute and true benefit: the other vulgar and of little value, whereof the vse is ordinarie amongst vs ignorant men. Of this there is no doubt, but that I ought to restore it to him I owe it, whatsoeuer he be, whether he be a Homicide, a Theefe, or an Adulterer. There are lawes to punish crimes and bad actions: the Iudge better reformes these, then an vngratefull man. Let no man make thee bad, because he is bad himselfe. I will fling away my

my benefit to a wicked man, and reſtore it to a good man; to the one, becauſe I owe it to the other, leſt I ſhould be in his debt.

CHAP. XVIII.

A paradox and ſubtile diſtinction of the Stoicks, which men ought to reade with iudgement.

OF the other kind of benefit there is ſome queſtion, which if I could not receiue, except (as a wiſe man) I cannot likewiſe reſtore but to a wiſe man. For put the caſe I tender it, yet cannot he receiue it; for why, he is not capable of it, but hath loſt the ſcience how to vſe it. What if you command me to bandie backe the ball to a maimed mans hands, it is but a folly to giue him that hath no power to receiue? And that I may begin to anſwere thee to thy laſt ſpeeches, I will not giue him that which he cannot receiue, yet will I recompence, alrhough he cannot receiue it. For I cannot oblige any man, but him that receiueth, yet may I be diſcharged, if I giue ſatisfaction. Cannot hee make vſe thereof? Let him looke to that, the fault ſhall bee in him and not in me.

CHAP XIX.

An other queſtion, whether wee ought to make reſtitution to him that imployeth that which is reſtored him, boldly. His opinion is affirmatiue.

TO reſtore, ſaith hee, is to haue deliuered it to his hands that ought to receiue it. For if thou oweſt wine vnto any man, and hee willeth thee to powre the ſame into a net or ſiue, wouldeſt thou ſay that thou haddeſt repaid him, or wouldeſt thou returne him that, which whileſt it is reſtored, is ſpilt betweene both. To reſtore, is to giue that which thou oweſt, to him, to whom it appertayneth, and that hath a will to receiue the ſame; this is the only thing I ought to performe. That he may haue that which he receiued at my hands, is now a further charge. I owe him not the cuſtodie thereof, but the acquitall of my faith: and farre better is it, that he haue it not, then that I ſhould not reſtore it. I will preſently ſatisfie my creditor, although I know that hee will ſuddenly ſend that I owe him vnto the Shambles. Although he aſſigne it ouer to be ſatisfied to an adultereſſe, I will pay it. And if he would powre the money, which he is to receiue, into his boſome, being vntied, yet will I giue it. For I muſt repay it, yet am I not bound either to keepe or defend it. I ought carefully to keepe the good I haue receiued, and not that which I haue reſtored. As long as it remaineth with me, I will ſee it ſhall not be loſt, but if it be called for, it muſt be ſatisfied, although it ſhould ſlip out of his hands that receiued it. I will reſtore it to a good man, when it ſhall bee profitable for him, to an euill man when hee ſhall demand it. Thou canſt not, ſaith hee, redeliuer a benefit vnto him in ſuch a ſort as thou receiuedſt it, for thou receiuedſt it from a wiſe man, thou repayedſt it to a foole, for I reſtore that to him, ſuch as hee can now receiue. neither is it embaſed by mee, but by him. I will render that which I haue receiued, and if hee recouer his wiſedome, I will redeliuer it intirely, ſuch as I receiued it; as long as he is fooliſh, I will render ſuch a one as he may receiue, But (ſaith he) what if he be not only made euill, but cruell and enraged, as *Apollodorus* or *Phalaris* were, wilt thou reſtore the benefit thou haſt receiued at his hands? Nature ſuffereth not ſo great a change in a wiſe man, for falling from the beſt into the worſt, it muſt needs follow alſo, that ſome impreſſion of good-

Whether wee ought to yeeld a cruell, bloudy, and ſworne enemie ſatiſfaction, who was no ſuch man, before wee receiued the curteſie? Seneca *ſaith, no-*

neſſe

neſſe remayneth in him, euen in his wickedneſſe. Vertue is neuer ſo much extinguiſhed, but that ſhee impreſſeth ſome markes, which cannot be defaced by any change. Wilde beaſts that haue beene brought vp amongſt vs, when as they breake out into the woods, retaine ſome part of their former tameneſſe, and looke how much they be wilder then the tameſt beaſts, ſo much are they tamer then the wildeſt beaſts, and ſuch as neuer were many, tractable by mans hand. No man hath falne into extreame wickedneſſe, that hath euer ſtucke vnto wiſdome: he is tinctured more deepely, then that it may be wholly waſhed out, and changed into any other colour. Furthermore, I aske thee whether he, of whom we ſpeake, be only ſauage and cruell in mind, or if hee take pleaſure to procure the ruine and publike misfortune of the whole world. For thou haſt propoſed vnto me *Apollodorus* and *Phalaris* the tyrant, whoſe nature, if an euill man haue in himſelfe, why ſhould not I reſtore him his benefit backe againe, to the end I may be wholly acquit of him for euer? But if not only he delighteth and taketh pleaſure in humane bloud, but exerciſeth his vnſatiable crueltie on all ages, and rageth not for anger, but of a certaine thirſt and deſire he hath to ſhed bloud: if hee killeth children in their fathers preſence, if not contented with a ſimple death, he tortureth them, and not only burneth thoſe that are to die, but ſcorcheth them: if his altar bee alwaies ſoyled with new murthers and maſſacres, it is a ſmall matter to keepe backe a benefit from ſuch a one. What ſoeuer it was, whereby he and I were linked and vnited together, that hath beene diſſolued, by reaſon that by his crueltie and tyrannie hee hath broken the rights and lawes of humane ſocietie. If he had done any thing for me, if I had receiued any good at his hands, and afterwards he had taken armes, and made warre againſt my countrey, what ſoeuer he had deſerued, he had loſt. and to be thankefull to him, would be reputed a haynous crime. If hee aſſaile not my countrie, but be tedious to his owne, and doing no iniurie to my nation, he perſecuteth his owne: notwithſtanding that ſo great impietie of his mind, diſſolueth the bonds whereby we were vnited: and if this be not ſufficient to make him mine enemie, at leaſt-wiſe, I ſhall haue occaſion to loathe and hate him, and the reſpect of dutie which I ought to beare to the common good of men deſerueth to haue more power ouer me, then the obligation that I owe to one particular perſon.

In what caſe a man is diſpenſed with from yeelding ſatisfaction for a curteſie.

Chap. XX.

Expreſſing that which is entreated of before, he ſheweth the meanes how to acknowledge a benefit, which is receiued from the hands of an enemy of humane ſocietie, without preiudicing the publike in any ſort, or giuing occaſion or meanes to ſuch, to maintayne themſelues in their wickednes.

BVt although this bee ſo, and that from that time forward I may freely act what ſoeuer me liſteth towards him, in that violating all lawes, he hath brought to paſſe, that nothing may be vnlawfully attempted againſt him; yet beleeue I, that my actions muſt bee ſo limited, that if the good I intend in my benefit, ſhall neither augment his forces to the deſtruction of all men; neither confirme that power which he hath alreadie, that is to ſay, that I may do it without the ruine of the common-wealth, I will reſtore his benefit: I will ſaue his child, being an infant. What doth this benefit wrong any of thoſe whom his crueltie diſmembreth? I will not furniſh him with money to pay the ſouldiers of his guard. If he ſhall want either marble or rich rayment, it ſhall bee no wayes preiudiciall to any man, that ſhall ſupply his exceſſe and ſuperfluitie. Souldiers and furniture I will not helpe him with. If he requeſt me in way of great kindneſſe, to ſend him

him cunning *Comedians* and *Courtezans*, and ſuch other delights as may temper his crueltie, I will willingly offer them. Though I would not ſend him armed gallies and ſhips of war, yet would I ſend him whirries and couered barges, and other ſuch like things, wherein Kings take their paſtime, when they intend to ſport themſelues vpon the ſea. And if the hope of his amendment were vtterly loſt, yet with the ſame hand that I giue benefits to all men, I will returne him his; becauſe the beſt remedie for ſuch euill diſpoſitions is not to be, and it is beſt for him to be dead, whoſe life will neither bee reclaimed nor rectified. But ſeldome is ſo great wickedneſſe ſeene, it is rare; and reputed alwaies for ſtrange and wonderfull, they are feared as the gaping and openings of the earth, or as great fires which burſt forth from the deepeſt caues of the Sea. Let vs therefore leaue theſe, and ſpeake of thoſe which we deteſt without horror. To this euill man whom I may find in euery market place, whom priuate men feare, will I returne the benefit I haue receiued: I muſt not make my profit of his wickedneſſe. Looke what belongs not to me, let it returne to him that oweth it, be he good, or be he bad. How diligently ſhould I examine theſe things, if I ſhould not reſtore, but giue? This place craueth a merry fable.

CHAP XXI.

Intermixing a merry tale amidſt his ſerious diſcourſes, hee ſhoweth, that we ought not to repute that gotten goods, which remayneth in our hands, becauſe wee haue not timely reſtored it to him, to whom we are indebted, and who preuented by death, cannot redemand the ſame.

A Certaine *Pythagoriſt* had vpon his credit bought a paire of clowniſh ſhooes of a Cobler (a great matter, I warrant you) ſome few dayes after he came into the ſhop, to make ſatisfaction, and when hee had long time knocked at the doore, there was one that anſwered him: *Why loſe you your labour? That Cobler you ſeeke for is carried out and burned. This may be a griefe to vs which loſe our friends for euer, but not to you that know he ſhall be borne anew.* Thus ieſted he at the *Pythagoriſt*. But our *Philoſopher* carried home his three or foure pence very merily, ſhaking them diuerſe times in his hand, as hee went homeward. Afterwards accuſing himſelfe of the pleaſure he had conceiued in non-payment, and perceiuing how much that little gaine of his was pleaſing to him, he returned to the ſhop, and ſaid vnto himſelfe; *He liueth to thee, pay thou that which thou oweſt.* With that word he thruſt the foure pence into the ſhop at a crany of the wall, where the cloſing of the panell was ſhrunke; chaſtiſing himſelfe for his curſed auarice, leſt he ſhould accuſtome himſelfe to detaine another mans goods.

CHAP. XXII.

Of their duties, who either giue or receiue benefits, and in what ſort the benefactor ought to forget his benefit.

SEeke thou then to whom thou mayeſt returne that which thou oweſt, and if no man require payment at thy hands, call thou thy ſelfe to account. It appertaines not to thee, whether hee be good or euill. Reſtore and accuſe thy ſelfe, not forgetting how offices are diuided betweene you. We haue commanded him to forget thee, we haue enioyned thee to remember; notwithſtanding he deceiueth himſelfe, whoſoeuer thinketh, that when wee ſay, that hee who hath giuen the benefit, ſhould neuer more think on the pleaſure he hath done, that we would haue him entirely loſe the remembrance of the honeſteſt thing that may be done in this world: we command ſome things more ſtrictly then we ought, to cauſe them

to returne to their true and particular proportion, when wee ſay that he muſt not remember, our meaning is, that he muſt not publiſh it a broade, he ought not to vaunt, he ſhould not reproch. For ſome there are that make the curteſies they haue done, their table-talke amongſt their companions; of this talke they when they are ſober, of this they talke being drunke, this diſcouer they to ſtrangers, this commit they to their friends. That this inordinate and reprochfull memorie might be repreſſed: wee commanded, that he that had done the curteſie to his friend, ſhould neuer remember it, and commanding him more then he could performe, we perſwaded him to ſilence.

Chap. XXIII.

He ſheweth by other kinds of exceſſiue ſpeeches, that it is no euill kind of ſpeech, to exhort a benefactor to forget his benefit.

AS oft as thou diſtruſteſt thoſe ouer whom thou haſt command, thou mayſt exact farre more then thou needeſt, to the end that that may bee performed which is ſufficient. Euery *Hyperbole* aymeth at this iſſue; that by a lie a man may attaine vnto the truth. Hee therefore that ſaid,

That did exceede the Snow in whiteneſſe,
And did ſurpaſſe the winds in lightneſſe,

He ſaid that which could not be, to the end the moſt that could be, ſhould bee beleeued. And he that ſaid,

More fixed then theſe rocks, more headlong then this torrent,

did not thinke that hee ſhould perſwade this, that any one was ſo immoueable as a Rocke. This exceſſiue and ſuperlatiue kind of ſpeech neuer hopeth ſo much as it dareth; but it affirmeth incredible things, to the end it may attaine vnto credible. When wee ſay, Let him that hath giuen a benefit forget it; our meaning is, that hee ſhould bee as one that had forgotten it: let no man perceiue that he hath remembrance thereof, or that his memorie is awakened. When we ſay, That wee ought not to redemand a benefit againe, we doe not wholly take away the meanes of redemanding it; for oft-times euill men haue neede of an exacter, and good men alſo of an admoniſher. Why then, ſhall I not ſhew an ignorant man the opportunitie of requitall? ſhall I not diſcouer my neceſſities vnto him? why either ſhould hee belie himſelfe or bee ſorie that he knew it not? now and then let ſome admonition bee intermixed; yet ſuch as is modeſt, which neither ſauoureth of importunitie, or matter of plea.

Chap. XXIIII.

By the example of Socrates, hee ſheweth, that for the moſt part there is as much fault in the benefactor, as in him that receiues the benefit, which may well appeare in importunate redemanding.

Socrates in the hearing of his friends; ſaid, *I had bought mee a cloke, had I had money.* He required of no man, he admoniſhed all: the queſtion was, who ſhould ſupply him. And why not? For how ſmall a matter was it that *Socrates* receiued? but it was a great matter to be worthy to be ſuch a one, from whom *Socrates* would receiue. He could not more mildly chaſtiſe them. I had (ſaid he) bought mee a cloke, had I had money. After this, whoſoeuer was the forwardeſt, he gaue too late: for *Socrates* was alreadie in neceſſitie. For theſe intemperate exactors ſake we forbid the redemand of benefits, not that it ſhould neuer be put in vſe, but that it might be done modeſtly and ſparingly.

Chap. XXV.

Againſt the importunate reprochers of benefits, which they haue done.

Aristippvs hauing ſometimes taken pleaſure in good ſauors and perfumes, ſaid; *Beſhrow theſe effeminate fellowes, that haue defamed ſo worthy a thing.* The ſame muſt be ſaid, Euill betide theſe wicked and importunate exactors of their benefits, who haue extinguiſhed ſo worthy an admonition amongſt friends: yet will I vſe this law of friendſhip, and will redemand a benefit from him, from whom I would haue requeſted it, if I had neede, who will receiue it in ſtead of another benefit. If he haue meanes to requite that which I haue done for him, I will neuer ſay in way of complaint,

I tooke thee vp caſt vp vpon this ſhore
Forlorne and poore, and that which mads me more
I made thee partner of my princely ſtate.

Lib. 4. Æneid.

This is no admonition, but rather a reproch: this is no leſſe then to bring benefits into hatred: this is the direct meanes to make it either lawfull or delightfull to be thankeleſſe. It is inough, and too much to refreſh the memorie with ſubmiſſe and familiar words;

If I haue ought demerited from thee,
Or ought well liking hath appeard in me.

Let the other likewiſe ſay, How can it otherwiſe be, but that thou haſt deſerued? Thou haſt entertained me in thy houſe, after that by tempeſt I was caſt on ſhore, denied of all ſupplies, ſhipwrackt and poore.

Chap. XXVI.

With what eye and heart wee ought to behold and cenſure the vngratefull, and what compariſon we ought to make betwixt theſe and other offenders in the world.

But (ſaith he) we haue profited nothing, he diſſembles, he is forgetfull, what ſhould I doe? Thou propoſeſt a very neceſſary queſtion, and in which it becommeth vs to conclude this diſcourſe, How ingratefull men are to bee borne withall? Truely with a peaceable, milde, and great minde. Let neuer ſo inhumane, forgetfull, and vngratefull man ſo offend thee, that the delight of thy bountie be

extinguished in thee, neuer let iniurie inforce these speeeches from thee: I would I had not done it. Let the infelicitie of thy benefit content thee likewise. It shall repent him euer, if thou hitherto repent thee not. Thou must not be grieued as if some new casualtie had befalne thee, thou oughtest rather to wonder, if it had not happened. One is affrighted with labour, another with charge, another with danger, and another with vnseemely bashfulnesse, lest in his requitall he acknowledge that he hath receiued. Some forget their duty, another is idle in his affaires, another ouer-busie. Marke how the immeasurable desires of men doe alwaies gape and graspe after mony. thou wilt not wonder then to see no man addressed to requite, where no man receiueth enough: which one of these is of so firme and solid a mind, that thou mayest safely trust thy benefits with him? This man is mad with lust, that man serueth his bellie, another is wholly addicted to lucre, whose substance thou hardly mayest equal: this man is sicke with enuy, another with such blinded ambition, that he is readie to runne vpon the swords point. Adde hereunto dulnesse of mind and old age, and contrariwise the agitation and perpetuall tumult of an vnquiet brest. Annexe hereunto the too much esteeme, and insolent pride of a mans selfe, for which he is to be contemned. What should I speake of their contumacie, that incline to the worst; or of their inconstancie and leuitie, that are setled in nothing? Adde vnto these, headlong temeritie and feare, that neuer giueth faithfull counsell, and a thousand errours wherewith we are intangled, the boldnesse of the most cowards, the discord of most familiars; and (which is a common mischiefe) to trust to vncertainties, to lothe things in possession, to wish for those things, which we may not any wayes hope to attaine.

CHAP. XXVII.

We must not seek for faith amongst so many Infidelities which raigne in this world, and consequently, a man ought not to wonder, that the number of vngratefull men is so great, considering that they themselues who complaine of that fault, are themselues attainted therewith.

SEekest thou for faith, a thing so peaceable, amidst the passions of the mind, that are most restlesse? If the true image of our life were presented before thine eyes, thou wouldest suppose that thou sawest the pillage of a great Citie taken by assault, wherein without respect of shame or any iustice, the enemie in stead of counsell vseth force and violence, as if by publike proclamation hee were permitted to exercise at his pleasure all kind of outrage. Neither fire nor sword is spared, murthers and mischiefes are not punished: Religion it selfe, which hath oftentimes amongst the armed enemies saued their liues, who humbled themselues at her feete, cannot now containe those men that are set vpon pillage: the one forcibly defaceth the goods of a priuate house, another of a publike: that man stealeth prophane things, and that man sacred; the one breakes vp, the other passeth ouer. This man being discontented with the straightnesse of the passage, ouerthroweth that which stoppeth his way, and makes his profit of this ruine. This man spoyleth without slaughter, that man beareth his bootie in a bloudy hand: there is no man but catcheth some thing from another. Amidst this greedinesse of mankind, I feare me thou art too much forgetfull of our common fortune, who seekest to find a gratefull man amongst so many robbers. If thou art agrieued that there are vngratefull men, be sorry that there are some luxurious men, be vexed because there are couetous men, bee displeased because there are impudent men, be angrie that there are deformed, sicke, and pale old men. This vice, I confesse, is grieuous and intollerable, which breaketh the

the ſocietie of men, which deuideth and deſtroyeth that concord whereby our weakeneſſe is ſupported; yet ſo common is it, that he himſelfe who complayneth againſt it, cannot auoyd it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

He proueth that which he touched about the end of the former chapter, which is, that there is no man in the world, of whom a man may ſay, that he is exempt and free from ingratitude, and thereupon alledgeth very ſtrong and valuable reaſons.

BEthinke thy ſelfe, whether thou haſt beene thankefull to euery one of thoſe to whom thou art obliged, whether any of thoſe pleaſures that haue beene done thee, are loſt; whether thou haſt alwaies remembred the benefits which thou haſt receiued from others, and thou ſhalt ſee, that thoſe things which were giuen thee when thou wert a child, were forgotten by thee ere thou wert a ſtripling, and that thoſe things which were beſtowed on thee in thy youth, continued not in thy memorie vntill old age. There are ſome things which wee haue loſt, ſome things we haue reiected, ſome things haue vaniſhed out of our ſight by little and little, and from ſome things we our ſelues haue turned our eyes. But to excuſe thy weakeneſſe, firſt of all memorie is fraile, and cannot long time apprehend ſo great a number of affaires; it muſt needes loſe as much as it entertaineth, and ouerwhelme the elder with the later. So commeth it to paſſe that the authoritie of thy nurſe preuaileth little with thee, becauſe ſucceeding yeeres haue laid the benefit ſhe hath done thee, farre from thy thought. Hence groweth it that thou yeeldeſt no reuerence to thy Maſter: ſo commeth it to paſſe, that whileſt thou art buſied in labouring for a Conſulſhip, or pretendeſt a Prieſthood, thou forgetteſt him that once gaue thee his voice to bee a Queſtor. Haply if thou diligently examine thy ſelfe, thou ſhalt find that vice, whereof thou complayneſt in thine owne boſome: thou doeſt amiſſe to be angrie with a publike crime, and fooliſhly to be angrie againſt thy ſelfe; to abſolue thy ſelfe, forgiue others. By thy ſufferance thou mayeſt make him better, but worſe by thy reproches: thou muſt not harden his heart; let him, if any ſhame be left in him, retaine it ſtill. Oft times publike and notorious reproches exile that doubtfull modeſtie, which a man would retaine. There is no man feareth to bee that which he is ſeene to be: ſhame once diſcouered is loſt.

CHAP. XXIX.

He now yeeldeth an anſwer to the common obiection, which is, that a benefit to an vngratefull man is loſt, and ſheweth how the ſame ſhould be vnderſtood.

IHaue loſt a benefit. Shall we ſay we haue loſt thoſe things which we haue conſecrated? A benefit ought to bee numbred amongſt thoſe things that are conſecrated; prouided that a man hath well employed the ſame, although it bee badly requited: is hee not ſuch as we hoped he would be? let vs be ſuch as wee haue beene, vnlike vnto him; the wrong then done, now appeareth. An vnthankefull man is not accuſed by vs, but with our owne diſgrace, becauſe the complaint of the loſſe of our benefit, is a ſigne it was badly giuen. As neere as wee can, let vs pleade his cauſe with our ſelues, haply he could not, peraduenture he knew not, perhaps he will doe it hereafter. The wiſe and patient creditor ſometimes recouereth his debt which he reputeth loſt, in forbearing his debtor, and giuing him time: the like muſt wee doe; let vs nouriſh the languiſhing faith of thoſe that forget themſelues.

Chap. XXX.

The second answer to the former complaint.

I Haue loſt my benefit. Thou foole, thou knoweſt not the times of thy detriment. Thou haſt loſt, but when thou gaueſt; now the matter is diſcouered. Euen in theſe things which ſeeme to be loſt, moderation hath profited very much. As the infirmities of the bodie, ſo thoſe of the mind are to be handled gently; oft-times that thing which patience and delay hath diſcouered and vnfolded, is broken by his pertinacie and ſtubbornneſſe that healeth the ſame. What neede theſe reproches? What neede theſe plaints? this purſuite? Why doſt thon acquit him? Why diſchargeſt thou, why diſmiſſeſt thou him, if he be vngratefull? Now oweth he thee nothing; what reaſon is there to exaſperate him, whom thou haſt many wayes pleaſured, to the end that of a doubtfull friend hee may become an aſſured enemie, and to giue him meanes to defend his cauſe the better, by procuring thine owne ſhame? There be ſome will ſay, I am ſure there is ſome great matter in it; but what it is I know not, that he could not abide him to whom he was ſo much indebted. There is no man that in any ſort complained of a ſuperior, but ſtained, though he could not deface his greatneſſe and honor, neither is a man content to faine trifles, when hee ſeekes for credit by the greatneſſe of his lie.

Chap. XXXI.

The third answer confirming the two former, and fortifying them with an excellent and grounded reaſon, taken from the nature of God, who beſtoweth infinite benefits on vngratefull ſinners.

HOw farre better is that way whereby the hope of friendſhip is reſerued to him, and the opinion of our friendſhip likewiſe, if he be thankefull and entertaine a better thought? Inceſſant goodneſſe conquereth euill men; neither is there any man of ſo hard and hatefull a minde againſt thoſe things that are to be beloued, that loueth not thoſe, who euen in their greateſt wrongs continue good men, to whom he beginneth to owe this alſo, that he ſuſtaineth no diſpleaſure at their hands for not requiting. Reflect thy thoughts therefore vpon theſe: there is no correſpondence held with me: what ſhall I doe? Euen that which the gods (the beſt authors of all things) doe, who begin to beſtow their benefits on thoſe, that know not whence they come, and perſeuer alſo to doe good to thoſe that are vngratefull. One chargeth them with litle regard of vs, another that they haue iniuſtly diſpenſed their graces, another thruſteth them out of his world, and leaueth them there alone in ſloth and heauineſſe, without light or doing any thing; another ſaith that Sunne (to whom we owe this, that wee haue diſtinguiſhed the time betweene labour and reſt, that being deliuered from darkeneſſe we haue eſcaped the confuſion of a perpetuall night; for that by his courſe he tempereth the yeere, and nouriſheth our bodies, and haſteneth our harueſt, and ripeneth our fruit) is ſome ſtone or globe of caſuall fires, and call him any thing rather then diuine. All this notwithſtanding, the gods like good parents that ſmile at the iniuries of their litle children, ceaſe not to heape benefits vpon thoſe who ſuſpect that they are not the authors of all benefits, but with an equall hand diſtribute their bleſſings amongſt all nations, reſeruing only to themſelues the power to doe good. They water the earth with timely ſhowers, they moue the Seas with fitting winds, they diſtinguiſh times by the courſe of the

ſtarres,

ſtarres, they weaken both winters and ſummers by the gratious intercourſe of gentler winds; they pardon & mildly winke at, and ſuffer the errors and ſins of our ſinfull ſoules. Let vs imitate them; let vs giue, although many things haue beene giuen in vaine, yet let vs giue vnto others, let vs giue euen vnto thoſe by whom we haue ſuſtained the loſſe, no man forbeareth to build a houſe for feare it ſhould be ruinated, and when as fire hath conſumed the place of our aboad, we ſuddenly lay a new foundation againe, ere the floore be halfe cold, and oft-times we build cities in that very place where they were deſtroyed and ſunke: ſo conſtant and confirmed is the mind to good hopes; mens labors would ceaſe both by land and ſea, if they had not a will to re-edifie and re-attempt the ruines that were paſt.

CHAP. XXXII.

To conclude, a man ought to ſhew himſelfe liberall towards the vngratefull, to the intent to win him, and eſpecially to approue his owne worthineſſe and vertue.

HEe is a thankleſſe man, he hath not iniured me, but himſelfe, I had the vſe of my benefit when I gaue it, neither therefore will I giue more ſlowly, but more diligently; what I haue loſt in him, I will recouer in others: yea, to this man alſo will I giue a benefit again, and like a good huſbandman, with care and labour I will conquer the barrenneſſe of the ſoyle; I haue loſt my benefit, and that man his credite with all men. It is not the action of a generous mind, to giue and loſe; this is the marke of a mightie minde to loſe and giue.

The end of the ſeuenth and laſt Booke of Benefits.

THE

EPISTLES

OF LVCIVS

ANNÆVS

SENECA

the Philoſopher.

VVritten vnto LVCILIVS, Together with the *Arguments vnto euery Epiſtle of* IVSTVS LIPSIVS.



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LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA

HIS EPISTLES TO LVCILIVS:

With the Arguments of *Iuſtus Lipſius*.

EPIST. I.

He commendeth to LVCILIVS *the eſtimation and vſe of time, that it ought not to be deferred nor let ſlippe, neither ill employed.*

The miſerie of mans life, that looſeth time in expelling it.

DOe ſo, my *Lucilius*, re-enter into the poſſeſſion of thy ſelfe, and that time which hitherto hath been either taken from thee, or ſtollen from thee, or that otherwiſe hath eſcaped thee, recollect and reſerue to thy ſelfe. Perſwade thy ſelfe that it is ſo as I write: there are ſome times which are taken away from vs, ſome other which are ſtolne from vs, and other ſome which ſlip away from vs: But the ſhamefulleſt loſſe that may be, is that which proceedeth from our negligence, and if thou wilt ſeriouſly obſerue, thou ſhalt perceiue that a great part of life ſlitteth from thoſe that doe euil, a greater from thoſe that doe nothing; and the whole from thoſe that doe not that they ſhould doe. What man wilt thou ſhew me that hath put any price vpon time, that eſteemeth of a day, and that vnderſtandeth that he daily dieth? For herein are wee deceiued, becauſe wee ſuppoſe death to be farre off from vs, and yet notwithſtanding the greater part thereof is alreadie ouer-paſſed, and all our yeares that are behind, death holdeth in his poſſeſſion. Doe therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which, as thou writeſt vnto me; thou doeſt. Embrace and lay hold on each houre, ſo will it come to paſſe, that thou ſhalt be leſſe in ſuſpence for to morrow, if thou lay hold, and faſten thy hands on to day. Whileſt life is deferred, it fleeteth. All other things, my *Lucilius*, are forren to vs; time onely is our owne. Nature hath put vs in poſſeſſion of this fraile and fleeting thing, from which we may be expelled by any man. But ſo great is the folly of mortall men, that they ſuffer all things, yea euen

euen the leaſt and vileſt, which are eaſily ſatisfied, to be imputed vnto them for benefits, when as they haue obtained them. Let no man thinke that he oweth any thing, who hath gotten time, when in the meane while this is the onely thing, which a gratefull man cannot reſtore. Happily thou wilt aske me, what I doe, who command thee theſe things? I will ingenuouſly confeſſe vnto thee, I doe that which befalleth a luxurious man; but diligent: I take a very ſtrict account of my Expence: I cannot ſay that I loſe nothing, but I will tell thee what I loſe, and why, and how, and relate a reaſon of my pouertie. It befalleth me, as to many others, brought to pouertie, not by their owne fault; all men pardon them, no man ſuccoureth them. What is it then? I thinke him not poore, who ſuppoſeth that litle remainder which he hath, to be ſufficient; yet I had rather thou ſhouldeſt keepe thine owne, and begin to vſe good time while thou mayeſt. For as our Elders were of opinion, *the ſparing that beginneth in the bottome is too late*, becauſe not onely the leaſt, but alſo the worſt remaineth in the lees.

True riches conſiſt in content.

EPIST. II.

Hee approueth the quiet of the bodie, and of the mind alſo in ſome one thing, or ſtudie. He condemneth the ouer curious, that runne ouer and read diuers Authors and writings. He perſwadeth rather to read a few, and thoſe good, and to dwell vpon them. He counſelleth alwaies to cull out ſome one thing, and commit it to memorie, by his example who then made vſe of a ſaying of EPICVRVS *touching pouertie.*

First, To ſtay in one place is the token of a ſetled ſpirit.

I Conceiue a good hope of thee, by reaſon of thoſe things which thou writeſt vnto mee, and that which I heare ſpoken of thee. Thou art no wanderer, neither diſquieted with the deſire of tranſporting thy ſelfe from one place vnto another; this is but the toſſing of a ſicke mind. In my iudgement, the chiefeſt teſtimonie of a wel compoſed mind, is to be able to conſiſt and dwell with her ſelfe. But beware leſt this deſire to read many Authors, and all ſorts of bookes, containe not giddineſſe and inconſtancie of mind. Thou muſt be ſtayed, and after a manner nouriſhed with certaine ſpirits, if thou wilt apprehend any thing that ſhall conſtantly remaine in thy memory. He is no where, that is euery where. Thoſe that paſſe their life in trauell, take vp many Innes, but entertaine few friendſhips. It muſt needes ſo befall ſuch, who acquaint not themſelues familiarly with one ſpirit, but lightly trauers, and ſlightly ouer-runne many things. That meat neuer nouriſheth the bodie, which is no ſooner taken in, but is deliuered out. There is nothing that ſo much hindereth a mans health, as the often change of remedies. The wound can hardly be cured, that is couered with diuers ſorts of medicines. The tree proſpereth not, that is tranſported from one place to another. There is nothing profitable, that is ſlightly hudled ouer. The multitude of bookes diſtracteth and diſtempereth the vnderſtanding. When as therefore thou canſt not read as much as thou haſt, it ſufficeth to haue as much as thou canſt read. But now, ſayeſt thou, will I ouer-run this booke, now that. The ſtomacke is diſtempered, that longeth after diuers ſorts of meats, which being different and diuers, doe rather corrupt then comfort or nouriſh. Read therefore alwaies the moſt approued, and though for varieties

Secondly, he admitteth not the reading of many Authors, but ſuppoſeth the ſame hurtfull to the iudgement and memorie.

ſake

ſake thou ſometimes change, let the others be vnto thee as thy harbour, thoſe as thine ordinarie retreat and houſe. Purchaſe vnto thy ſelfe euery day ſome new forces againſt pouertie, and ſome counſels againſt death, and fortifie thy ſelfe with other preſeruations againſt the other plungers of life, and after thou haſt taſted diuers things, lay hold on one which that day thou mayeſt digeſt. This likewiſe doe I of diuers things which I read, I apprehend ſomewhat. See here what I haue learned to day of *Epicurus* (for I am wont ſometime to paſſe into mine enemies campe, not as a fugitiue, but as a ſpie.) *A contented pouertie*, ſaith he, *is an honeſt thing*; but that is no pouertie which is contented: for he that contenteth himſelfe with his pouertie, is a rich man; not hee that hath litle, but he that deſireth the moſt, is the poore man. For what skilleth it how much a man hath in his cheſt, how much lieth in his barnes, how much he feedeth, how much he profiteth by vſurie, if he ſtill gape after other mens gaines, if he make reckoning not of thoſe things he hath gotten, but of that which remaineth to be gotten? Thou requireſt of me what meaſure or proportion there is of riches? The firſt is to haue that which is neceſſarie, the next that which ſufficeth.

Thirdly, he examineth the Epicures poſition, as touching pouertie.

Epist. III.

That ſome are oftentimes badly and raſhly called friends. If any ſuch there be that deſerueth the name of friend, all things are to be repoſed and truſted on his faith, and communicated vnto him, as another our-ſelfe. Such as are fearefull and baſe minded are reprehended, as likewiſe thoſe that are ouer-credulous, or too open. The meane is the beſt.

THou haſt deliuered thy letters to be conueyed to my hands, as thou writeſt, by a friend of thine, by which thou aduertiſeſt mee, not to communicate all thy pertinent affaires with him, becauſe as thou ſayeſt, thou art not accuſtomed to doe the like: ſo that in one and the ſame letter, thou alloweſt and diſauoweſt him to be thy friend: I beleeue firſt of all, that thou haſt giuen him this name of friend at aduenture, and as a common name in ſuch ſort, as we cal euery man that paſſeth by vs by the name of Sir, if ſo we be ignorant by what name he is called. But let me tell thee this, that if thou thinkeſt to haue a friend, in whom thou wilt not put as much confidence, as in thy ſelfe, thou deceiueſt thy ſelfe very much, and vnderſtandeſt not ſufficiently the force of true amitie: deliberate all things with thy friend, but firſt of all reſolue thy ſelfe, that he is thy friend. After the friendſhip is contracted, then ought wee to truſt; before it be formed, wee ought to iudge. But they prepoſterouſly confound offices, who contrary to the precepts of *Theophraſtus*, loue before they iudge, and after they haue iudged, loue not at all. Thinke therefore long time with thy ſelfe, whether any man is to bee entertained into thy friendſhip; but when thou ſhalt be reſolued to accept of his loue, diſcouer vnto him readily thy whole heart, and as boldly communicate thy ſecrets with him, as with thy ſelfe; yet ſo liue thou, that thy thoughts and actions may be ſuch, that thou mayeſt commit them to the ſerious obſeruation of thine enemie. But becauſe ſometimes diuers things fall out, that cuſtome hath made ſecret, impart freely vnto thy friend all thy deſignes and cogitations; if thou ſuppoſeſt him to be faithfull, thou wilt doe no leſſe. For

A generall default in men in matter of friendſhip, wittily touched.

The dutie of a true friend.

The meanes to maintayne friendſhip.

many haue taught how to deceiue, by fearing leſt they themſelues ſhould be deceiued, and haue miniſtred other men a priuiledge of offence by their own vaine ſuſpition. What is the cauſe therefore, why I ſhould conceale any thing from my friend? Why, before him, thinke I not my ſelfe alone? Some there are which commit thoſe things which are onely communicable with their friends to euery one they meet, and disburthen in euery eare whatſoeuer is diſtaſtefull vnto them: ſome againe likewiſe are diſtruſtfull of their faith, whom they eſteeme moſt deare, yea, and if they could, they would ſcarcely truſt themſelues, but inwardly oppreſſe themſelues with their owne ſecrets. But neither of theſe things is to be done, for both of them ſauour of infirmity, both not to credit all men, and not to credit any: but the one in my opinion is the more laudable vice, the other more ſecure. So reprehend both of them, both thoſe that are alwaies diſquiet, as thoſe that are alwaies idle. For the manner of liuing in the firſt is not induſtrie, but rather the conflict of a troubled mind: and as touching thoſe that thinke that all motion is trouble and vexation, it is rather a diſſolution and languor in them, then moderation. Commit that therefore to memorie, which I haue read in POSSIDONIVS, *There are ſome,* ſaith he, *that are in ſuch ſort retired and hidden, that they thinke all things to bee in garboile, which are open to the light.* Theſe things are to be medled together, and he that reſteth, muſt be in action, and he that acteth, muſt reſt. Deliberate with nature, and ſhee will tell thee, that ſhe made both the day and the night.

The vicious extremities whereinto they fall, that know not truely, what friendſhip is.

EPIST. IIII.

He exhorteth him to perſeuer in Philoſophie, whereby he may be eſteemed a ſerious, graue, and perfect man. For the reſt, he concludeth them to be children, that feare ſuch things as are not to be feared, as eſpecially death. And this concludeth he to be the end of our euils; and that either by ſudden motion, or deſperation many haue contemned the ſame: and why not with reaſon? He concludeth therfore, that life is not to be loued, but that we ought daily to thinke, vpon how diuers and light cauſes death approacheth vs. Finally, he propoſeth an Embleme of EPICVRVS *of true riches.*

Perſeuerance required in the ſtudie of wiſdome.

PErſeuer as thou haſt begun, and indeuour thy ſelfe as much as in thee lieth, to the end thou mayeſt more longer enioy a reformed and compoſed mind. And truely thou enioyeſt it, whileſt thou mendeſt it, yea, whileſt thou compoſeſt it: but the contentment that a man receiueth by the contemplation of a conformed mind, and that is repleniſhed with perfect innocencie, is farre more pleaſant and agreeable. Thou doeſt remember what pleaſure thou diddeſt feele, when hauing left thy childiſh liuerie, thou tookeſt vpon thee the abiliments of a man, being brought before the Pretor into the market-place. Expect a farre greater matter, when thou ſhalt caſt off thy childiſh mind, and that Philoſophie hath inrolled thee amongſt the number of men: For as yet childhood dwelleth not in vs; but that which is more grieuous, childiſhneſſe remaineth in vs. And this truely is the worſt, that we haue the authoritie of old men, and the vices of children, and not of children onely, but of infants. They feare the lighteſt, theſe the falſeſt, wee both. Now grow proficient, and thou ſhalt vnderſtand that there are certaine things, which for the ſame cauſe for which they bring vs much

Humane miſerie.

much feare, ought the leſſe to be feared; No euill is great which commeth the laſt. We might feare death, if it could abide alwaies with vs: but it is neceſſarie that either it befall vs not, or that it ouerpaſſeth incontinently. And if thou tell me that it is a difficult thing to perſwade the mind to contempt of life, doe but conſider vpon how light occaſions ſome haue attempted the ſame: one hath ſtrangled himſelfe with the halter before his Miſtris doores, another hath caſt himſelfe from the top of the houſe to the bottome, to auoid his Maſters diſpleaſure, another hath ſtabbed himſelfe into the breaſt, rather then he would be brought backe to the place from whence he was fled. Thinkeſt thou that vertue cannot inforce as much as exceſſiue feare could? No man can enioy a peaceable and ſecure life, that laboureth ouer-much to prolong it, and that eſteemeth it for a great benefit, to ſee and obſerue the reuolution of many years. Meditate then euery day to haue the power to leaue thy life freely and willingly, which diuers men entertaine in another manner, then they doe, who imbrace briers and thornes, which haue beene driuen athwart them, by the violence of ſome furious ſtreame. Many wretches float betwixt the feare of death, and the torments of life; they will not liue, and they know not how to die. Faſhion therefore vnto thy ſelfe a pleaſant life, by forſaking ſolicitude that may befall thee for the loue of the ſame. There is no good more profitable to the poſſeſſor, then that, to the loſſe whereof the mind is alreadie prepared; and there is nothing, the loſſe whereof is more eaſie to be ſupported, then of that which being loſt cannot be redeſired. Take thee courage therefore, & aſſurance, againſt thoſe things that are ſubiect to the ſame neceſſitie as thou art, euen thoſe that are moſt mightie. A * Pupill, and an * Eunuch, gaue ſentence on great *Pompey's* head, of *Craſſus*, the cruell and inſolent Pathian. * *Caius Cæſar* commanded that *Lepidus* ſhould preſent his neck to the Tribune *Decimus*, and he himſelfe gaue his owne to *Chærea's*. Fortune hath neuer ſo much fauoured any man, but that ſhe hath affronted him with as many menaces. Truſt not ouermuch vnto this calme. In an inſtant the Sea is turned, and thoſe ſhips are ſwallowed the ſame day, where they wantonly played on the water. Thinke that either a theefe or an enemie may ayme his ſword at thy throat: and although a greater power be wanting, not the baſeſt ſlaue that liueth, but hath power of thy life and death. I aſſure thee, that whoſoeuer contemneth his life, is Lord of thine. Take account of thoſe that are dead by the complots of their ſeruants, or by open outrage, or by treaſon, and thou ſhalt ſee, that there are no leſſe made away by the indignation of their ſlaues, then the diſpleaſures of their Kings. What importeth it then how mightie he be whom thou feareſt, if euery man may do that which thou feareſt? And if by chance thou falleſt into the hands of thine enemies, the conqueror will command that thou be led whither he pleaſeth. Why deceiueſt thou thy ſelfe? Why beginneſt thou then onely to vnderſtand that which thou haſt ſuffered from thy birth? I tell thee, that from the houre thou wert borne thou art led to die. Theſe and ſuch like things ought continually to liue in thy remembrance and mind, if wee will moderately expect this laſt houre, the feare whereof, repleniſheth all others wtih diſquiet. But that I may make an end of my Letter, heare that which this day was pleaſing to me, and this alſo is taken out of another mans garden. *Pouertie meaſured according to the rule of Nature, is great riches.* But knoweſt thou well what limits this rule of Nature giueth vs? Neither to haue hunger nor thirſt, nor cold. But to the end to driue away this hunger and thirſt, thou haſt no need to wait or attend on theſe proud and great gates, nor to ſuffer

* King of Egypt.
* Potinus Eunuchus.
* Caligula.

theſe diſdainefull and imperious contemners, nor to expoſe thy ſelfe to the baites of theſe contumelious courteſies. Thou needeſt not for the ſame to attempt the fortune of the Sea and of armes. That which Nature deſireth, is found euery where: we take paines to obtaine ſuperfluous things: theſe are they that weare our gownes, that make vs grow old in our Tents, and that caſt vs on forraine ſhoares. That which ſufficeth vs, is alreay at hand.

EPIST. V.

Hee diſſwadeth his friend from the oſtentation of Philoſophie, and counſelleth him not to make himſelfe noted by his habit or diet: he perſwadeth him not to contemne all things that are vulgar, but to make moderate vſe of them, and without abuſe: he deteſteth vncleanlineſſe, and calleth vs to the law of Nature: he vrgeth a clauſe out of HECATON, *of the coniunction of hope and feare; auowing him to be free of one, that hath caſt off the other; and obnoxius to both, whoſoeuer is to one.*

WHereas thou trauelleſt continually, and all other things ſet apart, endeuoureſt to make thy ſelfe daily more vertuous; I praiſe thee, and am glad to heare it: and not only doe I counſell thee to perſeuer therein, but I likewiſe intreat thee. But thereof I am to admoniſh thee, that according to the maner of thoſe that ſeeke not ſo much to profit, as to be ſeene, thou apply not thy ſelfe to doe certaine things which are ouer-ſingular, and remarkable for their ſtrangeneſſe, either in the manner of thy life, or in thy habit. Flie all ſluttiſh behauiours, as to weare thy haire ouer-long, knotted and filthie, thy beard vncombed, to lie on the ground, and to make profeſſion to haue a ſworne hatred againſt Gold and Siluer, and whatſoeuer followeth ambition by a wrong courſe. The ſole name of Philoſophie, how modeſt ſoeuer it be, is of it ſelfe ſufficiently ſubiect to enuie. What if we ſeparate our ſelues from the company of men? Well may wee inwardly be in all things vnlike vnto them; but our looks and behauiours muſt be agreeable to the good liking of the people. Let not our garment either be too gay, or too ſlouenly: let not our ſiluer be enchaſed with gold; and yet let vs be aſſured, that it is no token of frugalitie to be deſtitute either of Gold or of Siluer: let vs ſo doe, that we lead a better life then the common ſort are wont, yet not altogether contrary to theirs; otherwiſe, in ſtead of correcting them wee ſhall driue and baniſh them from vs, and wee are the cauſe, that in diſliking all our actions, they will not imitate one of them. Philoſophie promiſeth this firſt of all, common ſenſe, humanity, and entercourſe and ſocietie, from which we ſhall become ſeparated by this diſſimilitude of profeſſion. Let vs rather take heed leſt theſe faſhions for which we would be held in admiration, proue not ridiculous and odious vnto others. Our intent is to liue according to the direction of nature: but it is a thing altogether contrarie vnto her, to afflict the bodie, and to hate ordinarie cleanlineſſe, and to be loathſome and ſordid, to vſe not onely groſſe meates, but alſo harmefull and diſtaſtfull. For euen as to affect and ſeeke after delicacie, is riot, ſo alſo is it a kinde of madneſſe to flye from theſe things which are vſuall, and may be recouered without great expence. Philoſophie requireth frugalitie, and not miſerie: and ſince an honeſt and well-ſeeming frugalitie may be had, I think it good for a man to keepe this meaſure. It behoueth

vs that our life be balanced betwixt good and publique manners. I can be well content that men admire our life, but yet let it be within their knowledge. What then? ſhall we doe the ſame that the reſt? ſhall there be no difference betwixt vs and them? yes, a great deale: but hee onely ſhall reknowledge the ſame, that obſerueth vs neerely. He that ſhall enter our houſes, let him rather looke on vs, then on our moueables. That man is great and generous, who vſeth earthen platters like ſiluer veſſell, and no leſſe is he that vſeth ſiluer veſſell as earthen platters. Not to be able to endure riches, is the part of a weake mind. But to impart vnto thee the profit I haue made this day: I haue found in *Hecaton*, that the end of coueting ſufficeth to remedie feare. *Thou wilt giue ouer, ſaith he, to feare, if thou ceaſeſt to hope.* But thou wilt ſay, How can theſe things being ſo diuers, be together? So is it, my *Lucilius*, although that theſe things ſeeme to be contrarie, yet are they ioyned and vnited the one with the other. Euen as one and the ſame chaine bindeth both the officer and the priſoner, ſo likewiſe theſe things, although they ſeeme different, are conioyned and march together. Feare followeth hope, and I wonder not thereat; both of them are paſſions which proceed from an inconſtant and moueable mind, and that is in thought and care for that which is to come. But the greateſt cauſe both of the one and other, is, for that we moderate and content not our ſelues with things that are preſent, but ſend our thoughts out farre before vs. So prouidence, which is the greateſt benefit that betideth mortall men, becommeth hurtfull and harmefull vnto vs. Bruit beaſts flie thoſe dangers which they ſee before their eyes, and hauing eſcaped them, they are ſecure: but wee are affrighted not onely with our dangers paſt, but with thoſe alſo that are to come. Many of our goods doe harme vs; for our memorie reuiueth and repreſenteth vnto vs the torment of the feare paſt, and prouidence anticipateth it. There is no man miſerable alone by preſent euils.

Epist. VI.

He declareth, that it is an argument that he profiteth in Philoſophie, becauſe hee acknowledgeth his vices. He expreſſeth his affection to communicate all things with him as his true friend, eſpecially ſuch as are profitable. That the counſaile of wiſe-men ſeemeth very effectuall and aboue their precepts, which he teacheth by example of ſome Philoſophers.

I Know, my *Lucilius*, that I am not onely amended, but transfigured: neither doe I now promiſe or hope that there remaineth nothing in me that is to be changed. Why ſhould I not haue many things that ought to be corrected *extenuated, and raiſed? Euen this is a teſtimonie of a mind that beginneth to be changed for the better, when it ſeeth in it ſelfe thoſe vices that before times it was ignorant of. There is ſome hope in thoſe that are ſeazed with certaine ſickneſſes, when as they feele themſelues to be diſeaſed. I would therefore wiſh to communicate with thee this my ſo ſudden change; then ſhould I begin to haue a more certaine confidence of our friendſhip, of that true friendſhip, I meane, which neither hope nor feare, neither any other conſideration of particular profit ſhould diſioyne, of that with which men die, and for which they die. I will reckon vp vnto thee diuers men that haue not had want of a friend,

They are leaſt imperfect, who beſt know their imperfections.
**Corrected, being depraued; extenuated, being too proud; and raiſed, being depreſſed.*

friend, but want of friendſhip: ſuch a thing cannot happen when as two ſoules are coupled together by a ſtrict alliance and vniformitie of will in deſiring honeſt things. Why can it not? for they know that all things are common vnto them, and chiefly aduerſitie. Thou canſt not coniecture in thy mind how much profit I perceiue that euery day bringeth me. Send me, ſayeſt thou, thoſe things, whoſe efficacie I haue ſo tried. Truely I could wiſh that I might in ſome ſort poure them all into thee: I am glad to learne, to the end I may teach; and there is not any thing, how rare and commodious ſoeuer it be, that can or ſhould yeeld me content, if I might onely know it for my particular profit. If wiſedome it ſelfe were giuen me vpon condition to conceale it, and not to publiſh it, I would refuſe the ſame. The poſſeſſion of no benefit is contenting without a companion. I will ſend thee therefore the bookes themſelues: and leſt thou ſhouldeſt take too much paines in following thoſe things which profit publiquely, I will put certaine markes to find thoſe things, which I readily approue and admire; yet our ſpeaking and liuing together will profit thee more, then onely reading. It therefore behoueth thee to tranſport thy ſelfe hither: firſt of all, becauſe men giue better credit to their eyes, then to their eares. And againe, becauſe the way of precepts is long, where that of example is more ſhort, and farre more fruitfull. *Cleanthes* had neuer expreſſed *Zeno*, had he onely heard him: but he alwaies was conuerſant with him, and had an eye into the ſecrets of his ſtudie, and warily obſerued, whether hee liued according as he taught. *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and all other Sages (which afterwards ſpread themſelues into diuers families) haue receiued more inſtructions by the manners, then the words of *Socrates*. *Metrodorus*, *Hermacus*, and *Poliænus* were great men, not becauſe they had frequented the Schoole of *Epicurus*, but for that they had conuerſed with him. Neither call I thee onely vnto me, to the intent thou ſhouldeſt receiue profit, but to the end thou ſhouldeſt profit others: for we will continually aſſiſt one another; meane while, to acquit my ſelfe of the rent I owe thee, I will tell thee that which pleaſed me to day in HECATON, *Askeſt thou* (ſaith he) *wherein I haue profited? I haue begun to be a friend to my ſelfe*. He hath profited much: he will neuer be alone. Know this, that he that is a friend to himſelfe, is a friend to all men.

EPIST. VII.

To him that is proficient, too much company is to be auoyded, and that vices are contracted thereby, Playes, and Showes alſo, chiefly thoſe that are bloudie: neither is it beſeeming publikely to recite or diſpute amongſt vnequals. Let, ſaith he, one or two auditors of iudgement be eſteemed, or none at all.

DEmandeſt thou of me, my opinion what thou oughteſt eſpecially to auoid? The multitude. For as yet thou canſt not ſafely commit thy ſelfe vnto them. Truly, for mine owne part, I confeſſe my weakneſſe: I neuer returne back again with thoſe manners that I carried out with me. Somewhat of that which I had compoſed is troubled; ſomewhat of thoſe things which I had chaſed away returne backe againe. That which befalleth the ſicke who are in ſuch ſort attainted with a long debilitie, that they can neuer be remoued, except they grow worſe. So fareth it with vs, whoſe ſpirits begin to recouer from a long ſickneſſe.

The

The conuerſation of many men is contrarie vnto vs; There is no man but commendeth vnto vs ſome vice, or imprinteth it in vs, and leaueth an impreſſion in vs, before we can beware: and the greater the companie is, wherewith we conuerſe, the greater is the danger. But nothing is ſo hurtfull to good manners as to ſit in a Theatre, for there by the pleaſure wee conceiue, the vices ſteale on vs more eaſily. What thinkeſt thou that I ſay? I tell thee that I not ouly returne more couetous, more ambitious, more luxurious, but more cruell and inhumane, becauſe I haue beene amongſt men. By caſualtie I fell vpon the Showes at noone, expecting ſome ſports and witty jeſts, and recreation, whereby mens eyes might bee repoſed a while, that in the morning had beene fed with the ſhedding of mens bloud. But I find it contrarie: whatſoeuer was fought before, was mercie. Now letting paſſe trifles, there is nothing but deteſted murther: combatants haue not wherewith to couer them, but expoſe their naked bodies to the ſtroake, and neuer ſtrike without wounding. This ſpectacle doe many preferre before that of the ordinarie couples, or that of the extraordinary, asked for by the people. And why ſhould they not preferre the ſame? The weapon is kept off neither by Helmet nor Target: whereto ſerue theſe fencings and Gladiatorie Arts? All theſe are but the delayes of death. In the morning men are expoſed to Lyons & Beares, at noone to the ſpectators. The killers are commanded to be ſet againſt thoſe that are to kill, and they reſerue him that is conqueror for another ſlaughter: the end and ayme of thoſe that fight is death, by fire and ſword the matter is managed. Theſe are done during the intermiſſion of the ſpectacle. But ſome man hath committed a theft: what therefore deſerueth he? To bee hanged. He ſlew a man: he that ſlew him deſerued to ſuffer no leſſe. But what, haſt thou deſerued to behold this ſpectacle? Kill, burne, whip, why runnes he ſo fearefully on the weapon? Why kills hee not couragiouſly? Why dies he not willingly? By ſtroakes are they compelled to wounds, and with naked and expoſed bodies they receiue the ſtroakes of one another. Is the ſpectacle intermitted? in the meane time men are ſlaine, leſt nothing ſhould be done. Goe too, vnderſtand you not this, that euill example reflecteth on thoſe that doe this? Giue thanks vnto the immortall gods, that you teach him to be cruell, who cannot learne. We muſt remoue and draw away from the common people this tenderneſſe and inconſtancie of mind, and ſtraight apprehenſion of truth, a man may eaſily conforme and faſhion himſelfe to many. The frequentation of a different multitude might peraduenture haue ſhaken the great minds of *Socrates*, *Cato*, and *Lælius*. So farre is any of vs (although in height of our compoſed iudgement) from being able to ſuſtaine the force and charge of vices comming with ſo great a troupe. One only example of luſt or auarice cauſeth much miſchiefe. The companie of a delicate man by litle and litle effeminateth thoſe that conuerſe with him. A rich neighbour kindleth our couetouſneſſe. A miſchieuous and corrupt man rubbeth on the ruſt of his infirmities, and ſoyleth the moſt ſimple and vprighteſt man. What thinkeſt thou may become of thoſe manners, which are violently laid hold on, followed and applauded by the multitude? Theſe of force muſt thou either imitate or hate; but both the one and the other of theſe ought to be auoyded, for feare leſt thou be either like vnto the wicked, by reaſon they are many, or enemie to diuers, becauſe they are vnlike to thee. Retire thy ſelfe therefore into thy ſelfe: haunt thoſe who can make thee better, admit thoſe whom thou canſt better; for theſe things are reciprocally done. Men in teaching others learne themſelues. Aboue all things beware leſt thou expoſe thy ſelfe to great aſſemblies, or affecteſt to diſpute

diſpute or teach by way of oſtentation, or deſire to ſhew thy ſelfe, I could well wiſh that thou ſhouldeſt doe ſo, if thou coulſteſt in any ſort be profitable to the people: but there is not any one amongſt them that can vnderſtand thee; and if haply thou find out one or two, yet muſt thou inſtruct them how they may vnderſtand thee. For whom then haue I learned theſe things. Feare not that thou haſt loſt thy labour, if thou haſt learned theſe things for thy ſelfe. But leſt I ſhould reſerue vnto my ſelfe the profit I haue gottten this day, I will communicate with thee three moſt worthy ſentences to one ſenſe; of which the one ſhall be to acquit this Epiſtle of that which it oweth thee; the other two ſhall be giuen thee afore-hand. *Democritus* ſaith, *I count one only for a whole multitude, and a whole multitude as one.* And hee whoſoeuer hee was (for it is doubted of the author) when it was demanded of him, why he tooke ſo great paines to preferre an Arte, which ſhould profit but a few, anſwered very wiſely, *A few*, ſaith he, *ſuffice me, one is inough, none is inough.* And the third is moſt excellent. *Epicurus* writing to one of the conſorts of his ſtudies. (*Theſe things*, ſaith he, *write I not to many, but to thy ſelfe*; for we our ſelues are a Theatre great inough for one another.) Such things as theſe, friend *Lucilius*, are they which thou muſt commit to memorie, to the end to contemne this pleaſure which proceedeth from the applauſe and conſent of diuers. Many praiſe thee; Haſt thou any thing wherein to priſe and pleaſe thy ſelfe, if thou be ſuch a one whom many applaud? let them obſerue thy inward vertues.

Epist. VIII.

This preſent dependeth on the former Epiſtle, and is as it were an Obiection: what, wilt thou that I auoyde the multitude and the people? But thy Stoicks teach to follow buſineſſe, and to die in affaires. He anſwereth, that he perſwadeth not idleneſſe, but a retirement by his example, who diſmiſſing other offices, intendeth wiſedome, and propagateth the precepts thereof in writing. This, ſaith he, is of all actions the greateſt and moſt excellent. In concluſion, he inſerteth that of Epicvrvs: *that Philoſophie giueth true libertie.*

THou commandeſt me by thy aduice to flie the people, to retire my ſelfe apart, and to be contented with my conſcience: What ſhall then become of all theſe precepts of thine, that commanded mee to end my life in action? What, ſeeme I then in this interim to entertaine idleneſſe? To this end haue I withdrawne my ſelfe, to this intent haue I ſhut vp my doores, that I might profit many men. I ſpend not a day in idleneſſe; For the moſt part of the nights, I ſpend them in ſtudie, I haue no leiſure to ſleepe, yet yeeld vnto it, and keepe mine eyes (wearied and drooping with watching) in action. I retired my ſelfe, not only from men, but from affaires, and principally from mine owne. I wholly traffique for poſteritie, by writing that which may be profitable vnto them: I ſet before their eyes in writing many good and wholeſome counſailes, as it were receits of profitable medicines, which I haue found fruitfull in mine owne vlcers; the which although they be not altogether healed, haue deſiſted to feſter. I ſhew others the right way, which I haue learned too late: and after I haue beene too long wearied with wandring and tracing here and there, I ceaſe not to crie out. Flie all thoſe things which eyther pleaſe the common ſort, or caſualtie attributeth:

runne

runne not after caſuall benefits, but rather ſuſpiciouſly and fearefully apprehend, and entertaine all vncertaine pleaſures. Both wilde beaſt and fiſh are bewitched with the baite is laid for them. Thinke you that theſe are the gifts of Fortune? Truſt me they are her traps; What one ſo euer of vs would liue a ſweet life, let him flie as much as he may theſe limed benefits, wherein wee moſt miſerably be deceiued. We thinke to enioy them, and they enioy vs: this courſe carrieth vs to a downefall. The iſſue of this ſo eminent is to fall; and that which is worſe, it is impoſſible for vs to ſtand, when as felicitie hath begunne to tranſport vs, and carrie vs hither and thither: at leaſt wiſe either content thy ſelfe with ſuch things as are good and certaine, or bee thou poſſeſſor and lord of thy ſelfe. Such as doe this, fortune doth not only ouerturne them, but caſteth headlong and cruſheth them. Remember therefore to obſerue this wholeſome and fruitfull forme of life, in affording thy bodie no further nouriſhment, then may ſuffice to continue thee in good health: chaſtiſe the ſame ſeuerely, leſt it rebell againſt the ſoule. Let thy meate appeaſe thy hunger, thy drinke aſſwage thy thirſt, thy coate couer thee from cold, thy houſe bee a defence againſt thoſe things as may offend thy bodie. It skilleth not whether it be builded of Turfe, or rich Marble. Know that a man is as well couered with Thatch, as with Gold. Contemne all theſe things which ſuperfluous labour preferreth either for ſhew or ornament. Thinke that there is nothing admirable in thy ſelfe, but thy minde, to which being great, nothing is great, but it ſelfe. If I diſcourſe this with my ſelfe, if I conferre this with poſteritie, thinkeſt thou not that I profit more, then when as vpon demand I paſſe my bond for my friend, or ſet my hand and ſeale in teſtimonie to a Teſtament, or ſhould giue my hand and ſuffrage to a Candidate in the Senate houſe? Beleeue mee, thoſe that ſeeme to doe leaſt, doe the greateſt things; for they intreate both of diuine and humane matters. But it is high time for me now to make an end, and to pay that impoſt that I owe for this Epiſtle: it ſhall not be at mine owne expence, but on *Epicurus* charges; in whom this day I read this ſentence: *Thou muſt of neceſſitie ſerue Philoſophie, to the end thou mayeſt obtaine true libertie.* He that ſubmitteth and ſubiecteth himſelfe to her, is on the inſtant made a freeman; for to ſerue her, is to beat libertie. Thou wilt thinke it ſtrange peraduenture, why I vſurpe ſo often the *Epicures* words, rather then thoſe of other men; but wherefore thinkeſt thou not that thoſe ſayings of the *Epicure* are common and publike? How many things are they, which the Poets haue written, which haue beene or ought to be ſpoken by the Philoſophers? I mention not the Tragedians nor thoſe Poemes of ours, which are called *Togatæ*; for theſe haue alſo ſome ſeueritie, and are the meane betwixt Comedies and Tragedies: how many eloquent verſes are there in vſe euen amongſt the Mimicks? How many things of *Publius*, which not only exceed the Comedies, but are worthy to bee inſerted in Tragedies? I will repeate one of his verſes, which appertaineth to Philoſophie, and to this part which now laſt of all wee debated of, wherin hee denieth that wee ought to account caſuall things our owne;

Each thing is forraine, that befals by wiſhing.

I remember this Verſe likewiſe of thine, not much better, but more ſuccinct;

It is not thine, that Fortune made thine.

Neither

Neither will I let ſlip that likewiſe which was farre better ſet downe by thee:

The good that might be giuen, may be bereſt.

I require no acquittance for theſe; for I pay thee with thine owne.

Epist. IX.

A part and explication alſo of the former: that a wiſe man ſeeketh not men, but is contented with himſelfe. What then? Not a friend alſo; yea, can he likewiſe be without him: he can loſe him, and hauing loſt him, can repaire him againe. In himſelfe is the fruit and pleaſure whilſt hee prouideth him. What, for his owne cauſe, as the Epicures thinke? No, but rather for another, whom hee may profit, for whom he may vndergoe danger, for whom he may die: the reward of vertue is it ſelfe. At length more copiouſly and ſubtilly: how farre content with himſelfe, how farre not; and in words ſome Stoicall diſtinctions.

THou deſireſt to know, whether vpon iuſt ground the Epicure in a certaine Epiſtle of his, reprehendeth thoſe that ſay, that he that is perfectly wiſe is content with himſelfe, and that for this cauſe he hath no neede of a friend: this is obiected by the Epicure to *Stilpho*, and thoſe who thinke that the impoſſibilitie of the mind is their chiefeſt good. We ſhall fall into ambiguitie, if we ſhall ſtriue ſignificantly to expreſſe the Greeke word ἀπάθειαν in one word, and call it *Impatience*. For the contrarie of that which we would expreſſe may be vnderſtood: for wee intend by this, him that deſpiſeth all ſenſe of euill, where others ſuppoſe that this is ſpoken by him that can indure no euill: ſee therefore whether it be better either to ſay an inuulnerable mind, or a mind that can indure no euill. The difference which is betwixt them and vs is this; our wiſe man ouercommeth each incommodity whatſoeuer, but feeleth the ſame; theirs hath not ſo much as a ſenſe thereof. In this we accord, we ſay that a wiſe man is contented with himſelfe, yet notwithſtanding that he will haue a friend, a neighbour, a companion, although he himſelfe ſufficeth, and in ſuch ſort ſufficeth, that ſometimes hee is contented with a part of himſelfe. For if either a ſickneſſe or enemie hath taken his hand from him, if any accident hath bereft him of his eye; that which remaineth with him ſhall ſuffice him, and as ioyfull ſhal he be in his maimed and mangled bodie, as he could be, were it whole. He had rather that he wanted nothing; neuertheleſſe hee deſireth not that which hee wanteth. Thus is a wiſe man ſo farre content with himſelfe, not that hee will be without a friend, but that he can be; which is as much to ſay, as that he beareth patiently the loſſe of a friend, without a friend he ſhall neuer be; it lieth in his power to repaire him, as ſoone as him liſteth. As *Phidias* hauing loſt one ſtatue, can ſuddenly faſhion another; ſo this good Artiſan of amitie ſuddenly ſubſtituteth another friend in the place of him that is loſt. If thou demandeſt of me, how he can ſo ſuddenly make and repaire ſo many friendſhips, I will tell thee, if this firſt of all be agreed betweene vs, that I remaine acquit of the debt of this letter. *I will ſhew thee*, ſaith Hecaton, *a means to increaſe loue without medicine, hearb, or inchantment: if thou wilt be beloued, loue.* But there is not only a pleaſure in the fruition of an old and ancient amitie, but likewiſe in the creation of a new: and the ſame difference

ference is betweene him that hath a friend alreadie gotten, and him that is a getting, as betweene the labourer when he ſoweth and when he reapeth. *Attalus* the Philoſopher was wont to ſay, that it was a far more pleaſant thing to make a friend, then to haue a friend; as it is more agreeable to a Painter to paint, then to haue finiſhed his picture. That buſie care he had in his worke, hath a wonderful content during the worke it ſelfe. He is not ſo much contented when he hath remoued his hand from the worke: he hath finiſhed: he now enioyeth the fruit of his arte, he pleaſed himſelfe with the arte it ſelfe, whilſt he painted. The youth of our children is more fruitfull vnto vs, but their infancie more ſweet. Let vs now returne to our purpoſe. A wiſe man, although he be content with himſelfe, will notwithſtanding haue a friend, if to no other end but to exerciſe his amitie, will not endure that ſo great a vertue ſhould remayne without vſe, not (as *Epicurus* ſaid in the ſame Epiſtle,) To this end to haue ſome one to aſſiſt him when he is ſicke, or to ſuccour him, if hee bee in priſon and neceſſitie, but contrariwiſe, to the end hee may haue ſome one, whom hee may aſſiſt and ſuccour being ſicke, relieue and ranſome being in need and captiuitie: Hee that reſpecteth himſelfe, and for this cauſe entertayneth friendſhip, thinketh badly; euen as he begun, ſo ſhall he end. Hee that hath purchaſed himſelfe a friend, to the intent he may be ſuccoured by him in priſon, will take his flight as ſoone as he feeleth himſelfe deliuered from his bonds. Theſe are thoſe kinds of friendſhips, which the common ſort call *Temporarie*. Hee that is made a friend for profit ſake, ſhall pleaſe as long as he may be profitable: ſo thoſe that are in felicitie, ſee themſelues inuironed with a multitude of friends; and where the diſtreſſed make their abode, there is nothing but ſolitude: for ſuch manner of friends flie thoſe places, where they ſhall be proued: from thence we ſee ſo many wicked examples of ſome forſaking for feare, of ſome betraying for feare. It is neceſſarie, that the beginning and the end haue correſpondence. Hee that hath begun to bee a friend, becauſe it is expedient, hee that hath thought that there is a gayne in friendſhip beſide it ſelfe, may well be induced and ſuborned againſt the ſame, by the offer of a greater gayne For what cauſe then doe I entertayne a friend? To the end to haue one for whom I may die, whom I may accompanie in baniſhment, and for whoſe life and preſeruation I may expoſe my ſelfe to danger and death. This which thou deſcribeſt is rather a negotiation then a friendſhip, which reſpecteth commoditie, and hath a regard to gayne. Certayne it is, that friendſhip hath in ſome ſort a ſimilitude and likeneſſe to the affections of louers. And not vnfitly may a man call this paſſion a fooliſh amitie. Doth there any man then loue for lucre ſake, or for ambition, or for glorie? loue it ſelfe of it ſelfe, neglecting all other things, enkindleth the mind with the deſire of the forme, and not without hope of mutuall friendſhip? what then, doth a wicked affection ſpring from an honeſt cauſe? This is not now in queſtion, ſayeſt thou, whether friendſhip be to be intertayned for her ſelfe, or for the loue of any other thing. For if it be to be deſired of it ſelfe, he that is content with himſelfe, may approch vnto it. How then hath hee acceſſe vnto it? as to a worthy thing, not intangled with lucre, nor terrified by the varietie of Fortune. Hee detracteth from the maieſtie of friendſhip, that entertayneth it only to better his fortunes. A wiſe man is contented with himſelfe. Diuers, my *Lucilius*, interpret this indirectly; they exclude the wiſe man from euery place, and incloſe him within himſelfe. But we muſt diſtinguiſh what and how farre this word extendeth. The wiſe man is contented with himſelfe to liue happily, but not to liue. To this diuers things are requiſite; to that

that there needeth no more then an intire and erected minde, and ſuch as deſpiſeth fortune. I will ſhew thee how *Chryſippus* diſtinguiſheth them: He ſaith that a wiſe man wanteth nothing, and yet hath neede of many things: a foole hath neede of nothing, becauſe hee can make vſe of nothing, but wanteth all things. The wiſe man hath neede of hands and eyes, and diuers other parts of him for the ordinarie vſes of life, yet neuertheleſſe he wanteth nothing: for to haue neede importeth neceſſitie; but to him that is wiſe nothing is neceſſary. Therefore although he be content with himſelfe, yet deſiſteth he not to make vſe of his friends, but deſireth to haue more, but not in regard that hee hath neede of them to liue happily, for he can liue happily without his friends. The ſoueraigne good ſeeketh not externall inſtruments, it is wholly accompliſhed in it ſelfe. It beginneth to be ſubiect vnto fortune, if it haue neede to ſeeke any part of it ſelfe out of it ſelfe. But yet what ſhall a wiſe mans life be, if hee bee left in priſon without friends, or if in ſome ſtrange countrey he be abandoned of all the world, or retained in ſome long Nauigation, or caſt on ſome deſert and vnknowne ſhore? Euen as *Iupiter* (when in the diſſolution of the world, and the confuſed mixture of the gods all into one, when the nature of things beginning to ceaſe by litle and litle) repoſeth and retireth himſelfe into himſelfe, giuen ouer to his owne thoughts: The like doth the wiſe man, hee is hidden in himſelfe; he is only with himſelfe: but whilſt it is lawfull for him to order his affaires, he is contented with himſelfe: hee marrieth a wife; hee is contented with himſelfe: hee bringeth vp children, hee is content in himſelfe; and yet would he not liue, if he ſhould liue without mankinde. No profit but a naturall inſtinct inciteth him to entertaine friendſhip: for as in other things we haue a certaine in-bred ſweetneſſe, ſo haue we of friendſhip. Euen as ſolitude is odious, ſo is companie agreeable: euen as nature aſſociateth man with man, ſo likewiſe is there a certaine inſtinct in this, that maketh vs deſirous of friendſhip; notwithſtanding although he be moſt affectionate to his friends; although hee equall and oftentimes preferre them before himſelfe, yet ſhall all his good bee incloſed, and bounded within himſelfe, and hee ſhall ſpeake as *Stilphon* did (I meane him whom *Epicurus* reproued in his Epiſtle) for hauing, vpon the ſurpriſall and taking of the Citie wherein he liued, loſt his wife and children, and himſelfe left deſolate (yet neuertheleſſe happie and content) deliuered from the publike ruine and deſolation. *Demetrius* he that was ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, that is to ſay the deſtroyer of Cities, demanded of him if he had loſt nothing. *No* (ſaid he) *I haue loſt nothing, becauſe all my goods are with mee.* Behold how this great and generous perſonage is victorious ouer the victorie of his owne proper enemie. I haue not (ſaith he) loſt any thing. He compelled him to doubt, whether he were a conqueror, or no. All my goods, ſaith he, are with me, that is to ſay, iuſtice, vertue, temperance, prudence, and eſpecially to thinke nothing good that may bee taken away. Wee wonder at ſome creatures that trauerſe the fire without any harme; how much more admirable was this man, that without loſſe or harme eſcaped both fire, ſword, and ruine? Doeſt thou ſee how farre more eaſie it is, to conquer a whole Nation then one man? This voyce is common to him with the Stoicks, who in his owne perſon beareth away his goods without hurt, thorow the middeſt of Citties burned downe, becauſe he is content in himſelfe: himſelfe is the ſcope of his owne felicitie. Thinke not that we alone are they that vtter theſe great and generous words. *Epicurus* himſelfe that reprehendeth *Stilphon*, hath ſpoken to the like effect; which take in good part, although I haue payed thee this daies rent alreadie:

die: *Whoſoeuer* (ſaith he) *ſuppoſeth not his owne ſufficient to content him, though he be the Lord of this whole World, yet is he miſerable.*. Or if thou thinke it better ſpoken in this ſort (for we muſt relye on ſenſe, not on words) *He is miſerable that thinketh not himſelf moſt happy, although he command the whole World.* And to the end thou maieſt know, that theſe ſenſes are common, which Nature infuſeth intoall in generall, thou ſhalt find that in the Cynique Poet,

He is not bleſt that thinkes himſelfe not ſo.

For what prenayleth it thee of what reckoning or eſtate thou art of, if in thine owne iudgement it ſeeme but abiect? What then mayeſt thou ſay, if he that is vnworthily rich, and hee who is Lord ouer diuers other men, but ſlaue vnto far more, calleth himſelfe happie; ſhall he be ſo? I tell thee that thou oughteſt not to regard that which he ſaith, but that which he thinketh; and not that only which he thinketh one day, but ordinarily. But doe not feare, leſt an vnworthy man ſhould enioy ſo great a good: to no one but a Wiſeman can his goods yeeld any pleaſure; all folly laboureth with lothing of it ſelfe.

Epist. X.

That ſolitude is only good to thoſe that are good, and haue profited in goodneſſe, to others otherwiſe: for wicked and fooliſh men commit moſt ſinne therein, being remoued from a Reformer, and left to themſelues. By the way ſome Precepts of Vowes, and that we ought not to conceine any thing, except that which we durſt make knowne to euery man.

SO it is, I change not mine opinion, flye the multitude, flye few, flye one. I finde not any man with whome I would haue thee to conuerſe. Conſider a little the iudgement that I haue of thee; I dare well truſt thy ſelfe to thy ſelfe. *Crates* the Auditour of that *Stilpon*, of whom I made mention in my former Epiſtle, when hee perceiued a young man walking a-part by himſelfe, asked him what hee did there all alone? I ſpeake, ſaid the young man, vnto my ſelfe. Take heed, I pray thee, replyed *Crates*, that thou ſpeake not with a wicked man. Wee are accuſtomed to obſerue thoſe that mourne and feare, when they retyre themſelues a part for feare, leaſt they abuſe their ſolitude. There is no imprudent man that ought to be left alone: for then is the time that they complot and deuiſe their euill deſignes, and ſtudie how to effect their euill intents, both to themſelues and others: then diſpoſe their vnlawfull deſires: at that time the minde diſcouereth and publiſheth that which before time their feare or ſhame enforced them to conceale: then animate they their boldneſſe, quicken they their luſts, and awaken their choler. To conclude, the onely good that ſolitude hath in it ſelfe, which is to commit nothing to any man, and to feare no reuealer, that is loſt to a Foole: for he diſcouereth and betrayeth himſelfe. Conſider thou that which I hope, or rather that which I promiſe my ſelfe of thee (for to hope is a word of vncertaine good) I find not any man with whom I could better find in my heart that thou ſhouldſt be conuerſant with, then with thy ſelfe. When I called to remembrance the high and generous Diſcourſes that I haue heard thee vtter, I reioyced in my ſelfe, and ſaid, Theſe are not words onely,

but theſe words haue their foundations; this man is not of the vulgar, hee tendeth to ſafetie. Continue then, my friend *Lucilius*, and ſpeake alwayes after this manner, liue continually thus that one thing abaſe thee not, neyther maſter thy courage. Giue thankes vnto God for the ancient Vowes thou haſt made vnto him, and recommend vnto him all the new thou haſt conceiued: aske at his hands a good mind, and firſt of all pray vnto him for the health of thy ſpirit, and next for that of thy bodie. Why ſhouldeſt thou not oftentimes make theſe Vowes vnto him? boldly beſeech God, ſince thou intendeſt to aske no thing of him that is another mans. But to the end that according to my cuſtome I may accompany this Letter of mine with ſome preſent, receiue that which I haue found to day in *Athenodorus: Then know that thou art disburdened of all euill deſires, when thou haſt attayned ſo farre, that thou demand nothing at Gods hands, but that which may be required of him openly.* For how great at this day is the madneſſe of men? They mumble betwixt their teeth ſome villanous Prayers, and are ſuddenly ſilent if any man yeeld an eare vnto them, ſuppoſing to hide that from men which they are not aſhamed to diſcouer vnto God: iudge then if this Precept ſhould not be profitable; So liue with men as if God ſaw thee, ſo ſpeake with God as if men ſhould heare thee.

A good Counſell of Hethē, taxing mens prepoſterous hearts after wealth, and with hurt of their ſoules.

O golden ſaying.

EPIST. XI.

That he hoped well of LVCILIVS *his friend, in whom appeared much ſhamefaſtnes and bluſhing. That ſame is ſometimes naturall, and cannot be ſhaken off by any Precepts, and followeth a Wiſeman alſo. Than ſometimes it appeareth in euill men, and is a ſigne of euill. Then he citeth a wholſome admonition of* EPICVRVS. *That we ought alwaies to repreſent vnto our ſelues a good man, who might reſtraine vs as a Tutor; and that wee ſhould doe and ſpeake all things as if hee were preſent.*

THat honeſt natured man thy friend hath ſpoken with mee. The firſt words he vttered, incontinently teſtified vnto me how great his hart was, and how good his ſpirit, and how much he had profited in the ſtudy he had enterprized: he left me a taſte, whereunto I aſſure my ſelfe hee will anſwere; for I haue taken him vpon the ſudden, and he hath ſpoken vnto me without preparation. When he recollected himſelfe he eaſily bluſhed, which is a good ſigne in a young man, yea, ſo bluſhed as he could not moderate it. I doubt not but when he ſhall be beſt retyred, and deſpoyled of all his vices, that then this complexion will accompany him, yea, euen then when perfect wiſdome hath poſſeſſed him. For thoſe vices which are connaturall either in minde or body, cannot bee wholly defaced by any induſtrie. That which is borne with vs may be ſweetned and corrected by Art, but neither maſtered or rooted out. It hath bin noted that the moſt aſſured men in this World, at ſuch time as they preſented themſelues before a great aſſembly, to diſcourſe of any thing, were no leſſe troubled with a cold ſweat, then they that are wearie and pant with trauell: to ſome their knees tremble, to others their teeth chatter, their tongue varies, their lips ſimper. Neither diſcipline nor vſe can wholly take from them theſe imperfections: for nature exerciſeth her force herein, and admoniſheth each one of his defects and weakneſſe, and I know that bluſhing is to bee numbred amongſt theſe things. For oft-times wee obſerue that it ſpreadeth it ſelfe, and fluſheth euen in the face of the

the graueſt men, yet is it more apparent in young men, who haue more heate and are of a ſoft nature, notwithſtanding the eldeſt are not exempt from the ſame. Some there are that are neuer ſo much to bee feared then when they bluſh, as if at that inſtant they had lauiſhed out all their ſhamefaſtneſſe. Then was *Sylla* moſt violent when his face was moſt red. There was nothing more pleaſing then *Pompeis* countenance. For hee neuer ſpake in ſolemne company without bluſhing. And I remember that *Fabianus* did as much, being ſummoned by the Senate to depoſe in a certaine matter, and herein his bluſhing did maruellouſly become him. This happeneth not thorow the feebleneſſe of the mind, but rather from the noueltie of the accident, which although it ſhake not, yet moueth it thoſe which are not accuſtomed and exerciſed, and who by a naturall facility and tenderneſſe of their bodie, are ſubiect to bluſhing. For as there are ſome who haue their bloud both good and well tempered, ſo other-ſome haue it moueable, and readie to fluſh vp into the face. No wiſdome, as I haue ſaid, can take away this infirmity, otherwiſe nature it ſelfe ſhould be ſubiect thereunto, if wiſdome had power to raze out thoſe vices which ſhe had imprinted in vs. That which attendeth vs thorow the condition of our birth, and the temperature of our bodies, when the mind hath much and long time compoſed it ſelfe, will remaine continually. Wee cannot eſchue theſe things at our pleaſures, no more then we can command them to come at our wil. The Commedians, who imitate affections, who expreſſe feare and trembling, who repreſent ſorrow, are accuſtomed to counterfeit ſhamefaſtneſſe after this manner: they caſt downe their countenance, they ſpeake ſoftly, they fix their eyes on the ground, but bluſh they cannot; for bluſhing may neither bee prohibited nor commanded. Wiſedome promiſeth nothing againſt thoſe things; profiteth nothing: ſuch things as theſe receiue no Law but from themſelues; they come againſt our wils, and depart without asking leaue. Now this Epiſtle requireth a clauſe; receiue then from me this Precept, as moſt neceſſary and behoueſull for thee, and which I wiſh thee alwayes to retaine in memory: *Wee ought to chooſe out ſome good man, and alwayes fix him before our eyes, that wee may ſo liue as if he alwayes lookt on, and doe all things as if he continually beheld vs.* This, O my friend *Lucilius*, is one of *Epicurus* Precepts. Hee intendeth to giue vs a Guardian and a Tutor, and not without cauſe. The greateſt part of ſinne is taken away, when a witneſſe is alwayes preſent with him that would offend. Let the minde therefore propoſe vnto it ſelfe ſome perſonage that hee reſpecteth, by whoſe authoritie hee may make his ſecrets more holy and more religious. Ohow happy is hee that not only reformeth his actions but his thoughts! Happy is hee that can reſpect one of that ſort, that by the onely remembrance of him hee can reforme his minde: who can reſpect in that ſort, ſhall ſuddenly bee made worthy to bee reſpected himſelfe. Chooſe therefore *Cato* (or if he ſeeme vnto thee ouer-ſharp and ſeuere) chooſe *Lelius*, who is more facile and ſweet: chooſe him whoſe life and words ſhall bee moſt agreeable vnto thee, and fixing alwayes before thine eyes his minde and countenance, take him either for thy guide or thine example. It behoueth vs to haue ſome one, according to whoſe manners we may conforme our owne. Such things as are depraued, are not corrected but by rule.

EPIST. XII.

He pleasantly discourseth of his old age, and sheweth how he was admonished thereof in his Countrey-house, but so admonished that it was without griefe. That his old age must not be tedious but pleasant, and lesse subiect to vices. That all life is short, but, whatsoeuer, to bee made ours by vse, and that hand is to bee laid thereon. Let vs daily say and thinke we haue liued.

ON which side soeuer I turne my selfe I perceiue the proofes of mine olde age: I repayred lately to my Countrey-farme, which adioyneth the Citie, and complayned of my daily expence in reparations, and my Bayliffe that had the keeping thereof answered mee, that it was not his fault, alleaging that hee had done the best that he could, but that the building was ouer-olde and ruinous; yet notwithstanding it was I my selfe that builded it, what shall I iudge of my selfe, if the stones I haue laid proue so rotten? Being touched herewith I tooke occasion to be displeased with him vpon euery first thing that encountreth mee in my walke. It well appeareth, said I, that these Plane Trees are not well laboured, they are altogether leaueleſſe, their boughes are knottie and withered, and their stockes couered with mosse and filthinesse: this would not happen if any man had digged about them, and watred them as they ought to bee. Hee sweareth by my *Genius*, that hee doth his vttermost indeuour, and that he hath neglected them in no manner, but that the Trees were olde. Then remembred I my selfe that I had planted them with mine owne hands, and seene them beare their first leafe. Turning my selfe to the doore, what decrepit fellow is that (said I) that for his age is left at the gate as dead bodies are wont to bee, for hee looketh outward? Whence came hee? What pleasure hast thou to carrie forth the carkasse of a strange man? Knowest thou mee not, saith hee? I am *Felicio* to whom thou wert wont to bring childish Gifts; I am the Sonne of *Philositus* thy Bayliffe, thy Play-fellow. Vndoubtedly, said I, this man doteth. My Darling then is become an Infant; vndoubtedly it may so be, for he is almost toothlesse. This owe I to my Farme, that my olde age appeareth vnto me which way soeuer I turne my selfe. Let vs then embrace and loue the same: it is wholly repleniſhed with agreeable delights, if a man know how to make vse of it. The Apples are neuer so good then when they begin to wither and ripen. Infancie is most agreeable in the end thereof. To those that delight in carrowsing, the last draught is most pleasant, that which drowneth him in Wine, and consummateth his drunkennesse. Whatsoeuer most contenting, all pleasure hath contayned in her selfe, is deferred till the end. The age that declineth is also most agreeable, when as yet it is not wholly decrepit and spent: neither iudge I that age, without his particular pleasure, whose foote is almost in the Graue, or this succedeth in the place of pleasure that hee needeth none. O how sweete and pleasant a thing is it to see a mans selfe discharged of all couetousnesse! But thou mayest say that it is a tedious thing, to haue death alwaies before a mans eyes: first of all this ought as well to bee presented to a young as to an olde mans eyes; for wee are not called by the Censor according to our estate, and there is none so old that hopeth not to liue at least one day longer: and one day is a degree of life; for all our age consisteth of many parts, and is a Spheare that hath diuers Circles, the one inclosed with the other.

And

And one there is that incloſeth and comprehenpeth all the reſt, which is that of the Natiuitie vntill death; another that excludeth the yeeres of youth, another that contayneth all child-hood; after theſe ſucceedeth the yeere which incloſeth all, the time by the multiplication whereof life is compoſed. In the circle of the yeere is the moneth, and in that of the moneth is the day, which is the leaſt of all: yet notwithſtanding he hath his beginning and his end, his riſe and his ſet. And for this cauſe *Heraclitus*, that was called *Scotinus*, by reaſon of the obſcuritie of his ſpeech, ſaid, that one day is like vnto another, which another hath interpreted after another manner, to wit, that one day is like to all in number of houres: and hee ſaid true; for if a day bee the time of foure and twentie houres, it is neceſſarie that they ſhould be all alike, becauſe the night hath that which the day hath loſt: another maintaineth that one day was like to all, by reaſon of the conformitie and reſemblance, for there is nothing in the ſpace of a very long time, that thou ſhalt not find in one day, to wit, the light and the night, the turnes and returnes of the heauens. The ſhortneſſe and length of the nights make theſe things more plainely appeare. Therefore ought we to diſpoſe of euery day, in ſuch ſort as if it ſhut vp the rereward of our time, and ſhould conſummate our liues. *Pacuuius* (he that vſurped ouer *Syria*) after hee had beene buried in wines, and glutted with thoſe meates, which hee had cauſed to bee richly and ſumptuouſly prepared for him, as if hee himſelfe had ſolemnized his owne obſequies, cauſed himſelfe to bee tranſported from his banquet to his bed, in ſuch manner, that amidſt the dances and clapping of hands of his curtezans, it was ſung to the Muſique, *Hee hath liued, hee hath liued:* and no day ouer-paſſed his head wherein he celebrated not his funerals after this manner. That which he did of an euill conſcience, let vs performe with a good, and addreſſing our ſelues to our reſt, let vs ioyfully and contentedly ſay,

I haue liued, and ended the courſe that Fortune gaue me.

If God vouchſafe vs the next morrow, let vs receiue the ſame with thankſgiuing. Hee is thrice happy, and aſſuredly poſſeſſed of himſelfe that expecteth the next day without care. Whoſoeuer hath ſaid, I haue liued, doth daily riſe to his profit. But now I muſt cloſe my letter: What, ſayſt thou, ſhall it come to me without any preſent? Doe not feare, it ſhall bring ſomewhat with it. Why ſaid I ſomewhat? It will be a great deale. For what can be more excellent then this ſentence, which it bringeth vnto thee? *It is an euill thing to liue in neceſſitie, but there is no neceſſitie to liue in neceſſitie: for the way that leadeth vnto liberty is on euery ſide open, ſhort, and eaſie to keepe.* Let vs giue God thanks for this, that no man can be conſtrained to liue, and that it is lawfull for euery one to treade neceſſitie vnder his feet. Thou wilt ſay, that theſe words are of *Epicurus*. What haſt thou to doe with another mans? That which is true is mine; I will perſeuer to vrge *Epicurus* vnto thee, that to the end, that they who make no reckoning but of that which ſuch a one hath ſaid, and haue no reſpect to that which is propounded, but to him that ſpeaketh may know that all good things are common.

Epist. XIII.

He excellently informeth against casualties, and encourageth against them: But especially he aduiseth vs not to be tormented with the feare of things to come; he auoweth them to be vncertaine, and such as may not fall out. He concudeth therefore that all feare is to be tempered by hope. Then addeth he this, full of farre more confidency; Do and teach things to come, they are of God, and for our good.

I Know that thou hast much courage; for before I instructed thee with wholsome Precepts,& such as subdue aduersitie, thou wert contented enough to exercise thy selfe against Fortune, and hast assured thy selfe also farre more, since thou hast made tryall of thy forces, and grapled with her hand to hand; which can neuer giue an assured proofe of themselues, but where as many difficulties shall appeare on euery side, yea, sometimes neerely assault them. In like manner a true mind, and such as will not subiect it selfe to other mens wils, approueth it selfe: this is his Touch-stone. The Wrestler cannot enter lists with an vndaunted courage, who hath neuer beene sharpely encountred and beaten. He that hath oftentimes seene his bloud shed, whose teeth haue beene shattered by a fist. He that hauing beene ouerthrowne hath made his enemie lose his footing, that being cast downe hath not lost his courage, that as oftentimes as hee hath beene foyled, recouered new footing and became more fell and furious, hee, I say, entreth the Field with the greatest assurance. And to persist in this similitude; Fortune hath oftentimes bin aboue thee, yet hast thou neuer at any time yeelded thy selfe her Prisoner, but hast alwayes restored thy selfe, and made head against her with more courage and alacritie: and in truth also a generous minde getteth ordinarily some aduantage when hee is prouoked; notwithstanding if thou thinkest it good, accept some forces from mee to strengthen and defence thy selfe more and more. Diuers things, my *Lucilius*, doe more feare then hurt vs,& oftentimes we are more troubled by opinion then effect. I reason not with thee at this time in a Stoicall Language, but somewhat more submisly and vulgarly: for wee say that all these things, which cause in vs these feares and gronings, are but light and contemptible. Let vs omit these great words, as God knowes most true. I onely admonish thee not to make thy selfe miserable before thy time, by fearing that those things are wholly neere vnto thee, which happily will neuer befall thee, or at least wise are not yet happened. Somethings therefore doe more afflict vs then they ought, some before they ought, other-some torment vs when they should not at all. Wee either augment our euils, or presuppose the same or imagine them to our selues vpon no ground at all: that first, because the matter is in controuersie, and the Pleas are already recorded; let vs deferre for the present. That which I terme light thou contendest to bee most grieuous: I doe know that some doe laugh in their tortures, others groane for a little stroke. Wee afterwards shall see whether these things are to be valued by their owne forces, or our weakenesse. First, grant mee this, that as oftentimes as thou shalt bee amongst men, that shall endeuour to perswade thee that thou art miserable, thou wilt grow into consideration with thy selfe, not of that which thou hearest, but of that which thou feelest: consult first of all with thy patience, and aske thou thy selfe, who best knoweth that which toucheth thee. Is there any euill heere, or is this thing more

more infamous then cruell? Why is it that theſe men lament my fortune? Why tremble they, as if they feared that the contagion of my misfortune ſhould attaint and torment them? Enquire of thy ſelfe, after this manner: Am I not perplexed and ſorrowfull without cauſe? Make I not that an euill which is not? How ſayeſt thou, ſhall I vnderſtand whether the things I feare be either vaine or true? Take this rule to diſcerne the ſame; either preſent, or future, or both, terrifie vs: The iudgement of the preſent is facile, if the bodie be free, healthfull, and without any griefe, cauſed by ſome iniurie done vnto thee. We ſhall ſee what ſhall happen hereafter, to day thou haſt no need to complaine. But it will come. Firſt, conſider whether there bee any certaine argu-ments of thy future misfortune; for, for the moſt part we are troubled with ſuſpicions, and afrighted by the illuſions of common report, which is accuſtomed to end whole warres, but much more particular men. Vndoubtedly ſo it is, my friend *Lucilius*, we are quickly conceited and ouer-ruled by common opinion: we checke not thoſe things which cauſe our feares, neither ſhake them off: but tremble thereat, and turne our backs like thoſe whom a cloud of duſt, raiſed by the trampling of a troupe of beaſts, putteth to flight, or thoſe that are diſmayed by a report that runneth abroad, that hath neither ground nor Author. And by miſhap, I know not, how it commeth to paſſe that falſe and fained things doe trouble vs farre more then true; for the true haue a certain meaſure, the others are deliuered vs to a wandring coniecture, and licence of the feareful mind, which is alreadie afrighted: No feares therefore are ſo pernicious, and ſo irreuocable, as thoſe that are mad and diſtracted; for all the reſt are without reaſon, but this without mind. Let vs diligently inquire vpon this buſineſſe; Is it likely ſome miſchance will happen? It is not ſtraight-waies true. How many vnexpected things haue chanced? How many expected neuer came to paſſe? And put the caſe it ſhould happen, what helpeth it to meet with a mans ſorrow? Thou ſhalt partake the paine time enough when it commeth, meane while, to promiſe to thy ſelfe ſome better ſucceſſe, ſhalt thou get time? And againe, many things may fall out, by meanes whereof the danger when it ſhall be more, yea, almoſt borne by vs, either ſhall ſubſiſt or wholly paſſe away, or happily, ſhall be diuerted on another mans head. Oft-times, the flames haue broken and giuen paſſage thorow the middeſt of their furie, to auoid themſelues. Such a one hath falne from the top of a houſe, that was ſoftly laid when he light on the ground. Sometimes, he that was expoſed to his laſt puniſhment, hath beene ſaued euen in the verie attempt of execution, and ſome haue ſuruiued to burie thoſe who ſhould haue beene their hang-men: euill fortune it ſelfe is neuer without her inconſtancie and leuitie. It may bee the miſchance ſhall come, it may be it ſhall not come; and meane while, that is not come, at leaſt, propoſe vnto thy ſelfe, that better fortune may befall thee. Sometimes, it happeneth, that euen then when there is no appearance of euill preſage, the mind faineth to it ſelfe falſe imaginations, or interpreteth ſome word of a doubtfull ſignification to the worſt, or propoſeth to it ſelfe the indignation and diſpleaſure of ſome one greater then he is, and dreameth not how much he is incenſed, but how much he may, if ſo be he be prouoked. But there is no cauſe of life, no meaſure of miſerie, if a man feare as much as he may feare. It behoueth, contrariwiſe, to reiect and contemne the feare it ſelfe, which is attended euerie way with apparant occaſions. If care let prudence profit, here likewiſe, by ſtrength of mind, refuſe feare: driue away one vice by another, and, if not, temper feare by hope. There is nothing ſo certaine of all that which a man

a man may feare, that is not alſo more certaine, that the things that are feared may fleet away & vaniſh, and thoſe that are hoped for, deceiue. Ballance therefore thy feare with thy hope; and if there be doubt on all ſides, beleeue that which beſt liketh thee, and thou couldeſt deſire ſhould fall out; and although thou ſhalt haue more and more probable appearances for to feare, notwithſtanding, diſpoſe thy ſelfe to fauour the better part, and ceaſe to afflict thy ſelfe. Diſcourſe alwaies in thy vnderſtanding, that the greateſt part of mortall men are troubled and perplexed in themſelues for a thing wherein there is no euill, neither can there be any euill, and the reaſon hereof is, becauſe no man reſiſteth himſelfe when he beginneth to be ſhaken and aſſaulted. For no man reſiſteth himſelfe when he beginneth to be inforced, neither reduceth his feare vnto truth. No man ſaith, The Author is vaine, a vaine man hath either framed or beleeued it. We yeeld our ſelues wholly to him that firſt commeth and reporteth any thing vnto vs: we feare the incertaine as certaine, neither can we keepe any meaſure. A doubt doth incontinently become feare. But I am aſhamed to talke after this manner with thee, and to applie vnto thee ſo ſleight remedies: when any other man ſhall ſay vnto thee, be confident, that which thou feareſt ſhall not befall thee, ſay thou quite contrarie: and when it ſhall happen, what of that? Perhaps it ſhall be for my good and aduantage if it happen, and this death ſhall doe honour to my life. *Hemlock* made *Socrates* great. Wreſt from *Cato* the ſword that aſſured his libertie, and thou ſhalt detract from him the greateſt part of his glorie. True it is, that I am too tedious in exhorting thee, who haſt no need to be exhorted, but inſtructed and admoniſhed onely. Theſe are not contrarie to thy nature, thou art borne to accompliſh all that which we ſpeake of; and by ſo much more oughteſt thou to bee carefull, to augment and beautifie the graces that nature hath giuen thee. But now will I make an end of my Epiſtle, as ſoone as I haue ſigned it with ſome high and generous ſentence, to be conuayed vnto thee: *Amongſt other euills, folly properly hath likewiſe this, that it beginneth alwaies to liue.* Conſider, worthie *Lucilius*, what theſe things ſignifie, and thou ſhalt vnderſtand how loathſome mens leuitie is, who are alwaies occupied to proiect new foundations of life, and in their laſt time bethinke them of new hopes If thou caſt thine eye on euery man, thou ſhalt meet with old men that addreſſe themſelues to ambition, trauell, and negotiations. And what is there more abſurd, then for an old man to begin to liue? I would not alledge the Author of this ſentence, if that it were not one of the moſt ſecret, and not couched amongſt the vulgar ſpeeches of *Epicurus*, which I haue permitted my ſelfe both to vſurpe and adopt as mine owne.

EPIST. XIIII.

A moſt wiſe Epiſtle. He admoniſheth that care muſt be had of the bodie and of life, but not too much: but that three things are feared touching the bodie; Pouertie, Sickeneſſe, and Violence, but eſpecially this laſt, which proceedeth from powerfull men and tyrants: To the end thou mayeſt not feare, three things are to be auoyded; Hatred, Enuie, and Contempt. But how wiſedome ſhall inſtruct, and in ſhort words he.

I Confeſſe that nature hath imprinted in euery one of vs an affection and care of his owne perſon. I confeſſe that our bodie is vnder our tutely and protection. I deny not but that we ought to vſe ſome indulgence in the behalfe thereof, I deny that we ought to ſerue it. For he ſhall be a ſlaue to many, that will be ſlaue to his owne bodie, that feareth too much for the ſame, that referreth all things vnto it: So ought we to carrie our ſelues, not as though it behoued vs to liue for our bodie; but as if we might not liue without the ſame. The too tender affection we beare vnto it, diſquieteth vs with feares, chargeth vs with diuers thoughts, and expoſeth and ſubiecteth vs to diſgraces. Honeſtie is baſe to him, that maketh too much account of his bodie. Reaſon it is, that it be kept carefully, yet ſo, as when reaſon, honour, and faith requireth it, a man be readie to caſt it into the middeſt of a fire. Let vs flie notwithſtanding as much as in vs lieth, not onely the dangers, but the incommodities. Let vs retire vs into a place of ſecuritie, thinking hourely, by what meanes we may ſeparate from vs thoſe things which are to be feared; of which (if I deceiue not my ſelfe) there are three ſorts: we feare pouertie, we feare ſickneſſe, we feare thoſe things that may befall vs, through the violence of the mightie. Of all theſe three, is no one thing more that ſhaketh vs, then that which hangeth ouer vs from another mans greatneſſe, for that commeth with a great noyce and tumult. The naturall euils which I haue reckoned vp, ſuch as are pouerties and infirmities, doe ſilently aſſault vs: they neither affright our eyes nor our eares, but the other miſchiefe marcheth forth with greater pompe. Hee hath about him fire, ſword, and bonds, and a troupe of greedy wild beaſts to glut themſelues on our entrailes. So many priſons, ſo many gallowſes, ſo many rackes and hookes, and the ſtakes which men are ſplitted on, the tortures of drawing a man with wilde horſes, and ſuch other types of tyrannie, the varietie whereof is ſo great, and the preparation ſo terrible. No maruell though they bring much feare with them: for euen as the hang-man, the more inſtruments of torture he preſenteth to the condemned, the more he afflicteth him; ſo amongſt thoſe things that ſurcharge and wound our minds, thoſe haue the greateſt force that preſent the moſt obiects to the eye. This is not to inferre, that other plagues, I meane, famine, thirſt, vlcers, and impoſtumes of the inwards, and the feuer which drieth and burneth our bowels, are not as tedious and painfull, but that they are hidden, hauing nothing that may produce, or cauſe to march before them. Theſe are great armies, obtaine the entry by the greatneſſe of their ſhow and preparation Let vs therefore indeuour and abſtaine from offences. Sometimes the people are thoſe whom we ought to feare; ſometimes, if the diſcipline of the Citie be ſuch, that diuers things are concluded by the Senate, ſome gratious men therein, or ſome one particular man that beares the ſway of the Com-

Common-wealth, and hath the gouernement ouer the people. To haue all theſe thy friends is too difficult, it is enough for thee that thou haſt them not thine enemies. A wiſe man therefore will neuer prouoke the diſpleaſure of the mightie, but rather will decline the ſame in ſuch ſort, as in ſayling. When thou ſhippedſt for *Sicily*, thou diddeſt cut ouer the Sea. The vnaduiſed Maſter of thy ſhip contemned the threatning Southernly winds, which is that wind which exaſperateth the *Sicilian* Seas, and driueth on the ſhoales and whirlpooles; hee ſhapeth not his ourſe by the left ſhore, but ſaileth by that ſhore which is neerer *Charibdis*. But ſome other, more wary, enquireth of ſuch as are skilfull in thoſe places, of the nature of the Sea, and of the ſignes which the clouds import, and ſhapeth his courſe farre alooſe from that region ſo infamed for whirlepooles. In like ſort doth the wiſe-man, he flyeth that power which may hurt him, hauing an eſpeciall regard to this, that he ſeeme not to flie them: for the greateſt part of ſecuritie conſiſteth in this, to make no ſhow or appearance to ſearch the ſame; becauſe that thoſe things which a man flieth, he condemneth. We muſt therefore looke about vs, how we may be ſecure from the common ſort, which we ſhall bring to paſſe, if firſt of all we couet not any of thoſe things, which ſet competitors together by the eares; and then, if we haue not any thing, that by appearance of profit may make vs ſubiect to treacheries: I alſo counſaile thee, that thou haue not any thing in thy bodie that thou mayeſt be ſpoyled of. No man thirſteth after a mans bloud onely, or at leaſtwiſe verie few. The greater ſort, rather hunt after the prize, then the life. A naked man walketh freely before the theefe; and, in a dangerous paſſage, a poore man findeth no man to bid him ſtand. Afterwards, it behoueth thee, according to the ancient precept, to endeuour thy ſelfe to auoid three things; that is, to be hated, enuied, and deſpiſed. Wiſedome onely can ſhew vs how this may be effected, otherwiſe it is a hard thing, and much to be feared, leſt diſtruſt of enuie bring vs into contempt, leſt whilſt we will not be trod vpon, we ſeeme able to be trod on. It hath beene a cauſe of much feare to many, by hauing power to be feared. Let vs euery way retire our ſelues: It is no leſſe harmefull to be contemned then to be admired at. Let vs therefore haue recourſe vnto Philoſophie, the inſtructions whereof ſhall be as markes of dignitie vnto vs, not onely with good men, but ſuch alſo as are indifferently euill: for eloquence, and ſuch other profeſſions, which tend to moue the common ſort, haue their aduerſarie; but this is peaceable and retired, and ſuch as intermixeth it ſelfe with nothing but it ſelfe: it cannot be contemned, which is reſpected by all other arts, yea and honoured by the moſt wicked. Neuer ſhall vice obtaine ſo great force, neuer ſhall any conſpire ſo much againſt vertue, but that the name of Philoſophie ſhall alwaies remaine holy and venerable; yet muſt Philoſophie it ſelfe be moderately and peaceably handled. What therefore ſayeſt thou? wilt thou eſteem that *Marcus Cato* philoſophied modeſtly, who repreſſed the ciuill warres by his counſaile, who thruſt himſelfe amidſt the armies of two inraged Princes, wheras ſome diſpleaſed *Pompey*; otherſome, *Cæſar*, who feared not to offend them both at once. Can any man reſolue, whether a wiſe-man ſhould vndertake the gouernement of a Common-weale at this time? What pretendeſt thou do, *Cato?* The title of liberty is not now in queſtion; for long time before it was troden vnder foot: the queſtion is onely whether of theſe two, either *Cæſar* or *Pompey*, ſhall be maſter of the Common-weale: what haddeſt thou todoe with this quarrell? Thou haddeſt no part herein; the queſtion was, to chuſe a Soueraigne: What could it auaile thee,

which

which of them it were that conquered: The better cannot conquer, and hee may be the worſt that ſhall be ſubdued; he cannot be the better that getteth the matterie. I haue touched the laſt parts of *Cato's* life, but neither were his former yeares euer ſuch, that it was conuenient for a wiſe-man to intermeddle with the Common-weale, which was already expoſed for a prey. For what other thing did he but exclaime, and caſt out vnprofitable ſpeeches, whilſt the people taking him vp, plaid with him like a foot-ball, ſpit in his face, and drew him perforce out of his place, and from the Senate-houſe ledde him vnto priſon? But we ſhall ſee hereafter, whether a wiſe-man ought to imploy his labor in a place where it ſhould be vtterly loſt? Meane while I recall thee to theſe Stoicks, who excluded from the Common-weale, retired themſelues to reform mens liues, and to make lawes for all mankinde, without incurring the indignation of the mightie. A wiſe-man will not trouble publique cuſtomes, and cauſe himſelfe to be pointed at, through the ſtrangeneſſe of his life. What then? ſhall he that followeth this courſe be wholly ſafe and ſecured? No more may a man promiſe this, then health to a temperate man, and yet temperance entertaineth and cauſeth the ſame. Some ſhip is loſt in the Harbour, but what thinkeſt thou will happen in the middeſt of the Sea: How much more at hand ſhould his danger be, that intermedleth with many affaires, and complotteth more, who cannot aſſure himſelfe, no not in his ſolitude? The innocent are ſometimes condemned, who denieth it? but the faultie farre more often. His art coſteth him deare, that is harmed by the verie ornaments of art. Finally, the wiſe-man regardeth that which is moſt expedient in euerie thing, and not the ſucceſſe: for the beginnings are in our hands of the euents fortune iudgeth, whom I will not permit to cenſure me, yet will it bring ſome vexation and aduerſitie. The thiefe is not condemned but when hee killeth. But I perceiue thou ſtretcheſt out thy hand to receiue a rent which this letter ſhould bring thee, I will pay thee in gold: ſee thou how the vſe and fruition of the ſame may be more gratefull vnto thee; *He moſt of all poſſeſſeth riches, that leaſt needeth them.* Tell me, thou wilt ſay, who is the Author? That thou mayeſt know how bontifull I am, I intend to praiſe another mans; it is either *Epicurus* or *Metrodorus* ſaying, or ſome one of that Sect: what skilleth it who ſpake it? he ſpake to all men. He that wanteth riches, feareth for them: but no man enioyeth a good that breedeth feare: whilſt he thinketh to encreaſe the ſame, he forgetteth the vſe of them; it behoueth him alwaies to haue the counters in his hand, to aſſiſt at the burſſe time, and viſit his bookes of account: briefly, of a Maſter he becommeth a Factor.

EPIST. XV.

Exerciſe tendeth to the care of the bodie; but let it not be laborious or troubleſome: eaſie and ſhort ſufficeth, as running, leaping, carriage of the bodie, intention of the voyce. A clauſe from the Epicure, to the end that life ſhould not be deferred, content thee with the preſent.

THe Ancients had a cuſtome, which hath been obſerued as yet to my time, to begin their letters with theſe words; *If thou art in health, it is well:* In like ſort may I ſay, and that not amiſſe. If thou attendeſt thy Philoſophy, I am glad of it, for that in truth is to be in health, without it the mind is ſicke, and the bodie alſo not-

notwithstanding it be strong and able: for it is no otherwise healthie then as a man might say, the bodie of one that is madde and troubled with the frensie. Haue care therefore especially of this first health, afterwards of the second, which will not cost thee much, if thou behaue thy selfe wisely. For it is an vnseemely thing for a man that trauelleth to obtaine wisedome, to imploy himselfe in exercising his armes, to feed himselfe fat and to strengthen his sides. When thou shalt make thy selfe fleshy and brawny to the vttermost thou canst imagine, yet neither in force or waight shalt thou equall a fat and growne Oxe. Besides this, the mind being choaked vp with the great charge of thy bodie, is farre lesse agile and quicke of conceit. Containe therefore and restraine thy bodie the most that thou mayest, to the end thou mayest giue a fayrer and more spacious place and harbor vnto thy mind. They that are ouer-carefull of the same, draw after them diuers incommodities: first of all, the trauell of exercise spendeth the spirit, and disableth it to apprehend the studie of the most secret and hidden secrets. And they lead with them a traine of most dangerous reuolts and debauchments, as that foule and vilainous custome of men, occupied betweene the wine and the oyle, in whose opinion the day is happily passed, if they haue sweat well; and if in stead of that which is exhaled by sweat, they haue anew repleniſhed their emptie stomacks with store of another liquor. To drinke and sweat is the life of him that is subiect to the *Cardiacus*. There are certaine kindes of exercise, which are easie and short, which loose and supple the bodie, without great losse of time, to which we ought to haue a principall regard. These exercises are to runne, to beare some weight in the hands, and to shake them, to leape, or vault on high, or that leape which is called the Fullers leape. Chuse of all these which thou wilt: the vse will make it easie vnto thee: whatsoeuer thou doest, retire suddenly from thy body to thy mind, and exercise the same day and night. He is nourished and entertained with a litle labour: neither cold nor heat doth hinder her exercise, no not old age it selfe. Trauell therefore carefully after this good, which is bettered by waxing old, yet will I not alwaies that thou hang ouer thy booke, or that thy hand be continually labouring on thy tables. There must some intermission be granted to the mind, yet so, that it be not giuen ouer altogether, but remitted onely. The carriage of a man in a Litter, or otherwise, stirreth the bodie, but hindereth not the studie. Thou mayest read, dictate, speake, and heare also in walking. Contemne not also the eleuation of thy voyce, which I forbid thee to raise by certaine degrees and manners, and afterwards to depresse. Againe, if thou wilt learne at such time as thou walkest, admit those whom hunger hath taught new cunnings: some there be that will temper thy pace, and obserue thy mouth as thou eatest, and will proceed so farre, as by the leuitie of thy patience thou shalt giue way to their boldnesse; what then? shall thy voyce and discourse begin with clamorous accents, and in the entrance be most violently enforced? Vndoubtedly, it is a thing so naturall to raise the voyce by little and little, that such as plead are ordinarily accustomed to begin their discourse in an humble and submisse manner, and to prosecute the same with a more liuely and lowder accent. No man at the first imploreth the mercie of the Iudges. Howsoeuer therefore the force of thy mind shall perswade thee sometimes to exclaime on vices vehemently, sometime more moderately, according as thy voyce and force shall enable thee: when thou hast humbled the same, and drawne it to a lower straine pitch, so let it fall that it faile not: let it bee tempered according to the abilitie and discretion of the speaker, and not

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breake out after a ruſticke and vnciuill manner. For it is not our intention to exerciſe the voyce, but our mind is, that our voyce ſhould exerciſe vs. I haue diſburthened thee of no ſmall buſineſſe of requitall, now will I adde a gratefull office to theſe benefits. Behold, a worthie precept: *The life of a fooliſh man is ingrate, and full of feare, and wholly tranſported with the expectation of future things.* But who, ſayſt thou, ſpeaketh after this manner? The ſame that ſpake before. Now what life is that which in thy opinion may be called fooliſh, that of *Babe* and *Ixion*, the noted fooles of our time? It is not ſo. No, it is called our life, whom blinded couetouſneſſe caſteth head-long vpon thoſe things which torment vs, or at leaſt whiles neuer content vs, to whom if any thing had been ſufficient, already it ſhould be, who conſider not how pleaſant a thing it is to demand nothing, and how magnificent a thing it is to be full in himſelfe, and not to hold or acknowledge any thing from fortune. Remember thy ſelfe therefore euery houre, friend *Lucilius*, how great thoſe things are to which thou haſt attained hitherto, when thou haſt beheld thoſe men that march before thee, behold alſo thoſe that march after. If thou wilt not be vngratefull towards God, and towards thine owne life, conſider how many thou leaueſt behind thee. But why compare I thee with others? Thou haſt, if thou obſerueſt thy ſelfe well, gone beyond thy ſelfe. Prefix thy ſelfe certain bounds which thou wilt not exceed, or breake, although thou mighteſt. The flattering and deceiuable bleſſings, and ſuch as proue better to thoſe that hope for them then thoſe that enioy them, will vaniſh in the end. If there were any ſolid thing in them, they would ſomtime ſatisfie vs: now, contrariwiſe, they inuite vs to taſte them onely for their appearance; and the more a man taſteth, the more is he altered. But that which the incertaine fate of future time carrieth with it ſelfe, why ſhould I rather intreat fortune to beſtow vpon me, or my ſelfe not to demand the ſame? And why in demanding the ſame ſhould I forget the frailty of mankind? Shall I hoord vp wealth? To what? Shall I take paines? Behold, here the laſt day, or if it be not, it is the next neighbour to the laſt.

Epist. XVI.

That Philoſophy is neceſſary to life; but that is the true only which is in action and proficient. Diſpoſe by that time actions and counſailes. It skilleth not whether fate or fortune be: for Philoſophie teacheth to obey God, and contemne fortune and caſualties. There is a clauſe likewiſe of Epicvrvs. *He that liueth according to Nature, is rich. Deſpiſe opinion.*

I Know, friend *Lucilius*, that thou vnderſtandeſt that no man can liue happily, nay, ſcarcely tollerably, without the ſtudie of wiſedome, and that the life is made happie by the perfection of the ſame, and tollerable by her onely beginning. But it ſufficeth not onely that thou know this, it behoueth thee alſo to imprint it in thy ſoule, and aſſure the ſame by continuall contemplation. For there is leſſe to doe to propoſe a thing which is honeſt, then to conſerue the ſame, when a man hath propoſed the ſame to himſelfe. Thou muſt perſeuer, and by continuall diligence adde ſtrength, till that which is now only a good will, may become an habituall good mind. Thou needeſt not therefore to court me with many affirmatiue and long diſcourſes: for I know that thou haſt profited very much.

I know from what mind the things thou writeſt doe proceed, and that they are neither fained nor diſguiſed: yet will I tell thee freely mine opinion. I haue alreadie ſome hope of thee, but not as yet an entire aſſurance; and if thou wilt beleeue, thou ſhalt conceiue no otherwiſe of thy ſelfe. Beleeue not thy ſelfe ſo ſuddenly and ſo eaſily. Sound and obſerue thy ſelfe, and aboue all things, ſee whether thou haſt profited either in thy ſcience or in thy life it ſelfe. Philoſophie is no vulgar craft, neither is it for oſtentation: It conſiſteth not in words, but in deedes. She muſt not be made vſe of to paſſe the time withall, or extinguiſh the tediouſneſſe of idleneſſe. She it is that formeth and conformeth the mind, that diſpoſeth life, and guideth our actions, and ſheweth vs what we ought either to flye or follow. She it is that guideth the helme, and directeth their courſe that ſaile amidſt the ſhoales and rockes of this life: without her no man is aſſured. Daily and hourely there fall out innumerable things which require counſell, which no man may receiue from any other, but her ſelfe. But ſome one may ſay, whereto ſerueth Philoſophie, if there be a deſtinie or a God that ruleth all things, or a Fortune that commandeth ouer all men? For ſuch things as are certaine cannot be changed, and againſt thoſe that are vncertaine what prouiſion may be made, if God hath pre-occupated all the deliberations of men? If alreadie he hath determined that which ought to be done? or if fortune permitteth nothing vnto my counſaile? whatſoeuer be of all this, or if all this were ſo, we muſt, my *Lucilius*, intend Philoſophie, whether that deſtinie detaine vs captiues to her irreuocable lawes, or God the Gouernour of the world, diſpoſeth of all things; or Fortune confuſedly enforceth, or altereth humane affaires, Philoſophie muſt be our retreat. She will exhort vs to obey God willingly, and to reſiſt Fortune conſtantly: ſhe will teach thee to follow God, and to beare with caſualties. But we are not now to call in queſtion, whether we haue any intereſt, and whether prouidence be in our will or power, or whether fate with ineuitable bonds draweth vs to his ſubiection, or any ſudden or caſuall power be our abſolute Miſtris. I returne to exhort thee not to ſuffer thy ſelfe to waxe cold, or permit this heat and conſtancie of thy mind to be weakened. Entertaine the ſame in ſuch ſort, that the viuacitie and agilitie that at this preſent is contained therein, may grow into a habitude. I know that from the beginning (if I know thee well) thou haſt curiouſly obſerued, whether this Epiſtle brought thee any preſent. Peruſe it well, and thou ſhalt find it: Thou needeſt not maruell at me. I continue ſtill to be liberall of other mens goods; but why ſaid I, others? whatſoeuer is well ſpoken by any man, is mine: So that alſo which is ſpoken by the Epicure: *If thou liueſt according to nature, thou ſhalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion, thou ſhalt neuer be rich: nature hath need but of a little, opinion of infinite.* Be it thou wert Lord of all that wealth which many mighty men poſſeſſe, or that fortune enricheth thee beyond the meaſure of a priuate man; although ſhe couered thee with gold, and cloathed thee in purple, & brought thee to that height of delights & riches, that thou mighteſt couer the earth with marble, and not onely poſſeſſe riches, but tread on them: adde hereunto pictures and ſtatues, and whatſoeuer elſe; thou ſhalt learne from thoſe to couet alwaies more. Our naturall deſires are limited; thoſe that are deriued from falſe opinion haue no end: for there is no limit frō a falſe ground; to him that goeth in the right way, there is an end; error is infinite. Retire thy ſelfe therefore from vaine things, and when thou wouldeſt know, whether that thou askeſt, haue a naturall or blind deſire, conſider whether it may reſt any where: if the neerer thou approcheſt it, the farther daily it flieth from thee, be aſſured it is not according to nature.

Epist. XVII.

That Philoſophie is not to be deferred, but, all other things layde aſide, to bee embraced. But I ſhall bee poore. What if this were to bee wiſhed for? Thou ſhalt play the Philoſopher more freely. Nature deſireth but a little, and that ſhall not be wanting. A clauſe. To him that accounteth pouertie grieuous, riches will be likewiſe burthenſome, for the defect is in the minde.

CAſt away all theſe things if thou beeſt wiſe, or rather to the end thou mayeſt be wiſe: then addreſſe thy ſelfe ſpeedily and with all thy power to get a good mind. If any thing detaine thee, eyther vnbind thee out of the bond, or breake it. I am (thou wilt ſay) hindered by my home-affaires: I will take ſuch a courſe that my reuenue may maintaine me, without doing any thing; to the end that pouertie may not be a hinderance to me, nor I to any other. Whilſt thou ſayeſt this, thou ſeemeſt not to know the power and ſtrength of that good whereof thou thinkeſt. Thou ſeeſt generally and in ſumme, how much Philoſophie is profitable to thee; but thou doſt not ſubtilly examine all her parts, neither knoweſt thou yet how much ſhee helpeth vs, and in what ſort ſhee may ſuccour vs in great affaires (that I may vſe *Tullies* words) and in what ſort ſhee aſſiſteth vs in great things, and applyeth her ſelfe to the leſſe things. Beleeue me, take aduice of her, ſhe will counſell thee not to buſie thy ſelfe about thine accounts. All then that thou ſearcheſt, is to exempt thy ſelfe from pouertie; and what wilt thou ſay if it be deſirable? Riches haue hindered many men from ſtudying Philoſophie: pouertie is alwaies free, is alwaies ſafe. When the enemies trumpet ſoundeth, the poore man knowes well that the alarme threatneth not him: In a ſupriſe, or yeelding vp of a towne for loſt, he takes no care how to get away, or what to carrie with him: If he muſt needs make a voyage by Sea, no man attendeth him at his entrance, nor at his launching forth: He hath not ſo great a troupe of ſeruants to attend him, that he muſt needes nouriſh them vpon the fertilitie of a forraine Countrey. For it is eaſie to fill a few bellies, and well taught, that deſire but to be filled: it coſteth little to appeaſe hunger; but a daintie mouth too much. Pouertie is contented with the ſatisfaction and ſupply of her neceſſitie: Why then wilt thou refuſe to make her thy companion, whoſe manners the richeſt themſelues doe imitate? If thou deſireſt to enioy the freedome of thy minde, either it behoueth thee to be poore, or like a poore man. A man cannot profit in this ſtudie without the care of frugalitie, which is a voluntarie pouertie. Lay then apart all theſe excuſes; ſay not that thou haſt not as yet all that which thou haſt need of, and that if thou mighteſt compaſſe that ſumme, thou wouldeſt retire thy ſelfe from the world, to conſecrate thy ſelfe wholly vnto Philoſophie. But contrariwiſe, ſhe it is that ought eſpecially to be ſought after, which thou deferreſt and ſeekeſt to attaine laſt of all. By her it is by whom thou oughteſt to begin. I will, ſayeſt thou, recouer whereupon to liue: Learne then afterwards how thou oughteſt to get; if any thing hinder thee from liuing well, nothing hindereth thee from dying well. There is no reaſon that pouertie ſhould recall vs from Philoſophie, no not neceſſitie it ſelfe. Wee ought in her behalfe endure hunger, which diuers men haue voluntarily endured in ſieges.

As if the onely price of this patience was not to yeeld it ſelfe to the diſcretion of the conquerour: How much more great is that by which a perpetuall libertie is promiſed, and an aſſurance neither to be affrighted by God nor man? Sometimes hunger inforceth vs to this. Whole armies haue ſuffered extreame neceſſitie, yea, ſo great as to feede vpon the rootes of hearbes, and to ſupport an horrible famine; and all this ſuffered they (to make the wonder the more) to get a Kingdome, and that which is more ſtrange, for another mans ſeruice: who then will doubt to endure pouertie, and ſo free the mind from madneſſe? There needeth not any preparation for maintenance before hand. A man may attaine vnto Philoſophie without prouiſion and ſupplies. But touching thy ſelfe, thou wilt attaine thereunto after all other things, thou eſteemeſt it for the laſt inſtrument of life, or to ſpeake more aptly, the acceſſion. Contrariwiſe, whether it be that thou haſt any thing, aptly thy ſelfe vnto her (for whence mayeſt thou know whether alreadie thou haſt ſo much?) or be it thou haſt nothing at all, ſeeke after her the rather, and more then any other thing. Feare not, the want of any neceſſarie ſupplies; Nature is contented with a little, to which let a Wiſe-man accommodate himſelfe: And if happily extreame neceſſitie doe ſurcharge him, he ſhall eſcape from this life, and ſhall ceaſe to be troubleſome to himſelfe. And if he haue wherewith to weare out and prolong the ſame, he will take it in good part, and will no further endeuour himſelfe, but for thoſe things that are neceſſarie: he will beſtow that on his belly, and his backe, which appertaineth vnto them, and being content with himſelfe, ſhall laugh at the occupations of the rich, and the goings and commings of thoſe who ſweat to get riches, and ſhall ſay, To what end ſearcheſt thou the longer way? Wherefore expecteſt thou the gaine of thy Vſurie, or the ſucceſſion of ſome old man, or the profit of merchandize, if thou canſt become rich ſuddenly. It concerneth thee no more but to recouer wiſdome, ſhe will pay thee before-hand, and giueth riches to whomſoeuer ſhee maketh them ſeeme to be ſuperfluous. But this were good payment for another man; for thine owne part, thou art rich, diſcharge thy ſelfe therefore, for thou haſt too much. In euery age ſhalt thou find that which is ſufficient. I might in this place end my Letter, if I had not taught thee an euill cuſtome. A man may not ſalute the Kings of *Parthia* without a preſent: but to thee a man may not bid adieu, *gratis*. I will therefore borrow of *Epicurus*, to pay thee: *To many, the obtaining of riches hath not beene the end, but the change of their miſerie.* Hereat wonder I not; for vice is not in the things themſelues, but in the mind. The ſame occaſion made riches tedious, that made pouertie grieuous. Euen as it is all one to put a ſicke man into a bedde of Wood, or into a bedde of Gold, becauſe that into what place ſoeuer he be remoued, he beareth alwaies his griefe with him. In like manner, there is no difference to thruſt a ſicke mind into riches, or into pouertie, becauſe his euill alwaies followeth him.

EPIST. XVIII.

That a Wiſe-man temperately behaueth himſelfe in publique Riots, and is tainted little or nothing with their manners. Howſoeuer, that it is profitable ſome dayes to abſtaine, ſpare, and reſemble the poore, it is afore exerciſe, to trie pouertie if it come ſo. A clauſe from EPICVRVS: *Wrath aſſiſteth madneſſe.*

DEcember is a moneth wherein all the Citie is much buſied; euerie one in publique giueth way to laſciuiouſneſſe, each eare is filled with the rumour and report of thoſe preparations which are made to ryot with, as if the time were extraordinary, and that there were ſome difference betwixt the Saturnals and other working daies. So little difference is there, that in my opinion hee ſeemeth to haue no way erred, that ſaith, that in times paſt December was a moneth, but that now it is a yeare. If I had thee here, I would willingly inquire of thee, what in thine opinion ought to be done, whether we ſhould change any thing of our ordinarie cuſtome, or if (leſt we ſhould ſeeme to diſtaſte the common faſhion) we ſhould frolique, and ſup merrily, and caſt off our gownes: for that which was not wont to be done but in times of tumult, and in the turbulent eſtate of the Citie, for pleaſure, and the holy-dayes ſake, we changed our garment. If I knew thee well, the matter being committed to thy iudgement; neither wouldeſt thou permit that in all things we ſhould reſemble the round-cap multitude; neither alſo in euery ſort to be vnlike vnto them, except happily in theſe daies eſpecially, we ought to command our minds to retire themſelues, and to abſtaine from pleaſures, wherein all the world is ſo diſordered: He receiueth a more certaine proofe of his owne conſtancie, that neither yeeldeth nor ſuffereth himſelfe to be tranſported by adulations, or by ſuch things as inuite him to ſuperfluitie. It is a thing more manly, and worthie a noble mind, to be ſober alone, at ſuch time as all the people ſurfeiteth in drunkenneſſe. This hath more temperance and diſcretion in it ſelfe, if a man containe himſelfe from the infirmities and filthineſſe of other men: In briefe, if in laughing and diſporting himſelfe, he ſurfeit not in exceſſe as other men doe. For a man may celebrate a Feſtiuall-day without drunkenneſſe. But ſo am I pleaſed to tempt the conſtancie of thy mind, that according to the counſailes of many great men, I aduiſe thee to chuſe out certaine daies, wherein thou mayeſt content thy ſelfe with the leaſt, and cheapeſt diet, and mayſt cloath thy ſelfe in a hard and courſe garment: Say to thy ſelfe, Is this that which the world ſo much feared? In the fulneſſe of thy ſecuritie, let thy mind prepare it ſelfe vnto aduerſities, and againſt fortunes iniuries, confirme it ſelfe euen in the height of her fauors. In the midſt of peace, the ſouldier, hauing no enemie, exerciſeth himſelfe, carueth earth, and wearieth himſelfe with ſuperfluous labor, to the end he be more able and exerciſed when time requireth. If thou deſireſt a man ſhould not feare vpon any occurrence, exerciſe him before hand to the accident. They that euery moneth exerciſe themſelues in imitation of pouertie, haue profited ſo farre as not to feare pouertie it ſelfe, which they ſo oftentimes had both entertained and apprehended. Thinke not now that I command thee to go ſomtimes and take an ill ſupper with a poore man, contenting thy ſelfe with his bread and wine, or whatſoeuer elſe it is, whereby luxurie ſmootheth ouer, and

playeth with the tediousnesse of riches. I aduise thee that both thy bedde and thy apparell be truely poore, and that thy bread be stale and mouldie, and that thou entertaine this hard pittance for three or foure daies: yea, sometimes more, to the end it may be vnto thee, not as a pastime but as a proofe. Then beleeue me, my *Lucilius*, thou shalt leap for ioy, when being satisfied with a little, thou shalt vnderstand that to satisfie our selues we haue no need of fortune, for that which sufficeth necessitie, she oweth vs in spite of her displeasure, yet hast thou no reason in accomplishing all this, to perswade thy selfe that thou hast done much: for what doest thou that many thousand slaues and beggars doe not daily? All the honor thou canst giue thy selfe, is that thou doest it voluntarily. It shall be as easie for thee to endure it alwaies, as to attempt it sometimes. Let vs therefore prepare our selues to all casualties, lest fortune surprise vs vnprouided. Let vs make pouertie familiar vnto vs: wee shall be more assuredly rich, if we know that it is no grieuous matter to be poore. That Master of pleasure, *Epicurus*, had certaine daies wherein he very sparingly and niggardly represſed his hunger, to proue if any thing were wanting of his full and consummate pleasure, or how much wanted, or whether it were a thing of that desert, that a man should employ much labour in repayring the same. Himselfe saith this in his Epistles, which he wrote to *Polianus Charinus*, being Magistrate, and he glorieth therein, that all his victuals for one day cost him not three pence halfe-penie, and that *Metrodorus* diet, who had not so farre forth profited as himselfe, cost him no more. Thinkest thou that in this kind of life there is not a facietie? Vndoubtedly, there is pleasure in it, and not such pleasure which is fomie and fleeting, and oftentimes to be repaired, but stable and certaine: for neither is water, nor broth, nor a morsell of barley-bread, a pleasant diet; but it is an especiall pleasure for a man to be able to take his contentment in these, and to haue established himselfe so farre in himselfe, that no iniurie of fortune can shake his resolution. The ordinarie allowance of the prisons is farre more then this, and they that are condemned to die, are not so poorely intreated by him that is their executioner. How great is the magnitude of his mind, that maketh that habitude voluntarie in himselfe, to admit those things with willingnesse which ordinarily are accustomed to be enioyned for a penaltie: this is to preoccupate the weapons of fortune. Begin therefore, my *Lucilius*, to follow these mens customes, and take some daies to thy selfe, wherin thou mayest retire thy selfe from thine affaires, and content thy selfe with a little. Begin to haue some conuersation and familiarity with pouertie.

Be bold, my guest, and set proud wealth at nought,
And make thee worthie God by modest thought.

No other man is worthie God, but he that hath contemned riches, of whose possession I debarre thee not; but my desire is, that thou mightest possesse them without feare, which by one meanes thou shalt obtaine, if thou canst perswade thy selfe that thou mayest liue happily without them, and regard them no otherwise then as fleeting benefits, which thou canst well want. But now let vs begin to conclude our Epistle: first, sayest thou, Pay me that thou owest. I will send *Epicurus* to pay thee my debt: *Immoderate wrath ingendreth madnes*. How true this is thou must needs know, whē thou hast had both a slaue & an enemy. This affection kindleth it selfe against all men, it ariseth aswel from loue as from hate, aswell amongst serious things, as playes and pastimes; neither skilleth it from

from how great a cauſe it grow, but what kinde of minde it meeteth with: ſo, it is no matter how great the fire be, but where it falleth; for the greateſt and ſoundeſt Timbers haue ſuſtained a great fire: againe, dry Trees and ſuch as are apt to be fired, nouriſh a ſparkle ſo long till it breake into a flame. So is it, my *Lucilius*, furie is the end of immoderate wrath, and therefore is anger to be auoided, not for moderation, but for healths ſake.

Epist. XIX.

That publique affaires are to bee omitted and caſt off, and priuacie to bee affected: but priuacie and not ſolitude, and deteſtation of conuerſation. He counſelleth to forſake the Court and the pompe thereof, both which are attended with tumults and troubles. A clauſe of the ſame Maſters. See with whom thou communicateſt at the Table.

I Am heartily glad as oftentimes as I receiue thy Letters, for they fill me with much good hope: for now they promiſe not, but aſſure me in thy behalfe. Doe therefore in ſuch ſort, I pray and beſeech thee, as thy Letters doe import: for what better thing can I intreat at my friends hand, then that for which I ſhould implore God in his behalfe? Withdraw thy ſelfe if thou mayeſt, from theſe buſie affaires; or if thou canſt not, forcibly deliuer thy ſelfe: We haue ouer-long been prodigall of time, let vs begin now in our age to play the good Husbands. Is this diſtaſtefull to thee? We haue liued in the ſtormy Ocean, let vs dye in a quiet Harbor. Yet would I not aduiſe thee to affect a ſingularity and name by thy retyrement, which neither thou oughteſt to boaſt of, or to conceale. For neuer will I ſo much condemne the furie of Mankind, that to the end thou mayeſt auoyd the ſame, I would haue thee locke thy ſelfe vp in a lurking Den, and bury the affaires of this World in euerlaſting forgetfulneſſe. Behaue thy ſelfe in ſuch ſort, that this retreat of thine be apparent but not eminent; and then ſhall they who haue libertie to liue according to their owne good liking, perceiue, whether they ought wholly to hide themſelues or no. For thine owne part thou mayeſt not. The vigor of thy Wit, the elegancy of thy Writings, thy many great and famous Alliances haue brought thee forth into the face of the world. Thou art alreadie ſo farre engaged in the knowledge of men, that though thou wert confined in the furthermoſt corner of the World, yet would thy former actions diſcouer themſelues. Thou canſt not be concealed, there will be alwaies ſome luſtre of thy former light, which will attend thee, whitherſoeuer thou retyreſt thy ſelfe. Thou mayeſt ſettle thy ſelfe in repoſe without the hate of any man, without deſire or agonie of minde. For what ſhalt thou leaue which thou mayeſt imagine to haue forſaken vnwillingly? What thy Clients? But of theſe no one affecteth thee, but gapeth for ſomewhat from thee. Shall it bee thy friends? In times paſt men affected friendſhips, now hunt they after profits. Art thou afraid that the older ſort, beeing abandoned by thee, ſhould change their wils? So will hee that was wont to court thee, dance attendance at another mans doore. Conſider in counterpoize of all this, that a thing ſo precious as is libertie, cannot be purchaſed but very dearely. Finally, bethinke thy ſelfe, whether thou hadſt rather loſe either thoſe things that belong vnto thee, or thy ſelfe.

ſelfe. Would to God thou hadſt beene ſo happie as to waxe old with thoſe meanes which thy Predeceſſors had left thee, and Fortune had not made thee ſo eminent as thee hath done; a ſudden felicitie, thy prouince and procuratiue, and whatſoeuer is promiſed by theſe haue tranſported thee very farre from the ſight of a contented life. And greater Offices and charges beſides theſe ſhall attend thee hereafter, and the one ſhall beget the other. What ſhall be the end? What expecteſt thou? till thou ceaſeſt to haue that which thou deſireſt? That time ſhall neuer happen. That which wee ſay to bee the order and vniting of cauſes which tye deſtinie, the ſame likewiſe ſay wee to be of Couetouſneſſe; the one taketh his beginning from the end of the other. Into that life art thou demiſed which ſhall neither end thy miſerie nor ſeruitude. Pull thy ouer-tyred necke therefore out from the yoke: it is better to cut it in pieces all at once, then to ſuffer it perpetually to be reſtrained. If thou withdraw thy ſelfe to a priuate life, all things will be leſſer, but they wil fill thee the more; but now diuers things, although heaped one vpon another, ſatisfie thee not. But whether haddeſt thou rather, either contentment with a little, or neceſſitie in abundance? Felicitie is both couetous, and expoſed to others greedineſſe. As long as nothing ſhall ſuffice thee, thou ſhalt not giue contentment to others. How ſayeſt thou, ſhall I eſcape this? By any meanes whatſoeuer. Bethinke thy ſelfe how many things thou haſt raſhly attempted for money, how many things thou haſt laboriouſly vndertaken for Honour; ſomething alſo is to be attempted for thy quiet ſake, or in this ſolicitude of procuration, and afterwards of ciuill Offices, thou muſt waxe old in trauell, and bee alwaies toſſed with new waues, which thou canſt not auoyde by any modeſtie or quiet of life. For what auayleth thee to be willing to ſettle thy quiet, if thy fortune will not? What alſo if thou permit the ſame to increaſe? the better the ſucceſſe is, the more the feare increaſeth. I will recount vnto thee in this place, the ſaying of *Mecænas*, who ſpake truth amidſt the tortures of his dignitie, and fauours in the Court of AVGVSTVS: *For Highneſſe it ſelfe thundereth at the higheſt.* If you enquire of me in what Booke he ſaid it: it was in that which was intituled *Prometheus*. This would hee ſay that feare and amaze poſſeſſeth the higheſt. Is there therefore any power of that eſteeme that thy ſpeech ſhould bee ſo diſordred? The man was ingenious, and ſuch as was to giue a great example of Romane Eloquence, if felicity had not enfeebled him, nay, rather gelded him. This end attendeth thee, if thou reſtraine not thy ſelfe preſently, and ſhorten thy ſailes, except (which he too lately affected) thou beare for the Land. I could bee quit with thee for this Sentence of *Mecænas*, but I feare mee thou wilt not receiue it for good payment in this ſort, but wilt cauill (if I know thee weil) and not accept of my payment in the Coine, I hold currant. Howſoeuer the matter be I will borrow from EPICVRVS: *Thou art* (ſaith he) *to take care with whom thou eateſt and drinkeſt before thy meate, then what thou eateſt and drinkeſt: for a plentifull and fleſhie Feaſt without a friend, is the life of a Lion or a Wolfe.* This ſhall not befall thee, except thou retyre thy ſelfe, and ſeparate thee from the multitude; otherwiſe thou ſhalt haue at thy Table, not thy friends, but ſuch as thy Secretary hath choſen amongſt the multitude of thy ſaluters. But he deceiueth himſelfe that ſearcheth a friend in the baſe Court, and approueth him in the Banquet. A man much occupied and beſieged by his goods, hath no one greater miſchiefe, then that hee thinketh them to bee his friends whom he loueth not, that beleeueth that his benefits are powerfull enough to get him friends, whereas ſome the more they owe a man, the more they hate him.

him. A little Debt maketh a man a Debtor, a great, an Enemie. What therefore, do not benefits beget Friendſhips? They do, if a man might make choice of thoſe that ſhould receiue them, if they were well imployed, and not raſhly caſt away. Therefore whilſt thou beginneſt to be thine owne man, in the meane while vſe this counſell of the wiſemen, that is, that it importeth thee more to know to whome thou haſt done a pleaſure, then to know what pleaſure thou haſt done.

EPIST. XX.

That Philoſophie is in deeds not in words, and that therefore wee ought to addreſſe our ſelues to them, and that conſtantly. For Wiſdome is the conueniencie and vniforme tenour of our wils and life. Pouertie alſo is not to bee feared, and riches, if they be preſent, not to be loued. Moreouer, a warning that on certaine dayes we act and imitate poore men.

IF thou art in health, and thinkeſt thy ſelfe worthy at ſome time to be made thine owne, I reioyce: for it ſhall be my glorie, if I may draw thee out from thence, whereas thou floateſt without hope of getting out. But this I heartily begge and earneſtly exhort thee too, my *Lucilius*, that thou ſhut vp Philoſophie in the ſecret of thy heart, and that thou make an experiment of thy progreſſe, not by thy ſpeech or writings, but by the firmitie of thy minde, and the diminution of thy deſires. Approue the words by the deeds. One is the ſcope of thoſe that declaime and demand applauſe of an aſſembly. Another of thoſe that detaine the eares of young and idle men with diuers and voluble Diſputations. Philoſophie teacheth vs to doe and not to ſpeake, and exacteth this of vs, that euery one of vs ſhould liue according to her Law, that our manners ſhould accord with our words, that our life ſhould be in it ſelfe of one colour, without any diſcord of actions. This is both the greateſt Office, and token of Wiſdome, that the actions bee correſpondent to the words, and that bee which followeth her be alwaies equall and like vnto himſelfe. Who ſhall performe this? Few: yet ſome ſhall. This thing is difficult, neither ſay I that a wiſe-man ſhould alwaies march one pace, but one path. Obſerue therefore, whether thy Garment and thy Houſe doe diſagree, whether thou art liberall towards thy ſelfe, and niggardly towards thine, whether thou ſuppeſt frugally and buildeſt prodigally? Take once vnto thee a certaine rule and meaſure of life, and leuell the ſame according to that ſquare. Some men in their Houſes reſtraine themſelues, abroad are lauiſh and prodigall. This diuerſitie is a vice, and the ſigne of an vnconſtant minde, and not as yet brought in frame. Moreouer, I will tell thee whence this inconſtancie of affaires and counſailes doth proceed. No man propoſeth vnto himſelfe an end whereunto he will tend, neither if he haue propoſed it, doth he perſeuer in the ſame, but ouer-ſhooteth himſelfe; and not only changeth he, but returneth and re-intangleth himſelfe in thoſe vices, which he himſelfe had forſaken and condemned. That I may therefore leaue the olde definitions of Wiſdome, and comprehend the whole manner of humane life, I can be content with this. What is Wiſdome? Alwaies to will one thing, and to nill the ſame: although thou adde not the exception, that it bee iuſt which thou willeſt. One and the ſame thing cannot alwaies pleaſe any man, except it bee

bee right. Men therefore know not what they will except in that very moment wherein they will. In ſumme, no man is poſitiue in his willing or nilling. The iudgement is daily varied, and turned into the contrarie, and to many mens liues, paſſe away like a May-game. Purſue then that which thou haſt begun, and thou ſhalt happily attaine either to the height, or at leaſtwiſe thou alone ſhalt vnderſtand that as yet thou art not at the end. What ſhall become, ſayeſt thou, of this troope of my Familiars? All this troope when thou deſiſteſt to feed them will feed themſelues, or that which thou canſt not know by thy benefites, thou ſhalt vnderſtand by thy pouertie. Shee will retaine thy true and certaine friends, and whoſoeuer ſhall leaue thee, he followed not thee but another thing. And is not pouertie to bee loued for this one thing, that ſhee diſcloſeth vnto thee who are thy vnfained friends? O when will that day come that no man will belye thine Honour? Let therefore all thy thoughts tend hither, ſtudie and wiſh this, remitting all other vowes vnto God, that thou mayeſt bee content with thy ſelfe and ſuch goods that accrue by thy ſelfe. What felicitie may bee neerer vnto God? Reduce thy ſelfe, and content thee with the leaſt eſtate, lower then which, thou canſt not fall: and that thou mayeſt the more willingly do it, to this ſhall belong the tribute of this Epiſtle, which I wil preſently pay thee. Although thou enuie it, yet ſhal *Epicurus*, euen at this preſent, voluntarily defray the dutie for me. *Beleeue me, this thy diſcourſe ſhall haue more luſtre & magnificence in a low Bed, and vnder a ragged Coat; for it ſhall not onely bee ſaid, but approoued.* And for mine owne part. I better allow of *Demetrius*, the Stoickes diſcourſe, when I ſee him lying naked vpon the ſtraw, becauſe at that time he was both a Maſter and witneſſe of truth. What then, may wee not ſet light by the riches which are in our poſſeſſion, and as it were, in our boſome? Why may we not? Great is his courage, who hauing long time and much admired them about him, laugheth at them, and rather heareth then feeleth that they are his. It is much, not to bee corrupted by the fellowſhip of riches. Great is hee that is poore in his riches, but more ſecure is he that wanteth riches. I know not, ſaieſt thou, how this man will beare his pouertie, if he fall into the ſame; neither know I, ſaith *Epicurus*, if this poore man will contemne his riches if hee fall on them. Therefore in both of them the minde is to be eſteemed and looked into; whether the one affected his pouertie, the other flattered not his riches. Otherwiſe the ſtraw Bed, and ragged Coate would be but a ſlender argument of good will, except it were manifeſt, that any one ſuffered them not of neceſſitie but voluntarily. But it is the ſigne of a great wit, not to runne after the things as if they were the better, but to prepare himſelfe to endure them with facilitie. And truely, *Lucilius*, they are eaſier: but when as with mature conſideration thou ſhalt entertaine them, they will be pleaſant alſo: for in them there is a ſecuritie, without which nothing is pleaſant. I therefore iudge that neceſſarie, which as I wrote vnto thee, great men haue often done, to interpoſe certaine daies, wherein by imaginarie pouertie we may exerciſe our ſelues to entertaine the true; which is the rather to be done, becauſe we haue beene drowned in delights, and all things in our iudgements are hard and difficult: Rather ought the minde to bee awakened and rouſed from ſleepe, and to bee inſtructed and admoniſhed, that Nature hath propoſed vs the leaſt. No man is borne rich: whoſoeuer entreth life, is commanded to bee contented with Bread and Milke. Wee dreame not of Kingdomes, and Couetouſneſſe, in theſe ſmall beginnings.

EPIST. XXI.

That true ſplendor is in Philoſophie, and proceedeth not from Honours or Titles. That ſhee giues to thoſe that haue her, and cleaue vnto her, a perpetuall name and fame. An Embleme from EPICVRVS. *To the intent thou mayeſt increaſe thy riches, diminiſh thy deſires.*

THinkeſt thou that thou haſt to doe with thoſe things thou haſt written vnto me? Thou haſt a mightie buſineſſe with thy ſelfe, and art troubleſome to thy ſelfe. Thou knoweſt not what thou wouldeſt: thou doeſt better allow then follow honeſt things. Thou ſeeſt where felicitie is planted, but thou dareſt not attaine thereunto. But what it is that hindereth thee? Becauſe thou thy ſelfe doeſt little conceiue or pry into it, I will tell thee. Thou thinkeſt theſe things great matters which thou art to leaue, and when as thou haſt propoſed to thy ſelfe that ſecuritie whereunto thou art to paſſe; the glorie of this life (from whence thou art to part) retayneth thee as if thou wert to fall into ſome lothſome and darke places. Thou abuſeſt thy ſelfe, *Lucilius*, we aſcend from this life to the other. Such difference as there is, the light having her proper and certaine originall, the ſplendor growing from other) ſuch difference is there betweene this life and the other. This, becauſe it is reflected vpon by an externall light, will preſently yeeld a thicke ſhaddow to whomſoeuer ſetteth himſelfe before the ſame; but that other ſhineth by his owne light. Thy ſtudies will make thee famous and noble. I will relate an Example of *Epicurus*, when hee wrote to *Idomeneus*, and reuoked him from a pompeous life to a faithfull and ſtable glorie, (who was a Miniſter at that time of rigorous and Regall Power, and had the handling of many mightie matters.) *If* (ſaith he) *thou art touched with glorie, my Epiſtles ſhall make thee more famous then all thoſe things which thou honoureſt, and for which thou art honoured.* Whether, I pray you, lyed he? Who had knowne *Idomeneus*, except *Epicurus* had regiſtred and engraued him in his Letters? All thoſe Potentates, Princes, and the King himſelfe, (from whome *Idomeneus* had his eſtate and dignitie) are buried in eternall obliuion. *Cicero's* Epiſtles ſuffer not the name of *Atticus* to bee extinguiſhed, neither had it profited him to haue *Agrippa* for his Sonne in Law, or *Tiberius* for his Nieces Father, or *Druſus Cæſar* his Nephewes Sonne, amongſt ſo mightie Names, he ſhould haue beene obſcured, had not *Cicero* maintained his reputation, and kept him in memorie. After vs there ſhall come a long and hidden tract of time, ſome few wits ſhall lift vp their heads, and being likely at length to ſleepe in the ſame ſilence, ſhall reſiſt obliuion, and ſhall keepe themſelues long time in reputation. That which *Epicurus* could promiſe his friend, that promiſe I thee, *Lucilius*. I ſhall haue fauour with poſteritie, and can beare away with mee the names of ſuch as ſhall liue in memorie. Our *Virgil* promiſed and performed to two eternall memorie:

You both are fortunate, if ought my Verſes can,
No day ſhall you exempt from memorie of man;
Whilſt haught ÆNEAS *houſe ſhall ſtand, and laſting bide*
Vpon the Capitols rockie and loftie ſide,
And Romane Father ſhall the Romane Empire guide.

All

All thoſe whom Fortune hath aduanced, all they that haue beene the members and parcels of another mans power, their credit hath beene inhaunced, their Houſes haue beene frequented during the time that they themſelues flouriſhed, after them their memorie was quickly extinguiſhed. The reputation of wits increaſeth daily, and not onely continueth for them, but all that is receiued, which is adherent vnto them. And to the end that *Idomeneus* be not *gratis* incloſed in my Epiſtle, he ſhall redeeme the ſame at his owne charge. To him *Epicurus* wrote this noble Sentence, wherein he exhorteth him to make *Pithocles* rich after no vulgar or vncertaine manner: *If thou wilt* (ſaith hee) *make* PITHOCLES *rich, thou muſt not amplifie his Poſſeſsions, but diminiſh his deſires.* This Sentence is ſo plaine that it needeth no interpretation, and ſo expreſſe as it needeth no helpe. I admoniſh thee this one thing, that thou ſuppoſe not this onely to be ſpoken of riches, howſoeuer thou applyeſt it, it is all one. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* honeſt, thou muſt not amplifie his Honours, but diminiſh his deſires. If thou wilt that *Pithocles* be in perpetuall pleaſure, thou muſt not amplifie his pleaſures but diminiſh his deſires. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* old, and cauſe him to liue a complete life, thou muſt not amplifie his yeeres, but diminiſh his deſires. Thou haſt no reaſon to iudge that theſe are onely *Epicurus* ſpeeches, for they are publike. That which was wont to be done in the Senate, that alſo thinke I fit to be done in Philoſophie. When any one hath deliuered his minde, which partly pleaſeth me, I bid him diuide his Sentence, and I follow the ſame ſo diuided. The more willingly recite I theſe good ſayings of *Epicurus*, to the end I may ſhew thoſe who build thereupon, being conducted with a fooliſh preſumption, and that thinke to haue a cloke for their vices, that they ought to liue honeſtly in what place ſoeuer they abide. When they ſhall approch theſe Gardens, and ſhall ſee written ouer the gate of them,

Here well mayſt thou abide, my gentle Gueſt,
Here pleaſure is eſteem'd the chiefeſt beſt.

The Hoſt of this houſe courteous vnto his gueſts, full of hoſpitalitie and humanitie, will bee addreſſed, and ſhall entertaine thee with a Cake, and preſent thee with Water, as much as will ſuffice thee, and in the end will ſay vnto thee: *Haſt thou not beene well entertayned?* Theſe Gardens, I tell thee, prouoke not, but extinguiſh hunger: neither make they thy thrift more great by the drinkings; but aſſwage them by a naturall and gratuitall remedie. In this pleaſure am I waxen old, I ſpeake with thee of theſe deſires, yea, ſuch pleaſures as a man cannot make more pleaſant, and to which we ought to giue ſomething to make them ceaſe. For in regard of the extraordinarie, which a man may deferre, chaſtize and oppreſſe, I will aduertize thee of one thing, that this is neither a naturall nor neceſſarie voluptuouſneſſe. To this thou art in no manner tyed, what ſoeuer thou beſtoweſt on it, it is voluntarie. The belly hath no eares, he demandeth and calleth on vs; yet is hee not a troubleſome Creditor, but is ſatisfied with little, prouided thou giue him that which thou oughteſt, not that which thou canſt.

EPIST. XXII.

We ought manfully to diſcharge our ſelues of buſineſſes, and how the ſnares are either to be looſed or broken; yet let opportunitie and good occaſion be reſpected, and not let ſlip. Furthermore hee deſpiſeth and caſteth from him theſe falſe ſplendors. Then citeth he a Sentence of EPICVRVS *: That all men part out of this life Children: that is, ignorant of the true life.*

THou vnderſtandeſt now that thou art to acquit thy ſelfe of theſe buſineſſes, in appearance faire, but euill: but how thou mayeſt effect the ſame, thou askeſt my counſell. Some things cannot bee taught but in preſence. A Phiſician cannot chooſe by his Letters, the time of repaſt and bathing, hee muſt feele the Pulſe. It is an old Prouerbe; *That the Fencer taketh counſaile in the Field appointed for combat.* For obſeruing the countenance of his Aduerſary, the carriage of his hand, and the inclination of his bodie, hee reſolueth what hee ought to doe. A man may in generall giue aduice either by ſpeech or writing of that which hath beene accuſtomed, or of that which is needfull to be done; and ſuch counſell is giuen both to the abſent and to poſteritie; but that other when it ought to bee done, and how, no man will aduiſe at randome: wee muſt deliberate with the things themſelues. It is the dutie of a good man that ſeeth and foreſeeth, to obſerue the occaſion which paſſeth away lightly; Be therefore intentiue after her, take her by the Fore-locke when thou ſeeſt her, and with all the force of thy minde, and to the vttermoſt of thy power, labour to disburden thee of all theſe charges, which thou haſt taken on thee. Aboue all things obſerue what my counſaile is; my opinion is, that either thou muſt diſmiſſe this kind of life, or ceaſe to liue. But I thinke this alſo, that thou muſt keepe ſome moderate courſe herein, to the end that what thou haſt intangled lewdly, thou mayeſt rather looſe then breake off. And when there ſhould bee no other meanes to diſcharge thy ſelfe, that thou mighteſt boldly breake the ſame. There is no man ſo faint-hearted, that had rather abide alwayes hanging in the Ayre, then to fall once. Meane-while beware thou principally, that thou engage not thy ſelfe ouer-farre, content thy ſelfe with thoſe affaires thou haſt vndertaken, or (ſince thou wilt that wee beleeue ſo) that haue ſurprized thee. Thou muſt not entangle thy ſelfe further; otherwiſe thou wilt loſe thy excuſe, and wilt make it knowne, that they haue not ſurprized thee. For theſe excuſes which are wont to be made, are falſe: I could not doe otherwiſe; and what if I will not? I was forced to doe it. There is no man that is conſtrayned to follow felicity vnaduiſedly. It is much if a man cannot repulſe her, at leaſt-wiſe to make head againſt her, and to reſiſt the ſwiftneſſe of Fortune. Art thou diſpleaſed if I not onely giue thee counſaile, but if I call others, and they more wiſer alſo then I am, from whom I am accuſtomed to borrow counſaile, if I haue any thing to deliberate. I haue read an Epiſtle of *Epicurus*, that tendeth to this purpoſe, which is written to *Idomeneus*, whom he intreateth that as much as in him lyeth, he flie and haſten before any greater force intercept, & cut off his liberty from retiring: yet addeth the ſame man, that nothing is to be attempted except when it may be aptly and liuely executed. But when that time which a man hath ſo long expected ſhal come, he ſaith that we ought to diſlodge ſuddēly. He forbiddeth him ſleep that ſuppoſeth to flie; he hopeth alſo an happy iſſue

of thoſe things that are moſt difficult, if wee haſten not our ſelues before the time, and if wee bee not negligent when it ſhall bee time to haſten. But now I thinke thou demandeſt the aduice of the Stoickes; there is no man ought to accuſe them towards thee of temeritie, they are more warie then ſtrong. Haply thou expecteſt that theſe things bee ſpoken to thee. It is a ſhame to faint vnder the burthen; thou oughteſt to wraſtle againſt the charge thou haſt vndertaken. A man that flieth trauell, is neither valiant nor hardie; he is the man whoſe courage redoubleth, the more difficult his affaires grow. Theſe things ſhould be ſpoken to thee, if perſeuerance ſhould haue a reward; if no vnworthy thing ought either to be done or ſuffered by a Wiſeman otherwiſe, he will not ſpend himſelfe in ſordid and contumelious labour, neither in buſineſſe will hee be the cauſe of buſines: neither wil he ſeeing himſelf intangled in ambitius & vncertain affaires, endure alwayes the violence thereof: but after that hee ſhall know the dangers wherin he is plunged to be full of incertaintie and doubts, he wil withdraw his foote, yet not turne his backe, but by little and little will retyre in ſafetie. Truely it is an eaſie thing, my *Lucilius*, to eſcape from buſineſſe, if thou contemne the profit of them: they are thoſe that retayne and ſtay vs. What ſhall I doe then? ſhall I leaue ſo long hopes? Shall I then deſiſt when I am to receiue the profit? Shall I not haue any man to attend mee? Shall my Litter bee vnwayted on? and my baſe Court without Sutours? With much hearts-griefe and vnwillingneſſe do men depart from theſe hopes; they loue the profit that proceedeth from theſe miſeries, yet hate they the miſeries themſelues. So complaine they of their ambitions as of their Miſtris: that is, if you pry into their true affection, they hate them not, but they are angry with them. Shake off thoſe men which deplore that which they haue deſired, and ſpeake of the forſaking of thoſe things which they cannot want, thou ſhalt ſee that they inceſſantly keepe company with that which they report inceſſantly to bee moſt diſtaſtefull and diſliking to them. True it is, my *Lucilius*, few men are Slaues, but moſt men are in ſeruitude: but if thy minde bee to ſhake it off, and libertie in good earneſt bee beſt pleaſing to thee, and to this only end thou demandeſt counſaile, that without perpetuall care thou mayeſt haue power to doe the ſame: why ſhould not the whole company of Stoickes allow thereof? All *Zenoes Chryſippi* will perſwade moderate, honeſt, and true things. But if for this cauſe thou delayeſt, to the end thou mayeſt looke about thee, how much thou ſhalt carrie with thee, and what great riches thou needeſt to liue in repoſe, thou ſhalt neuer finde an iſſue: a man loaden with a burden cannot ſaue himſelfe by ſwimming. Gaine (with fauour of the Gods) the Hauen of a better life, but not in ſuch manner as they extend their fauours to the ambitious, to whom with a good and gracious countenance they haue granted magnificent miſeries excuſed in this one point, that the goods which burne and torment, were giuen to thoſe that wiſhed for them. I had alreadie ſealed vp my Letter, but I muſt open it againe, that I may ſend it to thee accompanyed with a ſolemne Preſent, and bring with it ſome magnificall Sentence; and behold I know not whether one more true or more eloquent is falne in my hand. Whoſe is it, ſayeſt thou? *Epicurus*: for as yet doe I fill my Packet with other mens purpoſes: *No man departeth otherwiſe out of this life, but as if hee did but newly enter.* Take mee what man thou wilt, young, of middle age or olde; thou ſhalt finde them alike afraid of death, and all of them as ignorant of life. No man hath finiſhed any thing: for wee alwayes referre our affaires to the time to come.

There

There is nothing in this Sentence that pleaſeth mee ſo much, then when it reprocheth olde men, that as yet they are Infants. No man, ſaith hee, doth otherwiſe depart out of this life, then as hee was borne. It is falſe, we dye worſe then wee were borne: it is our errour and not Natures; ſhee muſt complaine of vs, and ſay, what meaneth this I haue bred you without deſires, without feares, without ſuperſtition, without perfidiouſneſſe, and other plagues depart out of life ſuch as you entred? That man is ſeaſoned in Wiſedome, who dyeth as ſecurely as he is borne. But now feare wee, when danger approcheth our heart, our colour faileth vs, and fruitleſſe teares fall from our eyes. What is more abſurd then to bee fearefull, euen in the very entrance of ſecuritie? But the cauſe hereof is this; becauſe we are void of all goodneſſe, whereas in the end of our life we labour with the deſire of them: for no part thereof remaineth with vs, it is loſt, it is vaniſhed, no man careth how well he liueth, but how long, whereas all men might haue the hap to liue well, as no men haue to liue long.

EPIST. XXIII.

He warneth to ſeeke out true ioy: what is that? That which is ſeuere and bred of true goodneſſe. The reſt are fallacious and fugitiue, this ſolid and firme; becauſe it is ſeated in a reſolute minde, which is the beſt part of vs: in a word, it is ſeated in conſcience. At laſt EPICVRVS *his ſaying. It is a lothſome and troubleſome thing alwayes to begin to liue, and ſuch as are inconſtant are condemned.*

THou ſuppoſeſt that I will write vnto thee how kindly the Winter hath dealt with vs, which was both remiſſe and ſhort; how vnkindly the Spring was, and prepoſterous the cold, and ſuch other toyes as delight thoſe that loue words. But I will write ſomething which may profit both thee and me. And what elſe ſhall that be but to exhort thee to a good mind? Askeſt thou me what the foundation thereof is? Doe not ioy in vaine things. Said I that this is the foundation? it is the perfection and fulneſſe thereof. Hee obtayneth the fulneſſe of this good, who knoweth wherein his pleaſure lyeth, and hath not builded his felicitie on another mans power: hee is altogether in care, and ill aſſured, who is tickled with any hope, although hee holdeth it in his hand, although hee eaſily obtaine the ſame, although the things hee hoped for haue neuer deceiued him. Doe this aboue all things, my *Lucilius*, learne to reioyce. Thou thinkeſt now that I take many of thy pleaſures from thee, who driue from thee thoſe that are gotten by caſualty, who ſuppoſe that theſe hopes and ſweeteſt delights are to be auoyded, nay, rather it is quite contrarie. I will not that at any time thou be without ioy. I will that it be bred vnto thee in thine owne houſe; and it is bred, if ſo bee that it be within thy ſelfe. All other delights repleniſh not the ſoule, but cleere the countenance: they are toyes except thou iudgeſt him to bee merry that laugheth. The minde ought to bee reſolute and confident, and lifted vp aboue all things. Truſt mee, true ioy is a ſeuere thing. Thinkeſt thou that a man with a ſmooth and ſmiling countenance, and as theſe wanton fellowes ſpeake, with a merry eye, contemneth death, openeth his houſe to pouertie, bridleth his delights, and meditateth on patience? Hee that thinketh on all theſe things is in great gladnes, but little pleaſing: in poſſeſſion of this gladnes I would haue thee be, it wil neuer fail thee, when as thou once findſt out frō whence it proceedeth.

The beſt of the ſlighteſt Mettals is in the vpper part, they are the moſt rich which haue their vaine hidden in their centre, and will make him moſt rich who ſhall ſearch their Mine with diligence. Theſe toyes and trifles wherewith the common ſort are delighted, haue a pleaſure, tender and facile to melt, and all that ioy which commeth from without vs, is without foundation. This whereof I ſpeake, whereunto I endeuour to draw thee, is ſolid and farre more apparent inwardly. Endeuour, I beſeech thee, my welbeloued *Lucilius*, to practiſe that only which may make thee happy: deſpiſe and ſpurne at thoſe things that outwardly ſhine, and which are promiſed thee from another: fixe thy eye vpon the true good, and take thou pleaſure in that which is thine owne. But what meaneth this? of thy ſelfe, and the better part of thy ſelfe: thinke alſo of thy bodie (although nothing may bee done without it) that it is a thing rather neceſſary then great. It ſuggeſteth vaine, ſhort and remorſefull pleaſures, and ſuch as, if they be not well tempered with great moderation, will turne into a contrarie effect. I ſay this, that pleaſure is ſtill falling headlong, and declining vnto griefe, except it keepe a mediocritie; and hard it is to keep a meane in that which thou firmely beleeueſt to bee good. The deſire of true good is aſſured. Askeſt thou me what this true good is, and whence it proceedeth? I wil tel thee; from a good conſcience, from honeſt deliberations, from vertuous and iuſtifiable actions, from contempt of ſuch things as are caſuall, from a peaceable, and continuall inſtitution of life, which hath alwayes traced the ſame courſe. For they who leapt from ſome purpoſes to other, or elſe iumpe not, but by a certaine chance are tranſported; how can they haue any thing certaine or permanent, being themſelues inconſtant and in ſuſpence? Few there are that diſpoſe both themſelues & their eſtates by counſell. The reſt after the manner of thoſe Sedges that float on great Riuers, goe not, but are carryed; whereof ſome are detayned and are ſoftly conuayed by a ſlower ſtreame, other ſome carryed by a more vehement, others a ſoft tyde hath ſlowly carryed to the ſhore, others a ſtrong current hath caſt into the Sea. Wee muſt therefore be reſolued what wee will, and in it muſt we perſeuer. Here is the place to pay my debt: for I can pay thee in the words of thine owne, *Epicurus*, and diſcharge this Epiſtle: *It is a tedious thing alwayes to begin life*: or if in this manner the ſenſe may bee the better expreſſed; *Badly liue they who alwayes begin to liue*. Why ſayeſt thou? (For this word requireth an explanation.) Becauſe their life is alwayes imperfect: but it cannot be that he ſhould be prepared for death, that doth but lately begin to liue. We muſt ſo doe, as if wee had lined long enough. No man thinketh on this, who newly beginneth to liue: neuertheleſſe thinke thou not that theſe are few in number, for almoſt all are ſuch. Some doe then begin to liue, when they ought to ceaſe: if thou think this wonderfull, I will adde that which ſhall draw thee more into admiration; ſome haue ceaſed to liue before they haue begun.

EPIST. XXIIII.

An Epiſtle worthy to be ranked amongſt the beſt. He exhorteth not to feare euils to come, although they threaten. But rather to propoſe them to happen, and ſo to forme a mans ſelfe by examining or extenuating them. For what are all theſe feares? The laſt of them is death, and contemne that by reaſon. Great men haue done it. Plebeans and Slaues haue done it. Why ſhouldeſt thou not aſpire? Take the vizard from things: that which thou feareſt is paine; which a tender woman hath ſuffered in her Child-bed. Finally, thou art borne to this, to be toſſed, to grieue, to dye: acknowledge thy deſtinie: yet with EPICVRVS: *Precept, neither wiſh for death, neither feare it.*

THou writeſt vnto me that thou art diſquieted in mind, about the euent of thy Proceſſe, which the furie of thine enemie doth denounce againſt thee, and thou thinkeſt that I will perſwade thee; to propoſe vnto thy ſelfe in the meane time good ſucceſſe, and feed thy ſelfe with vaine hopes. For what needeth it vs to call on and anticipate our calamities, which will befall vs too ſoone, and loſe the preſent good for feare of the euill to come? Vndoubtedly it is a great folly to make a mans ſelfe miſerable for the preſent, becauſe that ſometimes hereafter he muſt be: but I will lead thee to ſecuritie by another way: If thou wilt diſburthen thy ſelfe of all care; make account, that whatſoeuer thou feareſt ſhall befall thee, is alreadie happened, and what euill ſoeuer it be, meaſure it by thy ſelfe, and taxe thy feare. Thereby ſhalt thou iudge vndoubtedly, either that thine euill is not great, or that it is not long: neither mayeſt thou ſpend much time in gathering examples, to conforme thee, euery age is ſtored with them. In whatſoeuer part of affaires, either ciuill or externall, thou fixeſt thy memorie, thou ſhalt meet with wits, either proficient in wiſdome, or of great towardneſſe. Can there then, if ſo be thou be condemned, a worſe fortune befall thee, then to be baniſhed, to be led to Priſon? Is there any thing more to be feared by any man, then that he ſhall be burned, then that he ſhall dye? Thinke very neerely on euery one of theſe things, and repreſent vnto thy ſelfe all thoſe that haue deſpiſed them, who are not to be ſought for, but choſen out. *Rutillius* ſo ſuffered his condemnation, as if no other thing more troubled him, then for that he was wrongfully iudged. *Metellus* took his exile couragiouſly, & *Rutillius* alſo willingly; the one vouchſafing his returne for the good of the Commonweale; the other refuſing *Sylla* his returne, to whome in thoſe dayes nothing was denyed. *Socrates* diſputed in the Priſon, and whereas there were ſome that promiſed him flight, he refuſed to make eſcape; yea and he remained to the intent to take from men the feare of two the moſt dreadfulleſt things, that is to ſay, Impriſonment and Death. *Mutius* thruſt his hand into the flame. A bitter thing it is to bee burned, but how farre more intollerable, if thou ſuffer it by thine owne act? Thou ſeeſt an vnlearned man euer ſtrengthened by my Precepts againſt death or griefe, onely furniſhed with militarie fortitude, exacting puniſhment from himſelfe, of his fruſtrated attempt: he ſtood looking on his right hand, dropping away in his enemies fire, neither remoued he his ſcorched hand burned to the bones, before the fire was withdrawne from him by the enemie himſelfe. Something might he haue performed in that campe more happily, but nothing more couragiouſly. See how more eager Vertue is to entertaine

taine perill,then crueltie to command it. More eaſily did *Porſenna* pardon *Mutius*, for that he would haue killed him, then *Mutius* did himſelfe, becauſe hee had not murthered him. Theſe fables, thou wilt ſay,are ouer-worne, and ſung amiddeſt the Schooles. Now wilt thou (now the cauſe is handled of contempt of death) alledge me *Cato*. And why ſhould I not nominate and repreſent him reading that laſt night *Plato's* booke with his ſword behind his pillow? Theſe two inſtruments in extremities had hee prouided, the one to haue will to dye, the other to haue power. Hauing then giuen order to his affaires, as farre as a broken and deſperate eſtate permitted him; hee thought that onely concerned him to act: that no man might either haue power to kill, or oportunitie to ſaue *Cato*. And hauing his Sword drawne, which vntill that time hee had kept pure and neate from all Murther. Thou haſt not,O Fortune, (ſaid hee) as yet done any thing againſt me, in oppoſing thy ſelfe againſt all my deſignes and enterprizes. I haue not as yet ſought for mine own,but my Countries liberty,neither haue I endeuoured ſo much to liue free,as to liue amongſt free men. Now ſince the affaires of humane kind are deſperate, *Cato* will well finde a meanes to ſet himſelfe at libertie. After this hee grieuouſly wounded himſelfe in the bodie, which being dreſſed and bound vp by his Phiſicians. *Cato* that had alreadie loſt much bloud, and much ſtrength, but nothing loſt of the greatneſſe and goodneſſe of his minde:now not only angry with *Cæſar*, but incenſed againſt himſelfe; he forced his naked hands into his mortall wound,and rendred or rather thruſt out that generous ſoule of his, that contemned all power. I heape not vp together theſe examples for this preſent, to the intent to exerciſe my wit, but rather to giue thee courage againſt a thing that ſeemeth ſo dreadfull and terrible. And more eaſily ſhall I exhort thee in my opinion, if I ſhew, that not only great and generous perſons haue contemned this moment of yeelding vp the ghoſt, but that ſome men of little value in all other things, haue in this equalled the vertue of the moſt generous, as that *Scipio*, (the Father in Law to *Cneius Pompeius*) who being forced by a contrary winde to be tranſported into *Africa*, and perceiuing his Ship to be in the poſſeſſion of his enemies, ſtabbed himſelfe,anſwering thoſe, who demanded where the Emperour was, that the Emperour was well: This vow of his made him equall with his Anceſtors,and ſuffered not that the glorie which ſeemeth to be fatall to the *Scipio's* in *Africa*, ſhould be interrupted. It was much to conquer *Carthage*,but more to conquer death. The Emperour, ſayth he, is well: and in what other ſort ſhould an Emperour die: namely, ſuch a one that commanded *Cato?* I will not referre thee to former Hiſtories, nor gather together from all ages the many contemners and deſpiſers of death. Looke onely into theſe very times of ours, whoſe negligence & daintineſſe we complaine of,thou ſhalt meet with men of all eſtates. all fortunes,all ages,which haue cut off the courſe of their misfortunes by their deaths. Beleeue me,*Lucilius*, ſo little ought death to be feared, that nothing is to be preferred before the benefit thereof. Heare therefore ſecurely and confidently the threats of thine enemie, and although thy conſcience make thee confident, yet becauſe that many things haue credit, beſide the cauſe, hope for that which is iuſt, and prepare thy ſelfe againſt iniuſtice. But aboue all things, remember thou to eſteeme things ſimply as they be, and deſpoyle them of the tumult and bruit that is accuſtomably giuen them,and thou ſhalt find in them, that there is nothing terrible, but the only feare. That which thou ſeeſt befall young Children, befalleth vs alſo that are greater Boyes; they are afraid of thoſe whom they loue, and with whom they frequent and diſport

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euerie day, if they ſee them masked and diſguiſed. Not from men onely ought we to take the maske, but from things themſelues, and yeeld them their true and naturall appearance. Why ſheweſt thou me ſwords and fire, and a troupe of grinning hang-men about thee? Take away this pompe, vnder which thou lieſt hidden, and wherewith thou terrifieſt fooles: thou art Death, which of late my ſlaue or my hand-maiden hath contemned. Againe, why ſheweſt thou me theſe whips and torments, vnder ſo mightie a preparation? Why ſeuerall engines for ſeuerall ioynts, fitted to torture men, and a thouſand other inſtruments to plucke a man in pieces? Lay aſide theſe things which aſtoniſh vs, command the grones and exclamations, and the irkſomeneſſe of the cries extorted in the middeſt of the torture. Vndoubtedly, it is but the paine, which this goutie man contemneth, which that man ſick with the paine of the ſtomacke, in his very daintineſſe endureth, which the tender woman ſuffereth in her childing. Light it is, if I can endure it; ſhort it is, if I can ſuffer it. Toſſe theſe things in thy mind, which thou haſt oftentimes heard, which thou haſt often ſaid. Approue it by effect, if thou haſt truely ſaid it, or truely heard it. For it is a villainous reproach, which is wont to be obiected againſt vs, if we handle the words of *Philoſophie*, but not the workes. What thinkeſt thou? Suppoſeſt thou that this is the firſt time that death, baniſhment, and griefe houered ouer thee? Thou art borne to thoſe. Let vs thinke that any thing may bee done, as if it were hereafter to be done. That which I aduiſe thee to do, I ſurely know thou haſt done. Now do I admoniſh thee, that thou drowne not thy mind in this ſolicitude, for it will be dulled and haue leſſe force, when thou haſt reaſon to raiſe and rouſe it. Withdraw the ſame from a priuate cauſe to a publique; ſay that thou haſt a mortall and fraile bodie, which forraine iniurie and tyranny may not only hurt, but the very pleaſures themſelues may be transformed into torments. The delicacie of meates cauſeth the cruditie of the ſtomack; drunkenneſſe, trembling and aſtoniſhment of the ſinewes; the pleaſures of the fleſh and luſts, a generall deprauation of hands and feet, and all the ioynts. If I become poore, I haue many fellowes; if I be baniſhed, I ſhall perſwade my ſelfe, that the place wherein I am confined, is the place of my birth; if I be tied and manackled, what then, now I am free? That nature, as ſoone as we are borne, impriſoneth vs in this lumpiſh maſſe of the body, as in a ſtrong priſon. If I muſt die, I will comfort my ſelfe in this, that I ſhall ceaſe to be any more ſicke; I ſhall ceaſe to be bound; I ſhall ceaſe to haue power to die. I am not ſo fond as in this place to perſecute *Epicurus* ſong, or to ſay that the feare of Hell is vaine, that *Ixion* is not toſt on the wheele, nor *Syſiphus* tied to roule and returne his ſtone on his ſhoulder; nor that any mans bowels could be renewed and deuoured daily. There is no man ſo childiſh as to feare *Cerberus*, and darkneſſe, and the ſhadowes of ghoſts walking by night. Death either conſumeth vs, or deliuereth vs. A better condition exempted from all charge, attendeth thoſe who are deliuered by death. To thoſe that are conſumed, there remaineth nothing more, ſince both the good and the euill are equally taken from them. Permit me in this place to put thee in memorie of a verſe thou haſt made, and thinke that thou haſt not written it to others, but to thy ſelfe. It is a ſhameſull and vnſeemely thing to ſpeake one thing and think another, but how odious to write one thing and to thinke another? I remember that thou debating ſometime on this place, diddeſt ſay, that we fall not ſuddenly into death, but by little and little walke vnto death. We die daily, and ſome part of our life is daily ſcantled: and then alſo when we encreaſe, our life doth decreaſe. We haue loſt our infantie,

cie,and then our youth, then our mans eſtate; briefely, all that time which is paſſed vntill this preſent day is death for vs. And this very day we liue, we diuide with death. Euen as in an houre-glaſſe,the laſt part of the ſand that falleth is not the onely part that diſcouereth the houre, but all that alſo which is ſalne before; ſo the laſt houre,in which we ceaſe to be, is not the onely that cauſeth death,but it is that conſummateth it. At that time we attaine thither, but wee come thereto long before. Theſe things when thou haddeſt,deſcribed according to thy accuſtomed ſtile, thou wert alwaies great, but neuer more wittie, then when thou fittedſt thy words to truth, and ſaydeſt,

Death hath degrees, that is not firſt that faſt
Attempts to rauiſh vs, but that is laſt.

I had rather thou ſhouldeſt reade thy ſelfe, then my Epiſtle: It will appeare vnto thee,that this death which we feare,is the laſt, but not the only which we ſuffer. I perceiue thy bent. Thou expecteſt to ſee what thing I ſhould inſert into this my Epiſtle, what bold ſpeech of any man, what profitable precept. Of this very matter which we haue in hand,I will afford thee ſomewhat: *Epicurus* is diſpleaſed as much with thoſe that deſire death, as thoſe that feare it, and ſaith thus; *It is a ridiculous thing, that the hatred of life maketh vs runne vnto death, when by the courſe of our life we haue occaſioned no leſſe, but that needs we muſt haue recourſe vnto death.* Likewiſe in another place he ſaith; *What is more ridiculous then to wiſh for death, when through the feare of death, a man hath made his life no leſſe then a torment?* Thou mayeſt alſo adde this, which is of the ſame ſtuffe: That the folly or rather madneſſe of men is ſo great, that there are diuers who are conſtrained to die for feare of death. Which of theſe ſentences thou ſhalt keepe in memory, it will confirme thee in the ſufferance either of life or death: for we haue need both to be admoniſhed and confirmed in both of theſe,to the end we neither too much loue, nor too much loath our life; and at that very time, when reaſon counſaileth vs to finiſh the ſame, wee ought not to doe it raſhly, neither in fetching our race, ought we to run vpon it. A couragious and wiſe man, ought to leaue this life, but not to flie from it: but aboue all things, auoid that affection wherewith many men are poſſeſſed, that is,a deſire to die: for euē as in all other things (my *Lucilius*) ſo alſo in death, there is a diſordinate and vnbridled inclination of the mind, that oftentimes ſurpriſeth men of high and generous ſpirits, and oftentimes fearefull and faint-hearted men; the one deſpiſe life,the other loath the ſame. Some other there are,that are wearie of liuing,and glutted with doing one thing alwaies,and hate not ſo much their life,as they are wearie of it. And thereunto Philoſophie it ſelfe leadeth vs, whilſt we ſay, *How long the ſame?* That is,I ſhall ariſe,I ſhall ſleepe, I ſhall be full, I ſhall be hungrie, I ſhall be cold, I ſhall bee hot; there is no end of any thing,but all things are ſhut in a circle, they flie and follow. The day expelleth the night,the night ſecondeth the day; Summer endeth in Autumne, Winter ſucceedeth it, and the Spring, Winter: all things paſſe, that they may returne againe: I ſee nothing new, I doe nothing new. In the end, we grow in loathing of theſe things. There are many that account it not a bitter thing to liue, but ſuperfluous.

EPIST.

EPIST. XXVI.

He deſcribeth of two friends, a young, and an old, in different ſort: how they are to be dealt withall: with the one, more roughly; with the other, more remiſſly, leſt he deſpaire. He exhorteth LVCILIVS *himſelfe to mediocritie or pouertie: At length, by* EPICVRVS *words, to take to himſelfe a Tutor. Doe all things as if a man looked on thee.*

AS concerning our two friends, wee muſt proceed after a different manner: for the vices of the one are to be amended, of the other to be extinguiſhed. I will vſe an intire libertie: I loue not him except I ſhall offend him. What then wilt thou ſay? Thinkeſt thou to containe vnder thy diſcipline, a pupill of fortie yeere old? Behold his age already heard and vntractable: he cannot be reformed, things pliable may be wrought vpon. I know not whether I ſhall preuaile or no; I had rather the ſucceſſe, then my indeuour ſhould faile me. Deſpaire not, but that a man may heale thoſe that haue beene afflicted with inueterate ſickneſſes; if thou reſiſt their intemperance, and if thou compell them to doe and endure many things againſt their will. Neither of the other can I haue any great hope, except this, that as yet he bluſheth to offend. This ſhamefulneſſe is to be nouriſhed, which as long as it continueth in the mind, there will be ſome place for good hope. With this old ſouldier, I think, we muſt deale moſt ſparingly, leſt he fall into deſperation of himſelf. Neither was there any more fit time to ſet vpon him then this, whilſt he pauſeth and pretendeth a ſhew of reformation. This intermiſſion deceiued others: for my ſelfe, it abaſed me not; I expect the return of his vices with great vſurie, which for the preſent I know are at repoſe, but not diſpoſſeſſed. I will beſtow ſome time vpon this matter, and I will make triall whether any thing may be done or no. Approue thy ſelfe a man vnto vs, as thou art accuſtomed, and truſſe vp the baggage. Nothing of that which wee haue is neceſſarie. Let vs returne to the law of nature; riches are at hand, either that we want is gratuital, or vile. Nature deſires bread & water, no man is poor to theſe. Vpon thoſe things wherein a man hath confined his deſire, he may argue with *Iupiter* himſelfe of his felicitie, as *Epicurus* ſaith, ſome ſpeech, of whom I will incloſe in this Epiſtle: *So doe all things* (ſaith he) *as if another man looked on.* Vndoubtedly it is verie profitable to haue a guard ouer a mans ſelfe, and to haue one whom thou mayeſt reſpect, whom thou iudgeſt to haue an in-ſight into thy thoughts. But it is farre more magnificent to liue ſo, as if we were alwaies in the preſence and eye of a good man: I likewiſe hold my ſelfe content, prouided alwaies that that which thou doeſt, thou doeſt it as if a man had an eye vpon thee. Solitude induceth vs to all euill. When thou haſt profited ſo much that thou recorrecteſt thy ſelfe, thou mayeſt let goe thy Tutor; in the meane time, keepe thy ſelfe vnder the authoritie of ſome one: either let him be *Cato*, or *Scipio*, or *Lælius*, or ſuch as by whoſe interview men of leaſt hope would ſuppreſſe their vices alſo, whilſt thou makeſt thy ſelfe him before whom thou dareſt not offend. When thou haſt done this, and that thou haſt thy ſelfe in good eſteeme, I wil begin to permit thee that which *Epicurus* himſelfe perſwadeth. At that time eſpecially retire thy ſelfe into thy ſelfe, when thou art compelled to be in companie, it behoueth thee to differ from many men; but in the meane while, it is no ſecuritie for thee to depart from thy ſelfe.

ſelfe. Conſider the one after the other: there is no man that had not rather be with any man whatſoeuer, then with himſelfe: then eſpecially retire thy ſelfe into ſelfe, when as thou art compelled to be in companie, if thou beeſt a good, quiet, and temperate man; otherwiſe, forſake thy ſelfe, and ſeeke out companie: for in this caſe thou approcheſt more neere to a man of euill life.

EPIST. XXVI.

That he is old, and yet flouriſhing in mind. He ſpeaketh ſtoutly of death, which onely (ſaith he) ſheweth if any thing be done. The reſt are words. Force and courage ſhall appeare when thou art dying. A clauſe from EPICVRVS. *Learne to meditate on death.*

I Told thee not long ſince, that I am in view of old age, but now I feare mee I haue left old age behind mee: vndoubtedly my yeares and bodie at this time haue need of another word: for old is the name of an age wearied and feeble, and not of that which is altogether waſted and worne out. Number me amongſt the moſt decrepit; and that haue, as the prouerbe runneth, One foot alreadie in the graue. Meane while, I gratifie my ſelfe in thy preſence, for that old age attainteth not my ſpirit, for that I feele no infirmitie in my bodie, and that nothing is old in me but my members, and the inſtruments of vices. The mind is frolique and reioyceth, becauſe it hath not much to doe with the bodie: he hath diſcharged himſelfe of the greateſt part of his burthen, hee exſulteth and quarrelleth with me for old age: This, ſaith he, is his flower. Let vs beleeue him, and ſuffer him to enioy his good. I take pleaſure to re-knowledge and diſcerne in my ſelfe, what part of this tranquillitie and modeſtie of maners which I haue, I owe vnto Philoſophie, and what part vnto mine age, and diligently to diſcuſſe what things I cannot do, and what things I would not do, and whether I can any thing that I will not: for if I cannot any thing, I am glad I cannot: for what cauſe of complaint is there, or what diſcommoditie, if that which needes muſt not be, hath ceaſed to be? It is a great diſcommoditie, ſayeſt thou, to be diminiſhed, and to periſh: and to ſpeake more properly, to melt away. For we are not ſuddenly forced and caſt downe, we are weakened, and euery day depriueth vs of ſome part of our forces. And what end is better, then to ſteale ſoftly on a mans end by the diſſolution of nature? not that there is any euill in this, to be ſtriken and ſuddenly depriued of life, but this way is ſweet and gentle, to be by little and little diſpoſſeſſed and robbed of a mans ſelfe. For mine owne part as if I were on the point of triall, and the day were come which ſhould pronounce the ſentence of all my yeres, I obſerue, and after this manner ſpeake vnto my ſelfe. All that which hitherto I haue either ſpoken or done, vntill this houre, is nothing, light and deceiuable are theſe pledges of my mind, and enfolded with many deceits: death ſhall be the onely faithfull teſtimonie, whether I haue profited or not. Thus prepare I my ſelfe couragiouſly for that day, wherein I will pronounce of my ſelfe and iudge, (all crafts and ſubtilties laid aſide) whether I ſpeake or thinke conſtantly, whether the contumacious words whatſoeuer, which I vrged and darted out againſt fortune, were diſſembled or fained. Remoue the eſtimation of men, it is alwaies doubtfull, and diuided on both parts. Remoue thy ſtudies, thou haſt handled all thy life time, death muſt

pro-

pronounce of thee. I ſay this, that the diſputes and learned conferences, and the words gathered from the precepts of wiſe-men, neither the well-compoſed diſcourſe doth make ſhew, and approue the true value of a mans mind: for the fearfullest are bold in words. It then wil appeare what thou haſt done when thou departeſt thy life. I accept this condition: I feare not the iudgement. Thus ſpeake I with my ſelfe, but ſuppoſe likewiſe that I ſpeake this to thee. Thou art younger: what skilleth it? our yeares are not numbred. It is vncertaine in what place death expecteth thee, therfore expect thou him in all places. I would now haue made an end, and my hand was prefixing the period: but all ſolemnities muſt be obſerued, and I muſt giue this Epiſtle his paſport. Thinke that I tell thee not whence I meane to borrow; for thou knoweſt whoſe cofer I vſe. Tarrie a little and thou ſhalt be ſatisfied out of mine owne ſtocke; in the meane time, *Epicurus* ſhall lend me ſomewhat, who ſaith; *Meditate whether it be more commodious that death come vnto vs, or we vnto her.* The ſence hereof is manifeſt: it is an excellent thing to learne to die. Haply thou thinkeſt it to be a fruitleſſe thing to learne that which thou muſt vſe but once. This is that for which we ought to meditate; we muſt alwaies learn that which we cannot make proofe of whether we know. Meditate on death; who ſaith thus, commandeth to meditate on libertie: hee that hath learned to die, hath forgotten to ſerue, it is aboue all power, vndoubtedly beyond all. What careth he for priſons, holds, or reſtraints? He hath alwaies free paſſage. There is but one chaine that holdeth vs bound, that is the loue of life, which as it is not to be reiected, ſo is it to be diminiſhed, to the end that if occaſion ſo fall out, nothing may detaine or hinder vs, but that we may be ready to doe that preſently, which at ſome other time hereafter we muſt needes doe.

EPIST. XXVII.

He warneth and excuſeth, but what? Is he alreadie good, alreadie perfect? I am not, ſaith he, but amongſt thoſe that are rich. I debate with thee of the common end, and the remedie of the ſame. Pleaſures hurt or falſly helpe. Vertue alone bringeth forth a ſolid ioy. But aſſume thou, and poſſeſſe thou her, by another thou mayeſt not. A ſhort and merrie Hiſtorie of CALVISIVS. EPICVRVS *ſaying: Riches are a naturall pouertie.*

DOeſt thou admoniſh me, ſayeſt thou (for alreadie thou haſt admoniſhed, alreadie corrected thy ſelfe?) And therefore employeſt thou thy ſelfe to reforme others? And I am not ſo impudent to goe about to cure others, beeing ſicke my ſelfe; but lying, as it were, in the ſame Hoſpitall with thee, and of the ſame ſickneſſe, I conferre with thee vpon our common infirmitie, and communicate the remedies. Lend me therefore thine eare, as if I ſpake within my ſelfe. I giue thee entrance into my cabinet, and hauing entertained thee, I expoſtulate with my ſelfe: I crie vnto my ſelfe: number thy yeres, and thou wilt bluſh for ſhame, that thou willeſt the ſame which thou wouldeſt being a child, and profeſſeſt the like; do thy ſelfe this good at the laſt, that thy vices may die in thee before the day of thy death befall thee. Forſake theſe loathſome pleaſures, which thou ſhalt ſul dearly ſatisfie for: Not only thoſe that are to come, but thoſe alſo which are paſt doe hurt thee. Euen as the remorſe of ſinnes (although

though vnespied when they were committed) remaineth after them, so the repentance of loathsome pleasures liueth after them: they are not solid, they are not faithfull. Although they hurt not, they take their flight. Rather looke after some good that remaineth firme: and no one there is, except that which the mind of it selfe findeth out for himselfe. Vertue onely giueth perpetuall and assured ioy, although there be some obstacle. Yet happeneth it after the manner of clouds, which alwaies fall downewards, and neuer surmount the day. When shal it be our good hap to attaine vnto this ioy? There remaineth much labour; in which it concerneth thee to bestow both thy vigilancie and industrie, if thou wilt see it effected. This thing admitteth no procuration. Science may be assisted by an other. *Caluisius Sabinus* in our time was a rich man, and had both the patrimonie and wit of a libertine and freed man. Neuer saw I man more vndecently happie then he was. This man had so bad a memorie, that now he forgot the name of *Vlysses*, now of *Achilles*, and sometimes of *Priam*, whom he knew as well, as we at this present remember, our Masters. No old beadle, keeping the rowles of the people and seruants, not to report their proper names, but to giue them sirnames, more impertinently saluteth the tribes of the people, then he saluted the *Troians* and *Grecians*, yet would hee be esteemed learned. He therefore found out these short meanes, hee bought him slaues with great summes of money, one that held *Homer* before him, another that held *Hesiodus*, and to the nine *Lyriques*, besides he assigned a seuerall person. That he bought them so hugely deare, thou needest not wonder, he found them not so, but put them forth to be trained. As soone as hee had gotten him this family, he began to importunate those whom hee inuited, to eat with him. At his foot he had his slaues, of whom, when hee demanded a verse, to recite the same, notwithstanding hauing pronounced the one halfe of the verse, he forgot the other. *Satellius Quadratus*, a smell-feast, and sharker of foolish rich men, and which followeth, a Ieaster, and that which is adiunct to both these, a Scoffer, perswaded him to get him Grammarians, who should recollect that he let slip, and new informe him. And when *Sabinus* had told him, that euerie one of his slaues had cost him one hundred thousand *Sestercies*: Thou mightest (said hee) haue bought so many cabinets for thy Poets and writings, for lesse price, and better cheape. Yet was he of that opinion, that he thought he knew all that, that any man in his house knew. The same *Satellius* on a time began to perswade him to wrastle, being both a sicke, pale, and leane man. After that *Sabinus* had answered him: Alas, how can I doe it, who haue scarcely a handfull of life? Say not so, I pray you, said the other, seest thou not how many robust and well-set slaues thou hast? A good mind may not be borowed or bought, and thinke that if it were to bee sould, it should scarcely find a chapman; but the euill and vnlettered mind is daily bought. But now receiue thou that which I owe thee, and farewell. *Powertie disposed according to the law of Nature, is a great riches.* This doth *Epicurus* inculcate oftentimes in different manners. But it is neuer said too much, that is neuer learned enough. To some we must shew, to other some forcibly apply remedies.

EPIST. XXVIII.

The change of place changeth not the mind, thou oughteſt to change thy ſelfe. Take from thee thy inward penſiueneſſe, euerie place will be good and pleaſant; yet will I, if I can, chuſe the quieteſt and leaſt ſubiect to troubles or vices. A clauſe, know thine owne ſinnes, now art thou ſafe.

THou ſuppoſeſt that this hath onely befallen thee, and admireſt it as a noueltie, that in ſo long a voyage, and many diuerſitie of places, thou haſt not ſhaken off the ſadneſſe and heauineſſe of ſpirit; it is thy mind thou muſt change, and not the aire. Although thou haſt ouer-ſayled the vaſt ſeas, although (as *Virgil* ſaith) Lands and Cities retire from thee, yet will thy vices follow thee, and tract thee whitherſoeuer thou trauelleſt. The ſame anſwer made *Socrates* to a certaine man, that made the ſame complaint: *Why wondereſt thou that thy voyages profit thee nothing, ſince thou thy ſelfe tranſporteſt thy ſelfe here and there?* The ſame cauſe ſtayeth thee, that expelled thee. What can the noueltie of Lands profit thee, whereto ſerueth the knowledge of Cities and places? it is a fruitleſſe and friuolous labour. Wilt thou heare why theſe voyages bring thee no good? Thou flieſt with thy ſelfe. Thou muſt diſcharge thy ſelfe of the burthen of the mind, for before that, there is no place will pleaſe thee. Imagine thy ſelfe now to be ſuch as that Propheteſſe was of whom *Virgil* ſpeaketh, which was ſtirred vp, prouoked, and repleniſhed with another ſpirit then her owne:

The Prophet ſtormes and cries, and doth aſpire
To thruſt that god-head out, that did inſpire.

Thou goeſt here and there to ſhake off the burthen that ouer-preſſeth thee, which puzleth thee the more by the length of thy iourney. As in a ſhip, the ladings that are leſſe moueable, are thoſe that are leſſe troubleſome, and thoſe that are vnequally truſſed, doe ſooneſt drowne that ſide on which they ſettle. All what ſoeuer thou doeſt, thou doeſt againſt thy ſelfe, and by thy motion thou hurteſt thy ſelfe, for thou doeſt ſhake a ſicke man. But when thou haſt purged thee of this euill, euerie change of place cannot but giue thee pleaſure. Thou mayeſt be driuen into the moſt remoteſt countries, and be confined in a little corner of *Barbarie*, yet ſhall that ſtate be hoſpitable vnto thee, whatſoeuer it bee. It importeth more to know what thou art comming, then where thou arriueſt. And therefore ought we not to fixe our mind on any place. In this thought muſt we liue. I am not borne for one corner, the whole world is my Countrie. And if thou kneweſt it well, thou wouldeſt not thinke it ſtrange, that in no ſort thou art comforted with the varietie of countries wherein thou haſt beene, ſince that the Countrie wherein thou laſt liuedſt was loathſome to thee. For the firſt, thou entredſt had beene agreeable vnto thee, if thou haddeſt made account that euery Countrie had beene thine owne. Thou trauelleſt not, but runneſt the Countrie: thou trotteſt and remooueſt from place to place, although that verie thing thou ſeekeſt for (that is to ſay, to liue well) is found in euery place. Can there be any thing more turbulent then the Pallace? yet if need be, a man may liue peaceable euen there. And

yet if it were lawfull for me to make mine owne choice, I would retire my ſelfe farre enough from the frontiſpice and view of the Court. For euen as boggie places may hazard the firmeſt conſtitution, ſo are there ſome things which are leſſe healthfull to a good vnderſtanding, which is not wholely accompliſhed, but in the way of recouery. I differ from their opinions that keepe the mid ſtreame, approuing a tumultuous life, and that couragiouſly fight daily againſt all ſorts of extremes & tribulations. A wiſeman wil endure, but not chuſe theſe, and had rather be in peace, then in fight. For it profiteth not a man very much to haue caſt off and deteſted his vices, if he muſt conteſt with other mens. Thirtie tyrants, ſayeſt thou, enuironed *Socrates*, and yet could not make him falter in his reſolutions. What skilleth it how many Lords there be? It is but one ſeruitude. He that hath contemned this ſeruitude, is free before whatſoeuer troupe of Commanders. It is time to giue ouer, prouided that I firſt pay my tollage. *The knowledge of a mans fault is the beginning of his health.* EPICVRVS in my opinion hath ſpoken this very worthily. For he that knoweth not that he hath offended, will not be corrected. Thou muſt find out thine owne errour, before thou amendeſt thy ſelfe. Some glorie in their vices; thinkeſt thou that they dream of their remedies, that number their vices in the place of vertues? Therfore, as much as in thee lieth, reproue thy ſelfe, enquire and ſearch into thy ſelfe, play the part of an accuſer at the firſt, then of a Iudge, and laſtly of a ſuppliant; and ſometimes puniſh thy ſelfe.

EPIST. XXIX.

That MARCELLINVS *is hard to be corrected: For he ſcorneth and mocketh, yet will I not giue him ouer, and haply in this ſort I will ouercome him.* EPICVRVS *Sentence, ſtudie not to pleaſe the people, that is to ſay, many.*

THou enquireſt ſome newes of our friend *Marcellinus*, and wouldeſt know what he doth. He commeth very ſeldome vnto vs, for no other cauſe, then for that he feareth to heare the truth. From which perill he is now free, for we are to ſpeake to none, but ſuch as will giue eare vnto vs. Therefore it hath bin a queſtion, whether *Diogenes*, or any other *Cynicks*, who haue vſed a promiſcuous and indiſcreet libertie, to reproue all ſuch as they meet withall, ought to doe ſo or no. For to what intent ſhould a man chide the deafe, or controule ſuch as are mute either by nature or ſickneſſe? Why, ſayeſt thou, ſhould I ſpare my words, they coſt me nothing? I know not whether I ſhall profit him whom I admoniſh. This I know, that I ſhall profit ſome one, if I admoniſh many. The hand muſt be ſcattered. It cannot be, but he ſhall effect once, that attempteth often. But I think not, my *Lucilius*, that this is to be done to a great man. For hereby his authoritie is diminiſhed, and hath no weight, in reſpect of thoſe whom otherwiſe he might haue eaſily reformed, if he had bin leſſe diſgraced. It is not alwaies needful that a good Archer hit the white, ſomtimes he may ouerſhoot. It is not an Art that caſually commeth to the effect. Wiſdome is an Art that muſt aime at a certaine end. Let her therefore ſeeke out thoſe that may be profited by her, & retire her ſelfe from thoſe of whom ſhe deſpaireth, prouided alwaies that ſhe abandon them not too ſoone, but forcibly & deſperatly attempt all remedies, when as there is leſſe hope. I haue not yet loſt all my hope of our friend

friend *Marcellinus*, as yet he may be ſaued, prouided he be ſuddenly aſſiſted. It is to be feared leſt he ſhould draw him, that ſhould ſet hands to helpe him. The power of wit is mightie in him, but alreadie depraued, and tending to euill. Notwithſtanding I will vndergoe this perill, and dare to ſhew him his infirmities. I know well that he wil follow his old cuſtome; he will ſummon and marſhall out all thoſe ieſts, which can prouoke laughter in the eye of lamentation, and will ieſt at himſelfe firſt, then at vs, and alwaies preuent all thoſe things, which I am to ſpeake. He will ſearch into our ſchooles, and obiect to our Philoſophers their many gifts, their wenches, and good cheere. He will ſhew me one in Adulterie, another in a Tauerne, another in Court. Hee will repreſent vnto me that merrie Greeke, the Philoſopher *Ariſton*, which was wont to diſpute in his Litter, for he had choſen this time to publiſh his workes. Of whoſe Sect a queſtion being moued, *Scaurus* ſaid vndoubtedly he is no *Peripatetique*. Of the ſame man, when a queſtion was moued to *Iulius Græcinus*, a man of good reckoning, what he thought of him: *I cannot tell thee* (ſaith he) *for I know not how he behaueth himſelfe on foote*; as if he had beene queſtioned with about his warlike Coach. He will caſt in my teeth the Montebankes, which might with more honeſtie contemne, then ſell Philoſophie; yet am I reſolued to ſuffer his vpbraids. Let him moue me to laughter, haply I will prouoke him to teares; or if he perſeuere in his laughter, I will laugh with him, euen in this his infirmitie, becauſe he is fallen into ſo pleaſant a manner of madneſſe. But obſerue this, this iollitie is not of long continuance. Thou ſhalt behold ſuch as theſe for a while laugh verie heartily, and in as little while raue moſt bitterly. I am reſolued to ſet on him, and to ſhew him how farre better he were, when many ſhould eſteeme him farre leſſe. If I cannot wholly cut off his vices, at the leaſt-wiſe I will reſtraine them, they ſhall not ceaſe but intermit; but haply they ſhall ceaſe alſo, if they take a cuſtome to intermit. Neither is this to be diſliked, becauſe in thoſe that are grieuouſly ſicke, a good remiſſion of the ſickneſſe is taken for health. Whileſt thus I prepare my ſelfe for him, ſee that thou (who canſt, and knoweſt whence thou art eſcaped, and in what ſtate thou ſtandeſt, and thereby preſumeſt how farre thou oughteſt to attaine) gouerne thy manners, raiſe thy ſpirit, make head againſt thoſe things that are to be doubted, and number not thoſe that giue thee cauſe of feare. Should he not be reputed a foole who ſhould be afraid of a multitude, in that place by which euerie one muſt paſſe? This death can bee but one, though many men threaten thee. The ordinance of Nature is ſuch, that one onely may as ſoone ridde thee of thy life, as one gaue it thee. If thou haddeſt any ſhame in thee, thou wouldeſt ſend me backe my laſt penſion. But leſt I behaue my ſelfe vntowardly, in paying the vſurie of another mans money, I will pay thee that I owe thee. *I would neuer pleaſe the people. For thoſe things I know, the people alloweth not, and that which the people alloweth, I know not.* Whoſe is this? ſayeſt thou? As if thou kneweſt not whom I command. It is *Epicurus*. But the verie ſame will all of them declaime vnto thee, from euery houſe of the *Peripatetiques*, *Academicks*, *Stoickes*, *Cynickes*. For who pleaſeth vertue, that can pleaſe the common people? popular fauour is purchaſed by euill Artes; thou muſt needes make thy ſelfe like vnto them. They will not allow thee, except they know thee. But it is farre more expedient that thou take heed to that which thou thinkeſt thy ſelfe, then either to attend, or intend the opinion of others. The loue of diſhoneſt things cannot be attained but by diſhoneſt meanes. What profit then ſhall this Philoſophie (ſo

much esteemed and preferred aboue all arts, and other things) afford thee? Truly this, that thou hadst rather please thy selfe then please the people, that thou estimatest and numbrest not mens iudgements; that thou liue without feare either of Gods or men; that either thou ouercome or end thine euils: but if I shall see thee applauded by the fauourable voices of the people; if vpon thine entrance into the Theatre, the acclamations, the applauses, and all the equipage of Players and Mimicks attend thee: if euen to the verie women and little children, euerie one speaketh well of thee thorowout the towne, why should I not haue pittie on thee, knowing what way conducteth thee to this fauour?

Epist. XXX.

That wee ought to bee prepared for death, and take courage in it by example of Avfidivs Bassvs, *who beeing old, both willingly heareth of the same; and likewise, hee speaketh and proueth it with many reasons, that it is not to bee feared. By the way some other things.*

I Saw that good man *Bassus Aufidius* broken and wraſtling with age, but at this preſent he is ſo much ſurcharged therewith, that it is impoſſible for him to raiſe himſelfe againe; age hath throwne her ſelfe vpon him with her whole weight. Thou knoweſt very well, that he hath alwaies had a weake, a drie bodie, which he hath long time continued; or, to ſpeake more properly, repaired and pieced; but in the end it is all at once defeated. Euen as in a leaking Ship a man ſtoppeth a leake or two, but when it taketh in water on euerie ſide, there is no more meanes to auoid the ſame, but that it muſt needes ſinke to the bottome: ſo in a bodie which is old and crazed, the weakeneſſe may for a time be relieued and fortified, but when the ioynts fall aſunder as an old building, and as the one is repaired, the other is looſened, there is no other circumſpection to be had, but to thinke how a man may get out of it. Yet our *Baſſus* hath a good courage, for this Philoſophie yeeldeth him: Shee maketh couragious in all habitudes of the bodie, ioyfull in the preſence of death, and not faint-hearted in the defiance of life. A good Pilot ſayleth although his ſayles bee rent; and if the tempeſt hath diſarmed him, yet maketh he vſe of the reſt of his rigging to finiſh his voyage. The like doth our *Baſſus*, and with that mind and countenance beholdeth hee his end, that thou wouldeſt iudge him to be ouer-firme and reſolute, who ſhould in the like ſort behold another mans end. This is a great vertue, *Lucilius*, and requireth long time to be learned, to forſake this life with a conſtant reſolution, when that vnauoydable houre of death ſhall approach vs. All other kindes of death are intermixed with hope: Sickneſſes are healed, fire is extinguiſhed, the ruinous houſe ſometimes ſoftly layeth them on the ground, which it ſhould altogether cruſh to pieces. Hee that hath beene ſwallowed vp with one ſurge of the Sea, hath beene caſt aſhoare whole and ſound by an oppoſite billow: the Sword which the Souldier hath aymed to ſtrike, hath beene reuoked by his hand from the very necke of the conquered;

quered; but he whom age leadeth vnto death, hath nothing more to hope, onely it is that alone which admitteth no comprimiſe. Men die not more ſweetly then after this manner, neither alſo in any ſort are they longer a dying. Me thinkes that *Baſſus* doth proſecute, diſpoſe himſelfe, and ſo liue, as it hee ſhould ſuruiue himſelfe; in briefe, he ſupporteth this diuiſion of himſelfe very wiſely: for he ſpeaketh much of death, and endeauoureth himſelfe with all diligence to perſwade vs, that if there bee either incommoditie or feare in this buſineſſe, it is the fault of him that dyeth, not of death; and that there is no more euill in the ſame, then after the ſame: and as mad is he, who feareth that which he is not to ſuffer, as he that feareth that which he is not to feele. Can any man thinke that theſe ſhould come to paſſe, that a man ſhould feele death, by which we feele nothing? Therefore, ſaith he, death is not only out of euill, but without all feare of euill. I know very well that ſuch diſcourſes haue beene often ſpoken, and muſt oftentimes be repeated; but neither when I read them, did they equally profit me, nor when I heard them that denied that thoſe things are to be feared, the feare whereof they neuer apprehended. But this man had very much credit and authoritie with mee, ſpeaking thus of death, whom I ſaw in himſelfe addreſſed to die. I will freely ſpeake that which I thinke, I repute him to be more couragious that wraſtleth with death, then another that only approcheth her. For whereas death ſeiſeth, ſhe confirmeth and encourageth them that leaſt know her, that they cannot auoyd their deſtiny; ſo the Fencer being moſt fearefull all the fight time, willingly preſenteth his throate vnto his enemie, and if the ſword ſlip aſide, himſelfe addreſſeth and guideth it with his owne hand. But that death that approcheth, and notwithſtanding is yet to come, needeth more ſetled and maturely eſtabliſhed conſtancy, which cannot be performed but in him that is perfectly wiſe. I therefore attentiuely lent eare vnto him, and more willingly heard him how hee ſentenced of death, and diſcourſed on the nature thereof, as one that had eyed her very nigh. More truſt and credit, as I thinke, ſhould he haue with thee that were newly reuiued from death, and that being experienced in the ſame, ſhould ſhew thee that there were no euill in death. What perturbation the acceſſe of death bringeth, they can beſt tell thee that haue more neerely obſerued her, that haue both ſeene her comming, and entertained her being come. Amongſt theſe thou mayeſt number *Baſſus*, who vnwilling and loth to haue vs deceiued, telleth vs that it is as fooliſh a thing to feare death, as to feare old age: for euen as age followeth youth, ſo death followeth age. Hee would not liue that will not die: for life is giuen with this exception, that we muſt die; we are in the way of death and he that feareth it, hath loſt his wits; becauſe that which is certaine is expected, and thoſe things that are doubtfull are ſuſpected. Death hath a neceſſitie equall and inuincible: Who can complaine that he is in that eſtate which no man is not in? for the firſt part of equitie is equalitie. But now it is a vaine matter to pleade natures cauſe, which would that our condition ſhould bee no other then her owne. Shee reſolueth that which ſhee hath compounded, and whatſoeuer ſhe reſolueth, that compoundeth ſhee againe. Now if it be any mans chance to be gently carried away by age, and not ſuddenly pulled out of life, but drawne away by minutes, hath he not cauſe to praiſe the gods, for ſending him after ſacietie, a neceſſary repoſe to humanity, and agreeable vnto his wearineſſe? Thou ſeeſt ſome men wiſhing death, yea with farre greater zeale, then they were accuſtomed to demand life. I cannot very well tell which of theſe giues vs more heart, either they which demand,

or elſe they which attend death without trouble or tediouſneſſe, becauſe rage and ſudden indignation may bee cauſe of this firſt affection, whereas this laſt can bee no other thing, then a tranquilitie which proceedeth from compoſed and certaine iudgement. Some man, moued with choller, will kill himſelfe, but no man entertaineth death with contentment when ſhee commeth, but he that long time hath formed himſelfe to entertaine death. I confeſſe therefore that I haue more often v[illegible]ed this good man, and my great friend, to ſee if I might alwaies find him the ſame, and whether the conſtancie of his mind decayed not through the feebleneſſe of bodie: but contrariwiſe, I haue alwaies found that it encreaſed in him, euen as we ſee the ioy more manifeſt in thoſe, who after they haue beene long time tired to gaine the prize of a courſe, approch the place where the palme is propoſed. He ſaid (conforming himſelfe to the precepts of *Epicurus*) that firſt of all he ſhould haue no paine in that laſt gaſpe; or if he had, that he comforted himſelfe in this, that it ſhould not be long, becauſe there is griefe which is long, that is great: and put the caſe vpon the ſame poynt of the diuiſion of ſoule and bodie, if there ſhould fall out any torment; he comforted himſelfe with this aſſurance, that at leaſtwiſe after this griefe, there could neuer any more ſucceed, and that he knew verie well, that the ſoule and life of an old man ſtucke but a little within his lips, and with a little breath would be eaſily ſeuered. The fire that hath ſufficient matter to feed vpon, muſt ſometimes be extinguiſhed by water, and ſometimes by ruine; that fire that wanteth fuell, dieth of it ſelfe. I very willingly giue eare to theſe things, my *Lucilius*, not as nouelties, but ſuch as preſently henceforth I muſt make proofe of. What then? haue I not ſeene very many that haue abridged the courſe of their life? I haue ſeene them, but I eſteeme them farre more, which come vnto death without hatred of life, and admit her, but draw her not on. Furthermore, he ſaid, that this trembling and feare which we haue, when we beleeue that death is neere vnto vs, is forged by our ſelues, and we trauell to tire our ſelues. For to whom is ſhe not aſſiſtant in all places, and at all times? But let vs conſider, ſaith he, when any occaſion of death ſeemeth to approach vs, how many other cauſes there be that are more neere, which are not feared at all. We ſhould feare death at the hands of our enemie, and in the meane while cruditie, or a catarrhe cutteth vs ſhort. If we would diſtinguiſh the cauſes of our feare, wee ſhall find that they are other then they ſeeme to bee. We feare not the ſtroake of death, but the thought. For wee are not further off her at one time then we are at another. So if death be to be feared, it is alwaies to be feared, for what time is exempted from death? But I had need to feare, leſt thou hate ſo long Epiſtles worſe then death. I will therefore make an end. But thinke thou alwaies on death, that thou mayeſt neuer feare it.

(***)

EPIST. XXXI.

That both the vowes and iudgements of the common people are to be deſpiſed. That the true good is to bee ſought for, and that is the knowledge of things, by which thou mayeſt diſcerne truth from falſehood, periſhable from durable. Hee doth illuſtrate it by examples.

NOw doe I acknowledge my *Lucilius*, hee beginneth to diſcouer himſelfe to be ſuch a one, as he alwayes promiſed he would be. Continue then to keepe this courſe, and follow this tract and feruour of minde, by which in contemning the popular goods, thou embraceſt thoſe things that are of better condition. I deſire not that thou ſhouldeſt make thy ſelfe either more great or better, then thou endeuoureſt to be. Thy foundations haue occupied a great place, onely doe as much as thou haſt intended to doe, and keepe thy ſelfe to thoſe things which thou haſt alreadie conceiued. In ſumme, thou ſhalt bee wiſe, if thou cloſe vp thine eares, which it ſufficeth not to damme vp with Waxe: thou muſt cloſe ſtop them after another manner, then *Vlyſſes* did thoſe of his companions. The voice which he feared was ſweet and alluring, yet not publike. But that which is to bee feared, commeth not from one Rocke only, it ſoundeth from all parts of the Earth. Paſſe therefore ſpeedily, not onely one ſuſpected place of this trayterous pleaſure, but all Cities. Bee thou deafe vnto thoſe that loue thee moſt. They with a good intent afford thee euill wiſhes, and if thou wilt bee happy, beſeech the Gods that no one of thoſe things that are wiſhed thee, may fall vpon thee. They are no goods, which they wiſh thou ſhouldeſt be repleniſhed with. There is but one good, which is the cauſe and foundation of a bleſſed life, to truſt a mans ſelfe. But this cannot happen except labour bee contemned, and eſteemed in the number of theſe things, which are neither good nor euill. For it cannot come to paſſe, that one thing ſhould be now euill, and ſtraight good; now light and to be ſuffered, now inſupportable, and to bee feared. Labour is not good, what then is good? the contempt of labour: I ſhould blame thoſe that are vainly induſtrious, and to no purpoſe. Againe, ſuch as endeuour after honeſt things, the more they buſie themſelues, and the leſſe they permit themſelues to be ouercome and kept at a ſtand, I ſhall admire and cry, ariſe by ſo much better, and reſpire and get the top of this Cliffe with one breath, if thou canſt. Labour nouriſheth generous minds. Thou art not therefore, according to that old Vow of thy Parents, to make choice, what thou wouldeſt, ſhould befall thee, or what thou ſhouldeſt wiſh: and in ſumme, to a man that hath ouer-paſſed alreadie mightie things, it is vnſeemely and loathſome as yet to wearie the GODS. What needs there any Vowes? Make thou thy ſelfe happy, and happie ſhalt thou make thy ſelfe, if thou vnderſtand that thoſe things are good, which are mixed with Vertue; Euill, which are coupled with Malice. Euen as nothing is cleere without the mixture of light; nothing blacke, but that which hath darkneſſe in it, or hath drawne ſome obſcuritie into it ſelfe. Euen as without the helpe of fire nothing is hot, nothing without the ayre is cold; ſo the ſocietie of Vertue and Vice, makes things honeſt, or diſhoneſt. What therefore is good? the knowledge of things: what is euill? the ignorance of things. Hee is a prudent man, and his Arts Maſter, that according to the time repelleth or chooſeth euery thing. But neither feareth he that which hee repelleth, neither admireth hee that

that which hee chuſeth, if ſo bee his minde bee great and inuincible. I forbid thee to ſubmit or ſuffer thy ſelfe to bee depreſt. If thou refuſe not labour, it is a little matter, require it. What labour therefore, ſayeſt thou, is friuolous and void? that into which baſe cauſes haue called vs. It is not euil, no more then that which is employed in worthy actions, becauſe it is onely the patience of the minde, which encourageth it ſelfe to hard and deſperate attempts, and ſaith: Why feareſt thou? It is not a manly part to feare labour: and hereto let that be annexed, that thy vertue may be perfect, namely, an equalitie and tenour of life in euery thing conſonant vnto it ſelfe; which cannot bee except the knowledge of things happen, and art, by which both Diuine and Humane things may be knowne. This is the chiefeſt good, which if thou poſſeſſeſt, thou beginneſt to be a companion, not a ſuppliant of the Gods. But how, ſayeſt thou, may one attaine thereunto? It is not by the *Apeninne Alpes*, or the Mount *Graius*, neither by the deſerts of *Candauia*, neither art thou to paſſe the *Syrtes* or *Scylla*, or *Charybdis*, all which thou haſt done, for the price of a baſe pettie gouernment. The way that Nature hath made and taught thee, is full of ſecuritie and pleaſure. Shee hath giuen thee thoſe things, which if thou forſake not, thou ſhalt be made like vnto God; but equall with God thy Money will not make thee. God hath nothing: Thy dignities will not make thee. God is naked: The reputation of men, thy oſtentation, and the knowledge of thy name will not make thee. No man knoweth God, diuers men haue a prepoſterous opinion of him, yet are they vnpuniſhed. The troope of Seruitours and Slaues which are about thy Litter, and that beare thee vpon their armes in Field and Citie, cannot likewiſe ſerue thee any thing. That mighty and moſt powerfull God, he it is that diſpoſeth all things. Neither thy beautie or ſtrength likewiſe can make thee bleſſed, none of theſe but is ſubiect to alteration. Thou art therefore to ſeek out that, that is not impayred from day to day, and which cannot be reſiſted. What is this? a minde: but this right, good, and great. What elſe wilt thou call this, but a God, dwelling in a humane bodie? This mind may fall as well into a Romane Knight, as into a Libertine, or into a Seruant. For theſe names are forged out of ambition or iniury. It is lawfull from the leaſt corner of the World, to leape vp into Heauen. Rayſe thy ſelfe therefore, and faſhion thy ſelfe worthy of God: but this cannot bee made either with Gold or Siluer. Of ſuch matter as this a man cannot make an Image that reſembleth God. Remember that they when they were fauorable vnto vs, had their Images made of Earth.

EPIST. XXXII.

He prayſeth LVCILIVS *his ſolitude and retyring. Moreouer, hee exhorteth that no man ſhould ſteale away the time, being ſo ſhort and flitting. That he contemne alſo vulgar Vowes.*

I Diligently enquire of thy behauiour, and demaund of all thoſe that come from the place where thou dwelleſt, what thou doeſt, and where, and with whom thou abideſt. Thou canſt not deceiue me, I am with thee. Liue thou in that faſhion, as if I heard what thou diddeſt, yea, as if I ſaw thine actions. Thou requireſt of me, what delighteth me moſt, of thoſe things I heare of thee? Truely it is that

that I heare nothing of thee, and that the moſt part of thoſe whome I queſtion with about thee, know not what thou doeſt. It is a wholeſome aduice not to conuerſe with thoſe which are different from thy nature, and that affect other things then thou doeſt. I am ſetled in this hope, that thou canſt not bee miſſeled, and that thou wilt firmely keep thy deliberation, although a troop of troubleſome men doe haunt round about thee. What is it then? I feare not that they will change thee, but I feare they will hinder thee. But hee hurteth very much that delayeth and eſpecially in this life, which is ſo ſhort, which wee abreuiate by inconſtancy, giuing it now one beginning, afterwards, (and that inſtantly) another. We diuide it, and cut it in pieces. Haſte thee then, my deareſt *Lucilius*, and thinke with thy ſelfe, how much thou ſhouldeſt double thy pace, if behind thee thou wert preſſed by thine enemy, if thou thoughteſt the Horſe-man purſued thee, and traced after the foot-ſteps of thoſe that fled. Thou art at that point, thou art chaſed, haſte thee, and eſcape: bring thy ſelfe into a place of ſecuritie; and then incontinently after conſider, how more worthy a thing it is to conſummate a mans life, before death, then to expect ſecurity in the remainder part of his time placed in the poſſeſſion of a bleſſed life, which is not made more bleſſed if longer. O when ſhalt thou ſee that time, wherein thou mayeſt know that time appertaineth not vnto thee, wherein thou ſhalt bee peaceable and contented, and neglectfull of to morrow, and in chiefeſt facietie of thy ſelfe? Wilt thou know what it is that maketh men greedie of that which is to come? No man is for himſelfe: thy Father and Mother haue wiſhed thee diuers things; but contrariwiſe, I wiſh thee the contempt of all thoſe things, whereof they would haue thee enioy the affluence. Their vowes ſpoyle many to enrich thee: whatſoeuer they transferre vnto thee, is to be extorted from another. My deſire is, that thou ſhouldeſt diſpoſe of thy ſelfe, that thy ſpirit being aſſailed with incertaine fantaſies ſhould reſiſt them, and be ſetled; that it ſhould pleaſe it ſelfe, and vnderſtanding true goods, which are poſſeſſed as ſoone as they are knowne, and need no adiection of age. Finally, hee hath ouer-gone his neceſſities, and is diſcharged and free, who liueth when his life is done.

Epist. XXXIII.

Hee denyeth that Sentences or ſhort Leſſons ſhould bee gathered from the Stoicks: firſt, becauſe all things are repleniſhed and full of ſuch things; againe, becauſe it is vnſeemely to ſpeake alwayes by authoritie. Let vs make them ours, and preferre them in our life.

THou deſireſt in theſe Epiſtles alſoas in the former, that I ſet down certaine ſentences of our Maſters. They were not much occupied about the flowers of diſcourſe: all their manner of ſpeech was ſubſtantiall and manly: know thou that inequalitie is there, where thoſe things that are eminent are notable. No man admireth one tree, when as all the wood is growne to the ſame height, With theſe and ſuch like Sentences, all Poems and Hiſtories are ſtuffed. I will not therefore haue thee thinke that they are of *Epicurus*: they are vulgar, and eſpecially of the Stoickes. But in that are they moſt noted, becauſe they ſeldome occurre, becauſe vnexpected, becauſe it is a wonder that any thing ſhould bee conſtantly ſpoken

ſpoken by a man that profeſſeth delicacie: for ſo doe diuers men iudge; but in my opinion *Epicurus* is valiant, although effeminately dreſſed. Fortitude and induſtrie, and a mind addreſſed to Warre, as well lodgeth in a Perſian as a high-girt Romane. Thou muſt not therefore exact at my hands choice and well digeſted ſtuffe, that is continuall amongſt our Maſters, which amongſt others is ſelected. We vent not therefore theſe eye-pleaſing and odoriferous wares, neither deceiue we our Merchant, like to find nothing when hee entreth, beſides thoſe which are hanged vp in the front for a ſhow. Wee permit them to take their patterne from whence they pleaſe. Thinkeſt thou that I will take out of the whole Map the particular Sentences of any? To whome ſhall I aſſigne them, to *Zeno*, or *Cleanthes*, or *Chryſippus*, or *Panætius*, or *Poſidonius*? Wee are not vnder a King; euery one maintayneth himſelfe in his owne libertie: with them whatſoeuer *Hermarchus* ſaith, whatſoeuer *Metrodorus*, it is referred to one. All whatſoeuer any man hath ſpoken in that company, is ſpoken by authoritie, and directions of one alone. Wee cannot, I tell thee, (although wee attempt) out of ſo great abundance of equall things, bring forth any thing:

It is a poore mans part to count his Flocke.

Whereſoeuer thou fixeſt thine eye, thou ſhalt meet with that which might bee eminent, vnleſſe it were read amongſt others of equall worthineſſe: for which cauſe lay apart this hope, which flattereth thee with the poſſibilitie, that thou mayeſt ſummarily conceiue the choyſeſt things, which the greateſt ſpirits haue conceited. They are intyrely to be looked ouer, and wholly to bee diſcuſſed. When a man doth any thing, he intendeth the ſame, and by the proiect of his ſpirit the worke is compiled, of which a man can diſmember nothing without the ruine of the whole. I deny thee not but that thou mayeſt conſider euery member one after another, prouided it bee in a man that hath them. The woman is not faire whoſe legge or arme is prayſed, but ſhee whoſe full repreſentation is cauſe that a man admireth not her other parts; yet if thou exact the ſame, I will not deale ſo niggardly with thee as I make ſhew for, but will furniſh thee with a full hand. There is a huge company of them that lye ſcattered here and there: they are to bee taken, but not gathered; for they fall not, but flow perpetually, and are tyed together amongſt themſelues: neither doubt I but that they will profit thoſe who are as yet rude, and yeeld but a ſuperficiall attention. For thoſe things that are circumſcribed and moulded after the manner of a Verſe, are more eaſily remembred. Therefore giue we Children certaine Sentences to commit to memorie, and thoſe which the Grecians call *Chries*, becauſe a childiſh wit can comprehend them, being as yet vncapable of a more certaine and ſolid Science. A complete man hath no honour to gather Noſe-gayes, to ſtay himſelfe and build on certaine vſuall or few words, and to truſt vnto his memorie, he ought to truſt himſelfe. Let him ſpeake theſe, but not as though hee had learned them. For it is a baſe thing for an olde man, or ſuch a one as is ſtept in yeres, to be wiſe in nothing but his Note-booke. This ſaid *Zeno*, what ſayeſt thou? This *Cleanthes*, but what thou? How long art thou directed by others? Both command and ſay what ſhall be committed to memorie, and produce ſomewhat of thine owne. I thinke therefore that theſe neuer-authors, but alwayes interpreters, lying hid vnder the ſhadow of other men, haue no generous nature in them, which neuer dared to publiſh that which they had learned in long ſpace of time, but haue exerciſed their memo-

rie

rie on other mens labours. It is one thing to remember, another thing to know: to remember is to keep a thing in memory which is committed; but contrariwiſe, to know is to make euery thing his owne, neither to hang on examples, and ſo oftentimes to looke backe to his Maſter. This ſaith *Zeno*, that *Cleanthes*: make ſome difference betwixt thee and thy Booke; how long wilt thou be a Learner? At laſt employ thy ſelfe to teach others: what profiteth it mee to heare that I may reade? The liuing voyce, ſayth hee, doth much; not that which is recommended by another mans wordes, and ſerueth but in ſtead of a Regiſter. Adde hereunto now, that they who are neuer their owne Maſters, firſt in that thing doe follow their Anceſtors, wherein no man hath not reuoked from the former. Againe, they follow them in that, which is yet in queſtion: but it will neuer bee found, if wee ſhall bee content with thoſe things that are found. Moreouer, hee that followeth another man hath found nothing, and which is worſe, he ſeeketh nothing. What then? Shall I not follow the ſteps of mine Anceſtors? Truly I will keepe the olde wayes: but if I find out one more ſhort, I will take it and maintayne it. They that before vs haue managed theſe things, were not our Lords, but our Guides. Truth is open vnto all men: ſhe is not as yet borne away all; there is much of her left for Poſteritie to find out.

EPIST. XXXIV.

That he is glad of LVCILIVS *proficiencie, becauſe it was from him, and he formed him. Moreouer he exhorteth him to goe forward euen to perfection.*

I Grow great, and leape for ioy, and ſhaking off mine old age, I grow young againe, as often as I vnderſtand by thoſe things thou doeſt and writeſt, how much thy ſelfe exceedeſt thy ſelfe (for long ſince thou haddeſt forſaken the troopes of common ſocietie.) If the tree being growne to beare fruit, delighteth the Husbandman: if the Shepheard take pleaſure in the fruitfulneſſe of his flocke: if no man beholdeth his foſter childe otherwiſe, but that hee reputeth his young yeeres to bee his owne: what thinkeſt thou befalleth them which haue formed young ſpirits, when thoſe they haue trayned vp raw, they ſuddenly ſee ripe. I challenge thee for mine, thou art mine owne labour. When firſt I ſaw thine inclination, I laid holde on thee, I exhorted thee, I encouraged thee; neither permitted I thee to pace on ſoftly, but I pricked thee forward, and now doe I the like. And although thou runneſt and exhorteſt mee, all is to performe my dutie, yet will I not ceaſe to aduertize thee. If thou askeſt mee what other thing I deſire? very much in this. Some ſay, that a Worke well begunne is halfe ended, but ſo it is not in the affaires of the mind. The greater part of good, is to deſire to become good. Knoweſt thou whom I call good? I meane a perfect and abſolute man, whom no force or neceſſitie can prouoke to doe euill. And alreadie, me thinkes, I eſpye ſuch a man in thy ſelfe, if thou perſeuer and endeuour, and effect this, that all thy deeds and words may bee agreeable and correſpondent in themſelues, and ſtamped after one Coyne. His minde is eſtranged from the right way whoſe acts are diſcordant.

EPIST.

Epist. XXXV.

He wisheth him to be his friend that is a good man, otherwise no man is a friend although he loueth. Let him therefore doe, and especially learne this, to liue conueniently, that is, constantly, that is, wisely.

WHenas so earnestly I entreat thee to studie, I doe mine owne businesse: I will haue a friend; which will not come to passe, except thou perseuer to beautifie thy selfe, as thou hast begun. For now thou loueſt me, but thou art not my friend: what then? is there any difference betwixt these two? what else? they are vnlike. Hee that is a friend loueth, and he that loueth is not assuredly a friend. For which cause friendshipalwayes profiteth, and loue sometimes hurteth. If thou doest no other thing, profit at least-wise so well, that thou mayest learne to loue well. But aboue all things haste thy selfe during the time thou studiest for mee, for feare thou learnest not for another. Verily I doe alreadie participate the fruit, when I imagine with my selfe that we shall be both of one minde, and that all that vigor which is eclipsed in mine age, shall returne vnto mee from thine, although there is little difference betwixt the one and the other, yet will I really and essentially take my pleasure. There is a certaine contentment that commeth vnto vs from those we loue, although they bee absent; but it is but a light and fraile pleasure. The sight, the presence, and conuersation haue some liuing pleasure in them, and principally if thou beholdest not onely him whom thou desirest, but him who is such a one whom thou desirest. Present thy selfe therefore vnto me as an honourable and acceptable gift; and to the end thou mayest presse in the more, thinke mee to be olde, and thy selfe to be mortall. Hasten thee to mee, but first of all to thy selfe, profit thy selfe indeed. And aboue all things let this bee thy care, that thou bee constant to thy selfe. As oftentimes as thou hast a will to make tryall, whether in any sort thou beest changed, obserue thy selfe, whether thou willest the same things to day, that thou diddest yesterday. The change of the will betokeneth that the minde swimmeth in one place, and appeareth in another, euen as the wind carrieth it. That which is firme and hath a good foundation varieth not. This perfectly happeneth to a Wise-man, and in some measure to a Proficient; and hee that hath as yet attained further. What difference is there then? He that profiteth is in a manner moued, yet forsaketh he not his place, but returneth to his bounds; the perfect Wise-man is in no sort moued.

Epist. XXXVI.

He prayseth a certaine man that had disposed himselfe to retyrement, and forsaken the Common-weale. He aduiseth him to contemne the common talke, to proceed in goodnesse, or rather to bee made good. Let him goe forward to despise death, and that with reason.

EXhort thy friend to contemne those with a mightie minde, that blame and reproue him for seeking out retyrement and quiet, forsaking his dignities, and for preferring his quiet aboue all things, whenas he might haue obtayned most honour. He shall make them euery day perceiue, how profitably hee hath managed

ged his affaires. They whoſe felicitie is enuied, will not deſiſt from alterations, ſome ſhall be ſtrucken downe, otherſome ſhal fall. Felicitie is a turbulent thing, ſhe tormenteth her ſelfe, ſhe moueth the mind after diuers faſhions: ſhe puſheth her followers from one into an other, ſome into greatneſſe, otherſome into effeminacie: theſe ſhe puffeth vp, thoſe ſhe mollifieth and wholly reſoluеth. But ſome man beareth his felicitie well, yea ſo as ſome doe their wine. There is no reaſon therefore, that theſe men ſhould perſwade thee, that he is happy who is beſieged with many ſuiters; they flocke to him, as to a lake which they moſt trouble who moſt draw it drie. They call this friend, and louer of *Philoſophy*, a trifler and a ſluggard. Thou knoweſt that ſome men ſpeake peruerſely in a contrarie ſence. They called him happie: What of this? was he ſo? I make no account of this, that to ſome man he ſeemeth too ſeuere and ſullen minded. *Ariſton* ſaid, that he had rather haue a ſad young man, then ſuch a one as was pleaſing and amiable to the common ſort. The Wine that in the beginning was ſharpe and hard, becommeth ripe; but that which is readie to be drunke, as ſoone as it is put into the tunne, cannot be kept long. Let them call him ſad, and enemie to his aduancements: this ſadneſſe of his will giue him good in his latter daies. Prouided that he perſeuer only to loue vertue, and exerciſe himſelfe in the good and Liberall Sciences, not thoſe wherewith it ſufficeth to be onely tainted and informed, but thoſe wherewith the mind is to be ſtained and confirmed in. This is the true time of learning. What then? Is there any time wherein we are not to learne? Not ſo, but euen as at all times it is honeſt for vs to ſtudie, ſo in all ages is it not conuenient to begin? It is an abſurd and baſe thing to ſee an old man at his *Abce*. The young man muſt get, and the old man enioy. Thou ſhalt therefore doe a thing profitable for thy ſelfe, if thou makeſt this young man, a good man. Behold the benefits which we ought to wiſh for and giue, not the vncertaine goods of fortune, which ſerue as well giuen as receiued. Finally, he is no more his owne, he hath giuen his word, and is obliged: but it is leſſe ſhame in non-payment of a mans debt, then in betraying that hope which hath beene conceiued of vs. To get a diſcharge from the hands of a creditor, he that trafficketh hath need of a good and happie nauigation; he that tilleth the field, of a fertile ſoile and a fauourable climate. Thy friend may with his only will acquite himſelfe of his debt. Fortune hath no power ouer manners. Let him diſpoſe theſe in ſuch ſort, that that moſt quiet mind of his may come to perfection, which neither feeleth any thing taken from him, neither added to him, but remaineth in the ſame ſtate, whatſoeuer caſualties befall him: who, if common fortunes be heaped on him, is eminent aboue his meanes; or if any of theſe things, or all, by fortune are taken from him, is no waies leſſened by his miſerie. If he were borne in *Parthia*, he would preſently bend his bow, being an Infant; If in *Germanie* he were a verie Infant, he would ſhake his tender ſpeare. If he had liued in the time of our Anceſtors, he had learned to ride, and to combate with the enemie hand to hand. Theſe are the things which the diſcipline of the Countrie teacheth and commandeth euerie one. What is it then that this man ought to meditate? That which is proofe againſt all offenſiue armes, and all ſorts of enemies, which is the contempt of death. Which euerie one confeſſeth to be terrible and dreadfull to our minds (whom Nature hath formed for the loue of her ſelfe:) neither alſo ſhould it be needfull to addreſſe and accuſtome our ſelues to that whereunto our naturall inclination ſufficiently diſpoſeth vs, as is the deſire to conſerue a mans ſelfe. No man learneth to haue power, if need ſo required, to lye

ſweetly and ſoftly amongſt the Roſes: but to this end fortifieth he himſelfe, that he may not diſcloſe his ſecrets on the racke; that in time of neceſſitie, although he be wounded, he may ſtand ſentinell in the trenches, without leaning on his dart, becauſe ſleepe ſometimes is wont to ſteale on thoſe that leane to any ſtay. Death hath no incommoditie, for there muſt be ſomething which ſhe ſhould indempnifie. But if thou haſt ſo great a deſire of prolonging thy life, conſider that none of theſe things which vaniſh and are hidden in the boſome of Nature, from which once they are parted, and ſhall againe depart, is not conſumed. They ceaſſe, but periſh not, and the death which we feare and refuſe, onely intermitteth life, but raviſheth it not. A day will come that ſhall reſtore vs once more to light, which haply diuers would refuſe, except it reduced thoſe that are forgotten. But hereafter I will ſhew more exactly, that all things which ſeeme to periſh are changed: he therefore that muſt returne, ought not to be grieued to depart. Obſerue the circle of things that returne into themſelues, thou ſhalt ſee that nothing is extinguiſhed in this world, but that all things deſcend and mount againe by changes. The Summer departeth, but another yeare bringeth it againe. The Winter paſſeth, but yet hath he his moneths to bring him back againe. The night concealeth the Sunne, and preſently the day driueth this away. The Stars returne in their courſe backe againe to the place where firſt they began, and which they paſſed ouer. A part of the heauen is continually riſing, and a part ſetting. To conclude, after I haue annexed this one thing, I will make an end; neither infants nor children or madde men feare death. It were therefore more then an abiect error in vs, if reaſon ſhould not afford vs that ſecuritie, whereunto folly animateth vs.

Epist. XXXVII.

That we ought to perſeuer in the way and warfare of wiſdome: on her dependeth health, felicitie, and libertie. That we may obtaine, and ouercome the ſame by the conduct of reaſon.

THe greateſt obligation that hath tied thee to be a good man, is this, that thou haſt promiſed to be ſuch an one, and by oath thou haſt confirmed it. If any man tell thee that a ſouldiers profeſſion is delicate and facile, he ſhall abuſe thee; I will not haue thee deceiued. The forme of that honourable oath, and of that other ſo dishonourable, are in the ſame termes, that is, *To be burnt, bound, and ſlaine with the ſword.* To thoſe that gaue their hands to hire vpon the ſands of the *Theater*, that eat and drinke that which they ought to pay with the price of their blouds, it is couenanted with them that they ſuffer theſe things againſt their wills: from thee it is expected, that thou willingly and freely ſuffer the ſame. To them it is permitted to lay downe their weapons, and to implore the mercie of the people. Thou ſhalt neither ſubmit thy ſelfe, nor begge for thy life; it is thy part to die conſtantly, and with an inuincible mind. But what profiteth it to gaine a few daies or yeares? We come into this world without releaſement. How then, ſayeſt thou, may I acquite my ſelfe? Thou canſt not auoid neceſſities, but thou mayſt ouercome them. Make thy way, and *Philoſophie* ſhall giue it thee; to her haue thy recourſe, if thou wilt be ſafe, if ſecure, if bleſſed; and finally (which is aboue all) if thou deſireſt to be free. This cannot

not otherwiſe happen. Folly is a baſe, abiect, ſordide, and a ſeruile thing, ſubiect to many, and they moſt cruell affections. Wiſdome, which is the ſole libertie, diſmiſſeth thoſe rude maſters, which ſometimes command by courſe, and ſometimes are together. There is but one way to attaine thereunto, and certainely it is the right way: thou canſt not wander out of it, martch boldly; if thou wilt make all things ſubiect vnto thee, ſubiect thy ſelfe to reaſon; thou ſhalt gouerne many, if thou be gouerned by reaſon. Thou ſhalt learne of her, how and to whom thou ſhalt addreſſe thy ſelfe. Thou ſhalt not bee ſurprized in affaires. Thou ſhalt not bring me any man that knoweth how he began to will that which he willeth. He is not inuited thereunto by mature deliberation, but it is an enforcement that driueth him thereunto. Fortune oftentimes doth no leſſe haunt vs, then we hunt after her. It is a baſe thing, not to go, but to be carryed perforce, and ſuddenly (being altogether amazed amiddeſt the ſtorme of affaires) to aske; How came I hither?

EPIST. XXXVIII.

That Precepts are oftentimes more profitable to wiſdome then diſputes. That they ſteale vpon the minde, and doe fructifie and ſpend themſelues after the manner of Seed.

NOt without cauſe requireſt thou, that we frequent this commerce of Epiſtles betwixt thee and me. The diſcourſe profiteth much, that by little and little ſtealeth into the minde. Thoſe prepared diſputes which a man is addreſſed to vent in the eares of the attentiue multitude, haue brute enough and leſſe priuacie. *Philoſophie* is good counſell. No man giueth counſell with clamour, yet muſt wee ſometimes (as I ſhould ſay) vſe theſe declamations, when he that doubteth had need to be enforced. But where this is not neceſſary, to inkindle a will in man to learne, but that in good earneſt he learneth, it is good to vſe theſe more ſubmiſſiue ſpeeches. They enter more ſweetly; but they continue, for there need not many, but ſuch as are effectuall. We ought to ſpread them as Seed, which although it be little, dilateth his forces, when it falleth into a good Soile; and of ſo little as it is, it extendeth it ſelfe into great and maruellous great increaſes. The like doth Speech; it hath no extent, if thou looke into it, it increaſeth in the worke. They are few things which are ſpoken, but if the minde entertaine them well, they fructifie and increaſe in themſelues. The ſame I tell thee is the condition of Precepts, as of Seeds, they effect much, although they bee ſhort: but as I haue ſaid; let a minde well diſpoſed and ſetled, draw them to it ſelfe. Himſelfe will profit very much at his time, and ſhall reſtore more then he hath receiued.

Epist. XXXIX.

That diuers, and they diuerſly haue written in Philoſophie. That we ought to bee ſtirred vp, and enkindled by example. That Nature hath this ſcope to call vs to high things. In which their is no Plebeian felicity, neither pleaſure, becauſe they are either fraile or hurtfull.

I Will orderly digeſt, and abridge as carefully as I can thoſe Commentaries which thou deſireſt. But conſider whether an ordinarie Diſcourſe continued after the accuſtomed manner, bee not more profitable then that which is now commonly called a *Breuiarie*, and in times paſt when we ſpeake Latine, a *Summarie*, The one is more neceſſarie for him that learneth, the other for him that vnderſtandeth; the one teacheth, the other admoniſheth. But I will furniſh thee both with the one and the other. It needeth not now that thou exact at my hands, either this or that authoritie. He is vnknowne that brings his Proctor with him. I will write what thou willeſt; but after mine owne manner. In the meane time thou haſt many, whoſe Writings I know not whether they be ſufficiently digeſted or no. Take in hand the Liſt of the *Philoſophers*. This very ſight will compell thee to rowſe thy ſelfe, and if thou ſeeſt how many haue laboured for thee, thou thy ſelfe likewiſe wilt deſire to be one of them. For a generous mind hath this excellent impreſſion in it, that it is inkindled and incited to honeſt things. There is no nobly minded man, that is delighted with baſe and contemptible things: he only ſeeketh after, and extolleth thoſe things which make ſhew of greatneſſe and worthineſſe. Euen as the flame directly mounteth vpward, neither may be diſnatured nor depreſſed, or loſe his actiuitie: ſo is our ſpirit in continuall motion, by ſo much the more ſtirring and actiue, by how much it is more vehement and mightie. But happy is hee that hath imployed the viuacity hereof in matters of better eſtimate: hee ſhall ſettle himſelfe in a place exempted from Fortunes command or iuriſdiction: his felicities hee ſhall temper, his aduerſities conquer, and contemne thoſe things that draw other men to admiration. It is the effect of a great minde to contemne great things, and rather to affect the meane, then be infected with exceſſe. For theſe are profitable and permanent, the other hurtfull, becauſe ſuperfluous. So too great fertility layeth the corne, ſo boughes ouer-loden are broken, ſo too much fruitfulneſſe neuer endeth in maturity. The like alſo befalleth thoſe mindes, that are broken, and corrupt with immoderate felicitie, becauſe they are not onely imployed to other mens iniurie, but alſo to their owne. What enemy was euer ſo outragious againſt any man, as is ſome mens voluptuouſneſſe againſt themſelues? whoſe impotencie and mad luſt thou mayeſt pardon for this one reaſon, becauſe they ſuffer that which they offended in. Neither vndeſeruedly doth this fury vexe them; for it is neceſſary, that deſire ſhould extend it ſelfe aboue meaſure, that hath falſified the mediocritie of Nature: for naturall affection hath his end, but vaine things, and ſuch as ſpring from an exceſſiue luſt, are interminable. Profit meaſureth things neceſſary; how wilt thou confine ſuperfluities? They therefore drowne themſelues in pleaſures, which they cannot ſhake off, in that they are brought into a cuſtome: and for this cauſe are they moſt miſerable, becauſe they are growne vnto thoſe termes, that thoſe things which were ſuperfluous vnto them, are made neceſſarie; they therefore

fore ſerue their pleaſures, and enioy them not, and loue their owne miſchiefe, which is the worſt of all miſchiefe. And then is infelicitie conſummate, when as ſuch things as are diſhoneſt, not onely doe delight, but alſo pleaſe: and then is the remedie hopeleſſe, when ſuch things as were diſhoneſt, are reduced into a habit.

EPIST. XL.

He exhorteth to write, becauſe in it is the Image of the minde. Then of SERAPIONS *prompt and profuſe ſpeech, which hee alledgeth to bee vndecent for a Philoſopher. A graue and ſlow ſpeech entreth and deſcendeth farther.*

THAN that thou writeſt often vnto me, I thanke thee; for by that onely meanes which thou canſt, thou ſheweſt thy ſelfe vnto me. I neuer receiue thy Epiſtle, but that forth-with wee are together. If the Pictures of our abſent friends bee pleaſing vnto vs, which renew their memorie, and by a falſe and fained ſolace doe lighten the griefe of their abſence; how much more pleaſing are Letters, which ſet before our eyes the true trace and liuely Picture of our abſent friends? For that which moſt contenteth vs, both to behold and acknowledge, that doth the hand of a friend afford, it being imprinted in an Epiſtle. Thou writeſt vnto me, that thou heardeſt that *Serapion* the Philoſopher, when hee arriued in theſe parts, continued (according to his cuſtome in diſcourſing) to huddle vp his words with great volubilitie, which he powreth not out together, but ſmothereth and forceth: for more is vttered then one voyce can articulate. This allow I not in a Philoſopher, whoſe pronunciation, as his life, ought to bee compoſed. But nothing is well ordered that is precipitate and haſtie. For this cauſe that running and continuate diſcourſe in *Homer* that falleth inceſſantly like Snow, is properly attributed to the Orator; where that which is more ſlow and ſweeter then Honey floweth from an old man. Reſolue therefore on this, that this violent and abundant vigor of Diſcourſe, is more fit for a Ieſter or Mountebanke, then him that debateth on a graue and ſerious ſubiect, or ſuch a one that will teach another man. Neyther will I that the Diſcourſe bee too head-long, neyther too dreaming, neyther ſuch as may ſuſpend attention, or confound the hearing. For that defect and imbecilitie of ſpeech maketh the Auditour leſſe attentiue, by reaſon of the diſguſt of interrupted ſlowneſſe: yet is that more eaſily imprinted in memory which is expected, then that which paſſeth away ſlightly. Furthermore men are ſaid to giue Precepts to thoſe will learne: it is not giuen, that flyeth. Adde hereunto now, that the Diſcourſe which ſerueth to manifeſt truth, ought to be ſimple and without flouriſh. This popular Diſcourſe, hath no truth in it, it tendeth onely to moue the people, & is forcible to rauiſh inconſiderate eares, it admitteth no moderation, but ſuffereth it ſelfe to bee carryed away. But how can it gouerne, which cannot be gouerned? Finally, what ſhould a man thinke of that Diſcourſe, which ſerueth to heale the infirmities of the ſpirit, except it ſhould ſearch and deſcend into vs? Medicines cure not except they be digeſted: moreouer, it hath much ſlightneſſe and vanity in it, and hath more report then reckoning in it. The things that terrifie me muſt be lenified, which prouoke me muſt be pacified, that deceiue me muſt bee ſhaken off: Lechery muſt be reſtrained, Couetouſnes reproued; what one of theſe things can

be done ſuddenly? What Phyſitian cureth his Patients by onely paſſing by them? What profiteth this noyſe of head-long and vnchoſen words, which yeeld not a ſhadow of any pleaſure? But euen as it s ſufficient to know diuers things, which thou wouldeſt not beleeue they could be done, ſo it is ſufficient to heare them once, that haue exerciſed themſelues in this maner of diſcourſe. For what can a man learne, or what will he imitate, or what can hee iudge of their minds whoſe ſpeech is confuſed and hudled, and cannot be reſtrained? Euen as th y that runne from a ſteepe hill, ſtay not themſelues in that place where their intention was, but are borne downe ſwiftly by the weight of their bodies, and tranſported further then they would; ſo this celeritie of ſpeech, neither can command it ſelfe, neither is it ſufficiently beſeeming Philoſophie, which ought to employ words, and not to caſt them away, but by little and little to aduance it ſelfe. What then? Shall it not ſometimes be raiſed? Why not, prouided that the honeſtie of manners be not intereſſed; which this cuent and mimicke impetuoſitie of words hath baniſhed? Let his ſpeech haue great effect, yet be tempered with moderation. Let it runne like the water that continually flowes, not like the Land-flouds which are quickly dried. I ſcarcely will permit an Orator to haue ſuch ſwiftneſſe in diſcourſe, that it proue both irreuocable, and boundleſſe: for how can a Iudge follow the liſt of his diſcourſe, eſpecially if it be impertinent and rude, if he ſuffer himſelfe at that time to be borne away by oſtentation, or ſuch a paſſion as he cannot maſter? Let him in ſuch ſort make haſte, and inferre, that his Auditories attention may be able to conceiue. Thou ſhalt therefore doe iuſtly, if thou diſdaineſt them who ſtriue to ſpeake much, and not to ſpeake well; and if thou hadſt rather, when neceſſitie requireth, declaime after the manner of *Publius Vinicius*, of whom it being on a time demanded, how he diſcourſed? *Aſſellius* anſwered, Word by word: Contrariwiſe, *Geminius Varus* ſaid of him, I know not how you call this man an eloquent man, he cannot couple three words together. But for thy part, my *Lucilius*, follow thou *Vinicius* in his manner of ſpeaking. Should ſome ieſting companion come and obſerue him, and heare him dreame out his words, one after another, as if he dictated and not diſcourſed, would he not bid him, *Speake, or neuer ſpeake*? My opinion is, that the forme of haſtie ſpeech, which in that time the famous Orator *Harterius* vſed, ought to be reiected by men of vnderſtanding: he neuer doubted, he neuer intermitted, he began and ended after the ſame manner: yet thinke I, that ſome things are more or leſſe conuenient for people of different nations. Amongſt the Greekes, this licence were to be borne withall, and we alſo when we write, are wont to poynt euerie word. And our *Cicero* alſo (from whom Roman eloquence gathered excellencie) was temperate in his diſcourſes. The Romane tongue is more deliberate in it ſelfe, and more aduiſed, and giueth eſtimation to it ſelfe. *Fabianus*, a worthie man both in life and ſcience, (and therewithall eloquent alſo) diſputed more quickly then vehemently, ſo as it might be ſaid, that it was a facilitie, and not a celeritie. This admit I in a wiſe-man: I exact not that his ſpeech be deliuered without impediment; rather had I it ſhould be pronounced then lauiſhed. And the more doe I deterre thee from this ſickneſſe, becauſe this thing cannot otherwiſe befall thee, then by ceaſing to haue modeſtie. Thou muſt of neceſſitie ſhew thy ſelfe ſhameleſſe, and canſt not heare thy ſelfe: for this vnaduiſed courſe will draw on many things, which thou wouldeſt not let ſlip without reprehenſion. Theſe things, I tell thee, cannot happen vnto thee without preiudice of thy modeſtie. Beſides, it behoo-

ueth

ueth thee to exerciſe the ſame daily, and leaue the ſubſtance of things to remember words: and theſe alſo, although they flow with thee, and may runne fluent without any labour of thine, yet are they to be tempered: for euen as a modeſt gate beſeemeth a wiſe-man, ſo doth a contracted and ſetled diſtance become him. The totall ſumme then of this account ſhall be this, I enioyne thee to be ſlow in ſpeech.

Epist. XLI.

Oh excellent and deepe Epiſtle! That God dwelleth in vs, and that a good man is nothing without him. Let vs honour him, and the mind that deſcendeth from him. In him are our peculiar and proper goods, all other are forreine. But the thing that is good is perfect reaſon.

THou doeſt a worthie thing, and profitable to thy ſelfe, if, as thou writeſt, thou perſeuereſt to obtaine a good mind. How fond is it to wiſh the ſame, when as it dependeth on thine owne will? Thy hands are not to be liſted vp to heauen, neyther is the Prelate to be intreated, to admit thee to the eares of an Image, that thou mighteſt be the better heard: God is neere vnto thee, he is with thee, he is within thee. Thus tell I thee, *Lucilius*: A ſacred ſpirit is reſident in vs, an obſeruer and guardian both of our good and euils: In like manner, as we intreat him, ſo handleth he vs. There is no good man, but hath a God within him. May any man inſult ouer fortune, except he be aſſiſted by him? hee it is that giueth the nobleſt and moſt vpright counſailes. In euerie good man (but what God, it is vncertaine) God inhabiteth. If haply thou light into a thick groue, full of ancient trees, and ſuch as exceed the common height, ſhadowing the ſight of heauen from thee, through the thickneſſe of boughs couering one another; that height of the wood, and ſecrecie of the place, and the admiration of the ſhadow, ſo thicke and continuate in a territorie ſo ſpacious, will perſwade thee there is ſome diuine preſence. And if a Caue ouer-hangeth a Mountaine, eaten out of the Rocke, not made by hands, but hollowed by naturall cauſes into ſuch a concauitie, it will ſtrike thy mind with a certaine conceit of Religion. We adorne the head-ſprings of great riuers. A ſuddaine eruption of a vaſt riuer out of the depth, hath altars. The fountaines of warme waters are honoured, and the bredth or hugh depth of ſome ſtanding poole hath ſacred it. If thou behold a man that is dreadleſſe of perils, vntouched with deſires, happie in his afflictions, pacified in midſt of tempeſts, beholding men from a high place, the gods from an equall; wilt thou not grow into a certaine veneration of him? Wilt thou not ſay, this is a greater and more high thing, then that it might be truſted to ſo little a bodie as it inhabiteth? The diuine power deſcendeth hither. This excellent and moderate mind, ouerpaſſing all things as if abiect, laughing at whatſoeuer we either feare or hope, is inkindled by a celeſtiall power. So great a thing cannot conſiſt without the helpe of a God. Therefore as touching the greateſt part of him, he is there from whence he deſcended. Euen as the Sunne-beames doe in a manner touch the earth, but are in the heauens, from whence the Sunne darteth them; ſo a great and ſacred mind, and to this end humbled that he may more neerely apprehend diuine things, is conuerſant in vs, but cleaueth to his originall. Thereon it dependeth, thereat it

it aymeth, and thereto it endeuoureth, to vs it appertaineth, as the better part. What a one therefore is this? a mind that dependeth on no other good but his owne. For what is more fooliſh then to praiſe that in a man which is forreine to him? And who more mad then that man, that admireth thoſe things, which may immediately be transferred vnto another man? The golden raines make not the horſe the better. In one ſort doth the golden creſted Lion ſubiect himſelfe whilſt he is handled, and is compelled (being ouer-wearied) patiently to receiue his ornaments; in another ſort, ſuch a one as is generous and vntamed. This being ſharpe in his aſſault, ſuch as nature would haue him to be, faire in his dreadfulneſſe, whoſe comelineſſe is in this, not to be beheld without feare, is preferred before that faint and trapped one. No man ought to glorie but in that which is his owne. Wee praiſe the Vine, if ſhee load her branches with fruit, if ſhe beareth downe her vnder-props vnto the ground, by reaſon of the weight of thoſe branches ſhe beareth. Will any man preferre that Vine before this, that hath golden grapes, and golden leaues hanging from it? The proper vertue in the Vine is fertilitie: in a man alſo that is to be praiſed which is his owne. He hath a faire traine, a goodly houſe, he ſoweth much, he makes much by vſurie; none of theſe things is in him, but about him. Praiſe that in him, which neither may be taken away, nor giuen, which is properly a mans. Askeſt thou what it is? The mind, and perfect reaſon in the mind. For man is a reaſonable creature; his good therefore is conſummate, if he hath fulfilled that to which he was borne. But what is that which this reaſon exacteth at his hands? An eaſie matter; to liue according to his nature: but common madneſſe maketh this thing difficult. We thruſt one another into vices, but how may they be recalled vnto health, whom no man reſtraineth, and the people thruſteth on?

EPIST. XLII.

That we are not ſuddenly to giue credite or iudgement of a good man, becauſe it is a matter of much moment. That ſome make ſhew, others diſſemble; not vnlikely to proue euill, if occaſion be offered. He teacheth this by a certaine mans example. Then, that we are not to labour in externall things, which haue incommodities, or falſe commodities in them.

THis man hath alreadie perſwaded thee, that he is a good man, and yet a good man may not ſo ſoone either be made or vnderſtood: Knoweſt thou now whom I terme a good man? Him who is ordinarily ſo reputed: for that other, haply, like another *Phœnix* is borne once in fiue hundreth yeares: neither is it to be wondred at, that great and rare things are in long continuance and ſpace of time begotten. Fortune often-times produceth meane and ordinarie things, but ſuch things as are excellent, ſhe commendeth in their raritie. But this man as yet is verie farre from that which he profeſſeth; and if he knew what a good man were, he would not as yet beleeue himſelfe to be one; and haply alſo, he would deſpaire that he might be one. But he thinketh ill of the euill: and this doth the euill alſo: neither is there any greater puniſhment of wickedneſſe, then that it diſpleaſeth both himſelfe and his. But he hateth thoſe proud men that

that abuſe the authoritie they haue gotten in a little time. The ſame will hee himſelfe doe, when the ſtaffe is in his owne hand. Diuers mens vices lie hidden, becauſe they are weake, addreſſed notwithſtanding to attempt, and dare as much as they whom felicitie hath diſcouered, as ſoon as they may haue any aſſurance of their forces. They want the inſtruments to expreſſe their malice. So may a venemous Serpent likewiſe be ſafely handled whilſt he is ſtiffe with cold, not that he wanteth his venomes, but becauſe they are benummed. The crueltie, ambition, and intemperance of diuers men, would attempt as bad offices as the baſeſt men, if fortune failed them not; giue them onely the power as much as they liſt, thou ſhalt eaſily perceiue their will. Doeſt thou not remember, that when thou toldeſt mee, that thou haddeſt ſuch a man in thy power, that I anſwered thee, that he was vnconſtant and variable, and that thou heldeſt him not by the foot but by the feather? Told I thee a lie? He was held by a feather, which he ſhaked off and fled. Thou knoweſt verie well what Tragedies he afterwards excited, and how many things he attempted, which in all likelihood at laſt were to fall on his owne head: he perceiued not how by other mens perils, he came head-long into his owne, he thought not how burthenſome the things were which he asked, although they were not ſuperfluous. In thoſe things therefore which we affect, and for which we trauel with great labor, we ought to obſerue and looke into this, that either there is no commoditie in them, or elſe more incommoditie. Some things are ſuperfluous, ſome are not of ſo much eſteeme; but theſe things we fore-ſee not, and thoſe things that coſt vs moſt dearely, ſeeme vnto vs to be giuen for nothing. Herein vndoubtedly our ſtupiditie is moſt apparent, that we onely thinke thoſe things to be bought, for which we pay our money, and thoſe things we call gratuitall, for which we ſell and giue our ſelues; which we would not buy if it ſhould coſt vs one of our houſes, or if we ſhould redeeme the ſame with ſome fruitfull and pleaſant poſſeſſion: to theſe are we moſt readie to attaine with much care, with perill, with hazard of our modeſties, libertie, and time; ſo is there nothing more abiect and contemptible to euerie man then himſelfe. Let vs therefore in all our counſailes and affaires doe that which we are wont to doe: as often as we goe to the Merchant of any ware to buy, let vs ſee and examine that which we deſire, and know the price thereof. That oftentimes is higheſt prized for which no price is giuen. I can ſhew thee many things, which being gotten & poſſeſſed, haue extorted our liberty from vs. We ſhould be our owne, if theſe were not ours. Thinke therfore very carefully vpon theſe things, not only where there ſhall be queſtion of gaine, but alſo of loſſe. Is this periſhable? for it was caſuall; thou ſhalt as eaſily liue without this as thou liuedſt before. If thou haſt had it long, thou loſeſt it after thou art glutted therewith: if but a little while, thou loſeſt it before thou haddeſt the true taſte and vſe thereof. If thou haue leſſe money, thy trouble ſhall be the leſſe; if leſſe fauour, thou ſhalt haue leſſe enuie alſo. Looke into all theſe things which enrage vs, and which we loſe with many teares, and thou ſhalt know that the opinion of the damage, and not the damage it ſelfe is troubleſome vnto vs; no man feeleth but apprehendeth that theſe are loſt. He that hath himſelfe, hath loſt nothing; but how many had the hap to poſſeſſe themſelues?

Epist. XLIII.

That he doth, lies not hidden, but that rumour publiſheth all things. Therefore ſo liue (ſaith he) as if thou liuedſt in publique. What if thou be hid alſo? Thy mind knoweth and ſeeth.

THou deſireſt to know how theſe newes came to mine eares, who it was that told me that thy thought was thus, whereas thou haddeſt diſcloſed it to no man liuing: He that knoweth the moſt, rumour. What then (ſayeſt thou) am I ſo great that I can excite a rumour? Thou art not to meaſure thy ſelfe in regard of this place where I bide, but reſpect thou that wherein thou liueſt: whatſoeuer is eminent amidſt the places neere vnto thee, is great in that place where it is eminent. For greatneſſe hath no certaine meaſure; compariſon either raiſeth, or depreſſeth it. The Ship which is great in the Riuer, is little in the Sea: the helme that to one ſhip is great, to another is little. Now in that Prouince where thou liueſt thou art great, although thou contemne thy ſelfe. It is inquired of and knowne, both how thou ſuppeſt, and how thou ſleepeſt. So much the more oughteſt thou to be more circumſpect in thy carriage. Then iudge thy ſelfe happie when thou canſt liue publiquely, when as thy rooſe and walls may couer and not hide thee; which for the moſt part wee iudge to be builded about vs, not to the intent we may liue more ſafely, but to the end we may ſinne more ſecretly. I will tell thee a thing by which thou mayeſt eſtimate our maners, thou ſhalt ſcarcely find any man that can liue with an open doore. Our conſcience, and not our arrogance hath ſet a guard at our gates: ſo liue we that we eſteeme a ſudden eſpiall to be an actuall ſurpriſall. But what profiteth it a man to hide himſelfe, and to auoid both the eyes and eares of men? A good conſcience challengeth the whole world, an euill is alwaies doubtfull and carefull, yea euen in the deſert. If thine actions be honeſt, let all men know them: if diſhoneſt, what skilleth it if no man know them, ſo thou know them thy ſelfe? O wretch that thou art, if thou contemneſt this witneſſe.

Epist. XLIIII.

An excellent Epiſtle. Let no man contemne himſelfe for his baſeneſſe of birth, if he commeth vnto wiſedome, that is, to vertue. This onely ennobleth.

ONce againe thou playeſt the coward with mee, and ſayeſt that nature firſt; and after her, fortune haue beene contrarie and vnkind toward thee: whereas thou mayeſt exempt thy ſelfe from the common ſort, and obtaine the moſt high felicitie that may befall men. If ought elſe be good in Philoſophie, this is it, that it regardeth not Nobilitie or deſcent. If all men be reuoked to their firſt originall they are of the gods. Thou art a Romane Knight, and to this order thine induſtrie hath aduanced thee: but vndoubtedly there are diuers to whom the fourteene degrees are cloſed. The Court admitteth not all men. The Campe likewiſe diſcerneth it more curiouſly, maketh choice of thoſe whom they entertain for

for labour and trauell. A good conſcience is at euerie mans command, that in this we are all noble, neither doth Philoſophie reiect or elect any man, but ſhineth vnto all. *Socrates* was no *Patritian: Cleanthes* drew water, and earned his liuing in watering Gardens. Philoſophie entertayned *Plato*, not ſo thorowly noble as ſhe made him. And what cauſe haſt thou to deſpaire, but that thou mayeſt be like vnto theſe? All theſe are thine Anceſtours, if thou behaueſt thy ſelfe worthy of them: and ſo ſhalt thou behaue and carrie thy ſelfe, if thou incontinently perſwade thy ſelfe that no man can out-ſtrip thee in Nobilitie. There are before vs as many as we are, and the originall of all very farre ſurpaſſeth our memorie. *Plato* ſaith, that there is not any King that is not deſcended of a ſlaue, and that there is not any ſlaue which is not deſcended from Kings. All theſe things hath long varietie mingled together, and fortune hath turned topſie-turuie: Who is therefore a Gentleman? He that is well compoſed by nature vnto vertue. This onely is is to be looked into, otherwiſe if thou recalleſt me to antiquitie, no man is not but from thence, before which nothing is. From the firſt beginning of this world vnto this day, the line of alteration hath deriued vs from noble to villaines. It maketh not a Noble-man to haue his Court full of ſmoakie Images: no man liued for our glory, neither is that which was before vs, ours. The mind maketh the Noble-man, which from how baſe condition ſoeuer, ennobleth vs to riſe aboue fortune. Thinke thy ſelfe therefore that thou art no Roman Knight, but a libertine. Thou mayeſt attaine this, that thou alone mayeſt be free amongſt libertines. But how ſayeſt thou, if thou diſtinguiſh not good and euill by the peoples iudgements? We muſt regard, not whence they come, but whither they goe. For if there be any thing may make the life happie, it is abſolutely good, becauſe it may not be depraued or turned into euill. What is it then wherein we erre? In this, that all who affect a happy life, take the inſtruments thereof for the thing it ſelfe; and whilſt they ſeeke the ſame, flie the ſame: for whereas ſollid ſecuritie is the ſcope of a bleſſed life, and the vnſhaken confidence thereof, they flie from it who gather all that which they can to purchaſe their owne miſerie, and not content to beare their burthens, dragge them along after them thorow the rugged high-way of this life. Thus alwaies recoyle they farre from the effect of that they ſeeke, and the more labour they imploy, the more are they intangled, and carried backward, and ſo fare they as thoſe that runne in a Labyrinth, their very ſpeed intangleth them.

Epist. XLV.

That not many, but good bookes are neceſſarie to obtaine wiſedome. That the ancient vainly wrote ſome things ſuperfluous, ſome ſubtilly. Then againſt Cauillers and miſtaking of words. The matter, and the difference thereof is to be ſought for. Who is bleſſed, and what is truely good?

THou complaineſt thee of the want of bookes in thoſe parts where thou bideſt. It skilleth not how many, but how good thou haſt; a certain reading profiteth & that which is full of varietie delighteth. He that will attaine to his predeſtinated ſcope, let him follow one way, and not wander in many; for this is not to go but to erre. I had rather, ſayeſt thou, that thou gaueſt me bookes, then counſell, and for

for mine owne part, I am readie to ſend thee all thoſe that I haue, and to void my whole ſtore; yea, I would tranſport my ſelfe vnto thoſe parts, if it were poſſible, and had I not a hope, that very ſhortly I ſhould accompliſh and ſet an end to thy endeuor. I had vndertaken the iourney in theſe mine old yeres, neither might *Charybdis*, *Scylla*, and this fabulous Sea affright me. I had not onely ſailed, but ſwomme ouer theſe Seas, ſo as I might embrace thee, and being preſent with thee, eſtimate, how much thou wert increaſed in thy courage. And whereas thou deſireſt that my bookes ſhould be ſent vnto thee, I eſteeme my ſelfe no more eloquent for that, then I would account my ſelfe faire, if ſo be thou ſhouldeſt require my picture of me. I know that this proceedeth from thy opinion of me, and not from thy iudgement, and if it be thy iudgement, thy affection hath abuſed thee. But whatſoeuer they be, ſee thou reade them in ſuch ſort, as if I ſought the truth, but knew it not, but peremptorily hunted after it. For I haue not ſeuerely tied my ſelfe to any, I beare the name of no man, I aſcribe much to the iudgement of great men, and challenge ſomething to my ſelfe. For they alſo left vs not things onely found by them, but alſo thoſe things which remain to be found; and peraduenture they had found out things neceſſarie, had they not ſought after the ſuperfluous. The cauillation of words, and captious diſputations, which exerciſe a vaine braine, ſtole much time from them. We weaue knots, and tie ambiguous ſignification to words, and then diſſolue them. Haue we ſo much leaſure? Know we now how to liue, and how to die? Thither with all our minds are we to addreſſe our ſelues, where prouiſion may be taken, that the things themſelues may not deceiue vs, without ſpending much labour about words. Why laboureſt thou ſo much to ſhew me the difference betweene theſe and theſe words, wherewith no man is euer caught, but when he diſputeth? The things themſelues deceiue vs; diſcerne them: We embrace euill things in ſtead of good, we wiſh contrary to that we haue wiſhed, our vowes impugne our vowes, our counſels our counſels. How much doth flatterie reſemble friendſhip? It doth not onely imitate the ſame, but it ouercommeth and out-ſtrippeth it: It is receiued with open and fauourable eares, and deſcendeth into the inward heart, gracious in that wherein it hurteth. Teach me how I may know this ſimilitude. There comes vnto me, in ſtead of a friend, a flattering enemie. Vices creepe vpon vs vnder pretext of vertue; temeritie lies hidden vnder the name of fortitude: Moderation is called ſloth, a wearie man is accounted fearefull. In theſe things wee erre with great danger; imprint certain notes on theſe, to make them knowne. But he that is demanded whether he hath hornes, is not ſo fooliſh to rubbe his brow; neither againe ſo fooliſh and beetle-headed, that he is ignorant that he hath none of thoſe hornes, which thou wouldeſt perſwade him to haue by a ſubtill collection of arguments. But theſe deceiue without damage; in ſuch manner as the boxes and lots of the Iuglers, in which the very deceit is a delight. Bring to paſſe that I may vnderſtand how it is done, I haue loſt the vſe. The ſame ſay I of theſe cauellings, for by what more fit name can I call Sophiſmes? Neither hurt they the ignorant, neither helpe they the vnderſtanding: verily if thou wilt take away all ambiguitie of words, teach vs this, that he is not bleſſed whom the common people tearmeth ſo, into whoſe hands great ſummes of money are gathered; but he, whoſe mind is all his goodneſſe, who is erect, vpright, high minded, and a contemner of thoſe things which other men wonder at; who ſeeth no man with whom he would exchange himſelfe, which eſtimateth a man onely in that part wherein he is a man, who vſeth Nature

ture as his miſtreſſe, and is compoſed according to her Lawes, and ſo liueth as ſhe preſcribeth. From whom no force can rauiſh his good, who turneth euill into goodneſſe, aſſured in his iudgement, vnſhaken, vndaunted; whom ſome power moueth, but none perturbeth; whom Fortune, when with her greateſt force, ſhe hath darted the moſt dangerous dart ſhe hath againſt him, pricketh, but woundeth not, and that verie ſeldome. For all other weapons of hers, wherewith ſhe warreth againſt mankind, are as the haile which falleth on the houſe-eues, it ſtriketh on them without any incommoditie to the inhabitants of the ſame, and maketh a noiſe, and is diſſolued. Why detaineſt thou me in this, that thou thy ſelfe calleſt *Pſeudomenon*, (that is to ſay, a lyer) of which ſo many bookes haue beene written? Behold, all my whole life deceiueth me, reproue thou it, reduce this to truth, if thou art ſo ſubtile. Shee iudgeth thoſe things neceſſarie, which for the moſt part are ſuperfluous, and that which ſeemeth profitable, hath not for thy cauſe the power to make me happie; for that which is neceſſarie, is not preſently good. We proſtitute goodneſſe and abuſe it, if we attribute that name to bread and cakes, and ſuch like things, without which life cannot be maintained. That which is truely good is neceſſary, but that which is neceſſarie is not preſently good; for ſome things are neceſſarie which are moſt abiect. There is no man that is ſo ignorant of the dignitie of goodneſſe, which comparingly will abuſe it with thoſe things that haue their laſting but for a day. What then? Wilt thou not imploy thy ſtudie and care to make manifeſt vnto euerie man, and let them ſee, that with great loſſe of time a man ſearcheth for ſuperfluous and vnprofitable things; and that diuers haue ouerpaſſed their life, in onely imploying themſelues in ſeeking out the inſtruments of life? Looke into euerie particular, and conſider the whole, there is no mans life, but is aimed at to morrow. Thou askeſt mee what euill there is herein? Infinite, for they liue not, but are to liue, they deferre all things. Although we were circumſpect, yet life would outſtrip vs, and now when we are ſtayed, ſhe commeth and ouergoeth vs, and is ended in the laſt day, and euery day periſheth. But leſt I ſhould exceed the meaſure of an Epiſtle, which ſhould not fill a mans left hand in reading, I will deferre this debate with the ouer-ſubtill Logitians till another time, who onely haue care of ſpeaking, and not of doing.

EPIST. XLVI.

He iudgeth of LVCILIVS *his Booke, and praiſeth it.*

I Haue receiued the booke which thou promiſedſt me, which I opened at firſt to ouer-read at my leaſure, hauing an intention but to run and reade it ouer here and there: But afterwards, it ſo flattered and tolled me on, that I thought fit to paſſe further; which how eloquent it is, thou mayeſt coniecture by this, it ſeemed ſhort vnto me. For that neither of thy time nor of mine, but at firſt ſight it ſeemed to be either *Titus Liuius*, or *Epicurus*: but with ſo much ſweetneſſe it detained and allured me, that without all delay I ouer-read it. The Sunne inuited me, hunger admoniſhed me, the ſhower threatned me, yet did I reade it ouer, not ſo much delighted as gladded. Might I ſay, What a wit hath this man? What a minde? What abilitie? If he had pawſed, if he had riſen by

degrees. But he would not grow thus vehement, but obſeruing a mediocritie, he hath compoſed a worke both manly and holy, notwithſtanding there was a mixture of ſweetneſſe and grace. Meane while, a man might diſcouer in certaine places thereof a ſweet and fluent Style: otherwiſe, ſublime and graue, and this is that which I deſire thou ſhouldeſt obſerue and follow. The matter alſo is fitting, therefore is it to be choſen fruitfull, that may rauiſh a mans mind, and excite him. I will write more of thy Booke when I haue re-examined it; but as yet my iudgement is not ſetled. I ſeeme but as one that hath heard it, and not ouer-read it. Suffer mee likewiſe to make inquiſition. Thou needeſt not feare, thou ſhalt heare the truth. O happie man that thou art, that haſt nothing for which a man ſhould lie vnto thee from ſo farre off, but that (euen where the cauſe is taken away) we lie for cuſtomes ſake.

Epist. XLVII.

That we ought to behaue our ſelues, and liue with our ſeruants familiarly. That the error of his age was in their pride and contempt: yet that according to each mans diſpoſition and vertue, that the one and the other are either more freely or ſeuerely to be handled.

I Haue willingly vnderſtood by thoſe that come from thee, that thou liueſt familiarly with thy ſeruants: This becommeth thy prudence, this is anſwerable to thy wiſdome. Are they thy ſeruants? nay rather thy companions. Are they thy ſeruants? nay rather thine humble friends. Are they thy ſeruants? nay rather thy fellow ſeruants; if thou remembreſt that Fortune hath as much power ouer the one, as ouer the other. I therefore laugh at thoſe that thinke it an abiect and baſe thing to ſuppe with their ſeruants: and why? It is for that a proud cuſtome hath commanded that a troupe of ſeruants ſhould waite and attend their Maſter, whilſt he ſate at the Table. This Maſter is more great then the place he ſitteth in; he greedily chargeth his diſtended belly, and becommeth bound in ſuch ſort as he hath a greater labour to emptie then to fill his panch; meane while his poore ſeruants dare not ſtir their lips to ſpeake. Each murmure is ſtilled by the rod. A cough, a ſneeſe, a hicket, (which are caſuall accidents) are puniſhed with great ſtroakes: a little word that interrupteth ſilence, is the cauſe of his great miſerie that letteth his tongue at libertie: all night long they ſtand faſting, and attend ſilent. So commeth it to paſſe, that theſe ſpeake of their Lord in his abſence, who in his preſence haue no libertie to diſcourſe. But they who had not onely libertie to ſpeake before their Maſters, but to conferre with them, whoſe mouth was not ſewed vp: were readie to hazard their heads for them, and turne their imminent perill on their owne neckes. At the banquets they ſpake, but in their tormentes they were ſilent. Finally, this arrogance hath giuen way to a common Prouerbe, which ſaith, That as many ſeruants we haue, ſo many enemies. We haue them not our enemies, but we make them. I taxe not our other cruelties and inhumanities, how in ſtead of ſeruing vs like men as they are, we abuſe them as if they were beaſt: being ſet at the Table, one wipeth away our ſpittings, and other crouching vnder the Table, gathereth the reliques of the drunkards: another cutteth

cutteth vp the deareſt fowle, and conueying his cunning hand thorow their breaſts and hinder parts, in certaine conceits of caruing, cuts them in peeces: vnhappie he that liueth to this one thing, to cut vp wild-fowle decently: except for that we ought to ſuppoſe him more miſerable, that for voluptuouſneſſe ſake teacheth this, then he that learneth it for neceſſitie. Another skinking the Wine, attired after woman-like faſhion, ſtriueth with age: he cannot flie childhood, yet is he drawne backe, and now ſweet faced, his haires either ſhauen or pulled vp by the rootes, in his martiall habite attendeth and watcheth he all night, which he diuideth betwixt his Lords drunkenneſſe and luſt; and in the Chamber from it is a man, and at the banquet a boy. Another, he to whom the cenſure of the ghueſts is permitted, attendeth (vnhappie as hee is) and expecteth thoſe, whom flattery or the intemperance either of their mouthes or tongues recalleth the next day. Adde to theſe, the Caterers, who haue a certaine and ſubtile knowledge of their Lords beſt liking; who know the ſauour of that meat, they hold beſt pleaſing to their appetite: what moſt affecteth their eye, what meat will quicken their loathing ſtomackes, what he loatheth in his fulneſſe, what he longeth for that verie day. With theſe hee cannot abide to ſup, and thinketh it a diminution of his Maieſtie, to ſit downe at the ſame Table with his ſeruant. The Lords of this world haue demeaned themſelues better, who of their ſlaues haue made their Maſters. I ſaw *Calliſtus* Maſter attend at his doore, and him excluded amongſt many that entered, who had ſet him a ſeruile ſchedule on his breſt to be ſold, and had brought him forth to ſale amongſt his moſt ridiculous and abiect ſlaues. That verie ſlaue of his did him fauour, who was by his ſet to ſale amongſt the moſt abiect firſt ranke, fruitleſſely proſtituted by the Crier, baſely made vendible by the maſter, yea he himſelfe thought him vnworthie of his houſe. The Lord ſold *Calliſtus*: but how many things did *Calliſtus* ſell to his Maſter? Wilt thou thinke, that he whom thou termeſt thy ſlaue, was borne of the ſame ſeed, enioyeth the ſame aire, equally breatheth, liueth and dieth as thou ſhalt? Thou mayeſt ſee him as noble, as he thee ſeruile. How many men did Fortune depreſſe in the Marian ſlaughter, of noble birth, and ſuch as after being thrice Tribunes were in election to be Senators? One of thoſe ſhe made a ſhepheard, another the keeper of a Cottage. Contemne not the man of that fortune, into which thou mayeſt be transferred, whilſt thou contemneſt. I wil not intrude my ſelfe into a large field of diſcourſe, and diſpute of the vſe of ſeruants, in reſpect of whom we are moſt cruell, proud, and contumelious: yet is this the ſumme of my precept. So liue with thine inferiour, as thou wouldeſt thy ſuperiour would liue with thee. As often as thou bethinkeſt thy ſelfe what power thou haſt ouer thy ſeruant, bethinke thy ſelfe that ſo much power thy Maſter hath ouer thee. But I, ſayeſt thou, haue no Maſter: the better thy fortune, haply thou ſhalt haue. Knoweſt thou not in what yeares *Hecuba* began to ſerue, in what time *Cræſus*, in what time *Darius* mother, in what time *Plato*, in what time *Diogenes?* Liue with thy ſeruant kindly and courteouſly, vouchſafe him conference, admit him to counſaile, and conuerſation with thee. In this place the whole troupe of theſe nice companions will crie out at me: There is nothing more baſe, nothing more abiect then this is. Theſe verie ſame men will I find kiſſing the hand of other mens ſlaues. See you not, that likewiſe how by this meanes our anceſtors withdrew all enuie from the Maſters, all contumely from the ſeruants? They called the Maſter the father of the houſhold, the ſeruants (which as yet continueth amongſt the Mimicks) his familiars. They in-

ſtituted a holy day, wherein not onely the maſters feaſted with their ſeruants, but wherein, beſide that, they permitted them to beare honor in their houſe, and to giue ſentence and iudgement; in briefe, they eſteemed their houſe to be a little Common-weale. What then? Shall I ſet all my ſeruants at my Table? as well all my children. Thou erreſt, if thou thinkeſt that I will reiect ſome of them, as deſtinated to a more ſeruile office, as that Muliter, and that Cow keeper, I will not meaſure them by their offices, but by their manners. Each one giueth himſelfe manners, caſualtie aſſigneth him miniſteries. Let ſome of them ſup with thee, becauſe they are worthie, ſome that they may be worthie. For if any thing be ſeruile in them, by reaſon of their ſordid conuerſation, their liuing and conuerſing with thoſe that are better nurtured will ſhake it off. Thou art not, my *Lucilius*, onely to ſeeke thy friend in the Market-place, and in the Court, if thou diligently attend, thou ſhalt find him in thy houſe alſo. Oftentimes a good matter is without vſe without the worke-man; trie and make experiment. Euen as he is a foole, who hauing a horſe to buy, looketh not on him, but on his Furniture and Bit; ſo is he moſt fond, that eſteemeth a man, either by his garment, or by his condition, which is wrapped about vs after the manner of a garment. Is he a ſeruant? But haply a free-man in minde. Is he a ſeruant? Shall this hurt him? Shew one that is not. One ſerueth his Luſt, another his Auarice, another Ambition, another Feare. I will ſhew you a man that hath beene Conſul, ſeruing an old woman. I will let you ſee a rich-man ſeruing a poore maid: I will ſhew you the nobleſt young men, the verie bondſlaues of Players. There is no ſeruitude more foule, then that which is voluntarie. For which cauſe, thou haſt no reaſon that theſe diſdainefull fellowes ſhould deterre thee from ſhewing thy ſelfe affable to thy ſeruants, and not proudly ſuperiour. Let them rather honour thee, then feare thee. Some man new will ſay, that I call ſeruants to libertie, and caſt downe maſters from their dignitie, becauſe I ſay that maſters ought more to be beloued then feared. Muſt they onely yeeld reuerence, as if they were vaſſals or ſaluters? Hee that ſhall ſpeake thus, remembreth not that ſuch Maſters are diſcontented with that which contenteth God who is worſhipped and loued. Loue cannot be mingled with feare. I therefore thinke, that thou doeſt moſt vprightly, if thou wilt not be feared by thy ſeruants, that thou vſeſt the chaſtiſement of words. Such as are dumbe are admoniſhed by ſtripes: euery thing that offendeth vs, hurteth vs not. But daintineſſe compelleth vs to outrage, ſo that whatſoeuer is not anſwerable to our will, prouoketh vs to wrath. Wee put vpon vs the mindes of Kings, for they alſo forgetful of their own ſtrength, and other mens imbecility, are ſo incenſed, ſo wrathfull, as if they had receiued an iniurie, from the perill of which thing, the greatneſſe of their fortune ſecureth them moſt; neither are they ignorant hereof, but they take occaſion of hurting by ſeeking it; they receiued an iniurie, that they might doe wrong. I will not detaine thee longer, for thou haſt no need of exhortation. Good manners haue this amongſt other things, they pleaſe themſelues and continue. Malice is light, and is often changed, not to the better, but to another thing.

EPIST.

EPIST. XLVIII.

That the ſame things are expedient for friends, and that the one is profitable to the other. Then againſt captious cauils and difficult follies: What doe you? What play you? The queſtion is of life. Aſsiſt and forme it. Of fortune. Againſt her giue defence.

I will anſwer the Letter which thou ſendſt me in the way, which hath continued as long as the way it ſelf. I muſt recreate my ſelf, and looke about me what I counſaile. And ſince thou alſo who counſelleſt me, diddeſt bethinke thee long, whether thou ſhouldeſt counſaile; how much more ought I to doe the like, whereas a longer reſpite is requiſit to reſolue and anſwer, then to propound the queſtion? ſince thou haſt need of one thing, and I of another, I will once more ſpeake like *Epicurus*. But to me the ſame is expedient that to thee, elſe am I not thy friend, except whatſoeuer is done that concerneth thee, bee mine. Friendſhip maketh a mutuall interchange of all things betweene vs, neither hath any one of vs in particular a felicitie or aduerſitie, but they are communicable to both. Neither can any man liue happily who onely reſpecteth himſelfe, who conuerteth all things to his owne profits: Thou muſt liue vnto another, if thou wilt liue vnto thy ſelfe. This ſocietie ought both diligently and religiouſly to be obſerued, which intermixeth all of vs one with another, and ſheweth that there is ſome common right of humane race. It auaileth verie much alſo to perfit that interior ſocietie of friendſhip, of which I ſpake. For he ſhall haue all things in common with his friend, that hath many things common with man. This would I haue taught me (O *Lucilius*, the beſt of men) by thoſe ſubtill Sophiſters, what I ought to performe vnto my friend, what vnto a man: then after how many manners a friend may be called, and how many this word Man ſignifieth. Behold, wiſedome and folly are ſeparated diuerſly, to which doe I incline? to which part willeſt thou me to goe? To this Stoicke a man is a friend, to that Epicure a friend is not for a man: he getteth a friend for himſelfe; this other, himſelfe for a friend. Thou wreſteſt my words, and diſtinguiſheſt ſyllables. Verily, except I compoſe idle Interrogations, and by a falſe concluſion deriued from truth, I vnite a lie, I cannot diſtinguiſh thoſe things that are to be deſired from ſuch as are to be eſchued. I am aſhamed. In ſo ſerious a thing as this is, though old, yet we trifle. Mouſe is a ſyllable; but Mouſe gnaweth the Cheeſe, *Ergo*, a ſyllable gnaweth the Cheeſe. Thinke now that I cannot reſolue this doubt, what damage ſhould this ignorance of mine do me? What diſcommoditie? Doubtleſſe it is to be feared, leſt at ſometimes I ſhould catch the ſyllables in my Mouſ-trap, or that haply if I ſhould become negligent, my Booke ſhould eate the Cheeſe: vnleſſe haply that collection is more acute; Mouſe is a ſyllable, but the ſyllable gnaweth not the Cheeſe; the Mouſe therefore gnaweth not the Cheeſe. O childiſh triflings! Haue we for this cauſe humbled our browes? For this cauſe haue we lengthened our beards? Is it this we teach both ſad and pale? Wilt thou know what Philoſophie promiſeth to humane kind? It is counſaile. One man, death calleth; another, pouertie burneth; another man, either his owne or other mens riches torment; This man is afraid and terrified at euill fortune, that man would withdraw himſelfe, and eſcape his felicitie; this man diſliketh men,

that man the gods: Why propoſeſt thou vnto mee theſe toyes? There is no place of ieſting; the miſerable craue thy aſſiſtance. Thou haſt promiſed that thou wilt helpe ſuch as are ſhip-wrackt, captiue, poore, ſuch as ſub ect their heads to axe and blocke: whither art thou diuerted? what doeſt thou? The very man with whom thou ieſteſt is a raid. Yeeld ſuccours, whatſoeuer thou art more indued with eloquence, to the paines of ſuch as periſh. All of them, on euerie ſide lift vp their hands vnto thee, and implore ſome helpe in their periſhed and decaying life; in thee is the hope, in thee the meanes. They beſeech thee to draw them out of ſo great turmoyle, that thou wouldeſt ſhew them that are ſcattered and wandring the cleere light of truth. Shew what Nature hath made neceſſarie, what ſuperfluous, what eaſie Lawes ſhe hath eſtabliſhed: How pleaſant and expedite the life of thoſe men is that follow them, how bitter and implicite theirs is, that haue beleeued opinion more then truth. What extinguiſheth theſe mens deſires? What temperateth them? Would to God they did but onely not profit. They hurt. This will I make manifeſt vnto thee when thou wilt, that a generous ſpirit is broken and weakned, being puzled with theſe ſubtilties. I am aſhamed to tell, what weapons they lend to thoſe that are to warre againſt fortune, and how they ſuborne them. This is the way, ſay they, to the chiefeſt good; this Philoſophicall way hath darkſome, loathſome, and infamous lodgings, eſpecially for thoſe that are but young Students: for what elſe do you, when as wittingly you entangle him whom you aske, then that he might ſeeme to be non-ſuited? but euen as the Prætor wholly reſtoreth the one, ſo doth Philoſophie theſe. Why faile you in your great promiſes? and hauing promiſed mountaines, that you will bring to paſſe that the ſhining and brightneſſe of gold ſhall no more dazle mine eyes, then that of the ſword: that with great conſtancie I ſhould contemne & ſpurne at, both that which all men wiſh, and that which all men feare, deſcend you to the elements of the Grammarian? What ſay you, is this the way to eternitie? For this is it that Philoſophie promiſeth me, to make me like to God. To this I am inuited, to this end I came, performe thy promiſe. As much as thou maiſt therefore, my *Lucilius*, reduce thy ſelfe from theſe exceptions and preſcriptions of the Philoſophers. Open and ſimple things become honeſtie and goodneſſe. Although a better part of life were yet to be ſpent, yet muſt it now bee ſparingly diſpenſed, that it may ſuffice for neceſſaries; now what madneſſe is it to learne ſuch vnneceſſarie things in ſo great ſcantling of time?

Epist. XLIX.

That by the ſight of a houſe called Pompey, *the memorie of his* Lvcilivs *was renewed in him. Of the ſhortneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of time, that nothing is long or old in it. By the way againſt the Logicians, and that all that ſort are onely to be looked on.*

HEe truely, my *Lucilius*, is idle and negligent, who had need of aduertiſement from ſome Countrey to reduce his friend to his memorie: notwithſtanding it often times commeth to paſſe, that certaine more accuſtomed places awaken the friendſhip which is hidden in our hearts, and in ſtead of extinguiſhing the memorie, awaken, and refreſh it; euen as the griefe of thoſe that mourne, although

though for a time it be mitigated, either the familiar admiſſion of a ſeruant, or a garment, or the houſe reneweth the ſame. Thou canſt not beleeue how much the Territorie and Citie of *Naples*, where I haue ſeene thy Palace, hath imprinted in my heart a new deſire to be with thee. Thou art wholly before mine eyes, euen then when I am moſt ſeparated from thee. I ſee thee ſupping vp thy teares, and inſufficiently reſiſting thy affections, breaking forth in their reſtraint. And now ſeeme I to haue loſt thee; for what is not preſent, if thou remembreſt? Not long ſince I conuerſed being a child, with *Sotion* the Philoſopher; anon after, I began to pleade cauſes; not long after, I deſiſted from being willing to wrangle in them: now giue I ouer to haue power to follow them. Infinite is the ſwiftneſſe of time, which appeareth moſt to thoſe that look back: for to thoſe that intend the preſent, it deceiueth them, ſo light is the paſſage of his headlong flight. Doeſt thou demand the cauſe hereof? Whatſoeuer time is paſt is in the ſame place, it is beheld at once, and at once is extinguiſhed, and all things from thence fall into the depth, and otherwiſe there cannot be long ſpaces in that thing which is wholly ſhort. It is but a point that we liue, and as yet leſſe then a point; yet Nature hath diuided this leaſt vnder a certaine kind of longer ſpace. Of this point ſhe made one part infancie, another childhood, another youth, another a certaine inclination from youth to age, another age it ſelfe. How many degrees hath ſhe placed in one point? Thou haſt out-ſtripped me in one point, and notwithſtanding a great part of our life is incloſed in this point; let vs thinke that the ſhort end of the ſame will follow. The time was not wont to ſeeme ſo ſwift vnto me: now doth the courſe thereof appeare incredible, either becauſe I perceiue the end at hand, or for that I haue begun to conceiue and ſumme vp my loſſe. And the more am I vexed, becauſe I ſee ſome lauiſh the greater part of this time in vanities, which ſcarcely can ſuffice for neceſſaries, although it were kept verie diligently. *Cicero* denieth, that if his age were doubled, he ſhould haue time enough to reade the Lyriques; and in like ſort the Logicians. They are bitterly fooliſh. Theſe play the profeſſed wantons: they thinke that they doe ſomewhat. Neither denie I but theſe may be looked into, but that they are onely to be looked into, and ſlightly ouer-paſt, to this onely intent, leſt we ſhould be deceiued, and that we ſhould iudge that there is ſome great and ſecret good in them. Why doeſt thou torment and macerate thy ſelfe about that queſtion, which it is more policie to contemne then ſatisfie? It is the worke of a careleſſe man, and ſuch a one as erreth from his profit to make ſearch after trifles. When the enemie is hard at our heeles, and the ſouldier is commanded to march, neceſſitie ſhaketh off all that which idle peace had recollected. I haue no leiſure to affect theſe equiuocating words, and make triall of my craft in them.

> *Behold what armies march, what walls,*
> *What warre with cloaſed gates.*

This noiſe of warre ſounding on euerie ſide, is to be heard by me with a mightie courage. I ſhould worthily be accounted mad in all mens eyes, if when as both old men and women gathered and brought ſtones to fortifie the Rampire, when as the yong men being armed within the gates, expected or required a ſummons to ſally, when the enemies armes were at the ports, & the very ground did ſhake with Mines, if I ſhould ſit idle and imploy my time in ſuch like queſtions: That which thou haſt not loſt thou haſt; thou haſt not loſt thy hornes,

hornes, *Ergo*, thou haſt hornes, and ſuch like, faſhioned according to the tenor of this acute madneſſe. But thou mighteſt iuſtly repute me for a foole, if I ſhould loſe my time in ſuch like exerciſes. I am now beſieged. In the ſiege of a Towne, the danger would be externall, a rampire ſhould be betweene mee and the enemie, but at this preſent the perill of death is within me. Now haue I no leiſure to thinke vpon theſe toyes. There is a weightie buſineſſe in hand. What ſhall I doe? Death followeth me, life flieth. Againſt theſe, teach mee ſomewhat, teach me the meanes how I may not flie death, and how I may not runne after life; exhort me to conſtancie in the middeſt of confuſions; make way vnto my dayes to trauerſe that from whence I cannot eſcape. Teach me that the good of life conſiſteth not in the ſpace thereof, but in the vſe; and that it may be, yea, that it often falleth out, that he who hath liued longeſt, hath liued a little or nothing. Tell mee when I lye downe to reſt, it may be thou ſhalt not wake. Tell me when I am awake, it may be thou ſhalt not ſleepe any more. Tell me when I goe forth of doores, it may be thou canſt not returne. Tell me when I returne, it may be thou canſt not goe out againe. Thou art deceiued, if thou thinkeſt that there is but three fingers betweene death and life, to them onely who haunt the ſeas: in all places of the world, death and life are not farre aſunder. Euery where death ſhewes not himſelfe ſo nigh, yet euerie where is hee as nigh. Shake off theſe clouds of error, and thou ſhalt more eaſily diſcouer thoſe things, to which I am prepared. Nature bred vs docible, and gaue vs imperfect reaſon, yet ſuch as may bee perfected. Diſpute with mee of Iuſtice and pietie, of frugalitie, of both ſorts of modeſtie, both of that that can abſtaine from anothers bodie, and this that hath care of his owne: if thou wilt not leade me the indirect way, I ſhall more eaſily attaine to that I affect. For as that tragicke Poet ſaith, *The ſpeech of truth is ſimple*: and therefore we muſt not implicate the ſame: for nothing is leſſe conuenient then is this ſubtill craft, to thoſe minds that labour after great matters.

EPIST. L.

That we are blind in vices, or that we ſeeke a cloake for them. Yet that they are to be acknowledged, and that the remedies are to be ſought for; whence otherwiſe is the health of the mind deriued, which may likewiſe happen, euen to the moſt inueterate vices, becauſe he is eaſie to be bent, and Nature flieth vnto goodneſſe.

I Receiued the Epiſtle which thou ſenteſt me, after many months. I thought it therfore an idle thing to enquire of him that brought the ſame, what thou didſt. For it is a ſigne of a good memorie, if he remembreth, & yet hope I that for the preſent thou liueſt ſo, that whereſoeuer thou art, I know what thou diddeſt. For what other thing ſhouldeſt thou doe, then that daily thou ſhouldeſt better thy ſelfe, that thou ſhouldeſt lay aſide ſome one of thine errors, that thou mayeſt vnderſtand that they are thine owne follies, that thou thinkeſt to be forreine? Some things aſcribe we to places and times, but they, whither ſoeuer we tranſport our ſelues will follow vs. Thou knoweſt, *Harpaſte*, my wiues foole; thou knoweſt that ſhe remained in my houſe as an hereditarie burthen. For I am much

much diſtaſted and diſguſted with thoſe prodigies. If at any time I wil take pleaſure in a foole, I need not ſeeke farre off, I find ſufficient matter to laugh at in my ſelfe. This Foole ſuddenly loſt her eyeſight. I tell thee an incredible matter, but yet true: ſhe knoweth not that ſhe is blind; oftentimes ſhe prayeth her Gouernour to giue her leaue to walke abroad, ſhee ſaith the Houſe is darke. This that ſeemeth ridiculous vnto vs in her, take thou notice, that it happeneth vnto vs all: no man vnderſtandeth that he is couetous, no man that hee is auaritious; yet doe the blind ſeeke a guide, but wee erre without a guide, and ſay: I am not ambitious, but no man can otherwiſe liue in *Rome*. I am not ſumptuous, but the Citie it ſelfe requires great expence. It is not my fault, that I am wrathfull, that as yet I haue not ſetled my ſelfe in a certaine courſe of life; it is youth that cauſeth this: Why deceiue we our ſelues? our euill is not extrinſecall, it is within vs, and is ſetled in our entrailes. And therefore doe wee hardly recouer health, becauſe we know not that we are ſicke; if we haue but begunne our cure, when ſhall wee ſhake off ſo many plagues and ſickneſſes? But now ſcarce ſeeke wee for the Phiſician, who ſhould ſpend leſſe time and labour, if hee were counſelled vpon the beginning of the diſeaſe. Tender and rude minds would follow him, directing them aright. No man is hardly reduced vnto Nature, but hee that hath reuolted from her. Wee are aſhamed to learne a good mind, yet vndoubtedly it is a ſhamefull thing to ſeeke a Maſter in this matter. That is to bee deſpaired, that ſo much good may caſually befall vs: wee muſt take paines, and (to ſpeake vprightly) the labour is not great: if, as I ſaid, wee beginne to conforme and recorrect our mindes, before they bee confirmed in wickednesſe. Yet deſpaire I not of thoſe that are indurate. There is nothing that induſtrious labour and intent, and diligent care cannot compaſſe and impugne. Thou mayeſt ſtraighten the ſtiffeſt Oakes, although crooked; heate ſtraightneth crooked beames, and ſuch as are otherwiſe faſhioned by Nature, are applyed to that which our vſe exacteth. How far more eaſily doth the mind receiue a forme being flexible and pliant to any humor? For what other thing is the mind, then after a certaine manner a ſpirit. But you ſee that a ſpirit is by ſo much more facile then any other matter, by how much hee is more thinne and delicate. That my *Lucilius*, hath no reaſon to hinder thee from hoping well of vs, becauſe malice alreadie hath hold of vs, that of long time it hath harboured with vs. To no man comes a good mind before an euil. We are al preoccupated in learning vertues, and forgetting vices: but therefore the more ardently muſt we endeuour our amendment, becauſe the poſſeſſion of a good once imparted to vs, is perpetuall; vertue is not forgotten. For the contrarie euils haue a forreine dependance, and therefore may be expelled and excluded; they are ſurely ſetled that ſucceed in their place. Vertue is according to Nature, vices are our enemies & infectors. But euen as receiued vertues cannot eaſily be diſpoſſeſſed, and their conſeruation is eaſie: ſo is the beginning to obtain and aime at them very difficult, becauſe this eſpecially is the ſigne of a weake and ſicke mind, to feare things vnattempted. Therefore is the minde to be enforced, that it may beginne: moreouer the Medicine is not bitter for it quickly delighteth, while it healeth. Of other remedies, there is a certaine pleaſure after health: Philoſophy is both wholſome and pleaſing.

EPIST. LI.

Somewhat of Etna, and more of Baiæ. And vpon this occasion he inueyeth against such as are effeminated, and giuen ouer to their pleasure. That this is to be driuen from vs, and that we are to warfare : against whom? against Pleasure, Paine, and others. That he who doth so, doth good in serious and holy places, auoydeth lasciuious things, or such as are too delightfull.

LEt each one dispose himselfe as he can, my *Lucilius*, thou hast on that side Etna that famous Mountain of Sicily, which why *Messala* called the onely Mountain, or *Valgius* (for in both of them haue I read therof) I find not: when as many places vomit out fire, not only such as are high, (which oftentimes happeneth, because that fire mounteth vpwards,) but also such as are low. We, howsoeuer we may, are content with *Baiæ*, which the very next day after I had visited, I forsooke; a place for this cause to be auoided, although that it hath certaine naturall endowments, because superfluitie hath made choice thereof her selfe, to celebrate the same. What then? Is there any place to be hated? No, but euen as some garment is more decent and comely for a wise and good man, then another; neither hateth he any colour, but thinketh one more fit for him that professeth frugalitie: so is there a region, which a wise man, or one that tendeth to wisedome, declineth, as if estranged from good manners. Thinking therefore of his retyrement, he will neuer make choice of *Canopus*, although *Canopus* hinder no man from being frugall. Neither *Baiæ* likewise; they are begun to be the hostrie of vices. There Luxurie permitteth her self very much, there as if a certain libertie were due vnto the place, men more grow dissolute. It behoueth vs to chuse a place, not onely healthfull for our bodies, but for our manners. Euen as I would not dwell amongst Hangmen & Torturers, so would I not liue amongst Victualling-houses. What needeth it to see Drunkards reeling vp and downe the shore, and the Banquets of such as saile, and the Lakes reckoning the concent of Songs, and other things, which lasciuiousnesse (as if freed from all restraint) not onely sinneth in, but publisheth? This ought we to doe, that wee flye farre from the prouocations of vices. The minde is to bee confirmed, and abstracted farre from the allurement of pleasures. One onely Winter weakned *Hannibal*, and the delicacies of *Campania* effeminated that man, whom neither Snowes nor Alpes could otherwise vanquish: He conquered in armes, hee was conquered by vices. We must likewise play the Souldiers, and in such a kind of seruice as neuer affoordeth vs rest, or euer giueth vs leasure. Vices in especiall are to be conquered, which (as you see) haue drawne the sterneſt and cruellest wits vnto them. If a man propose vnto himselfe, what a taske he hath vndergone, he shall know that nothing is to be done delicately or effeminately. What haue I to doe with those hote Pooles, with those stones in which a dry vapour is included to waste our bodies? Let all sweat breake forth by labour: If we should doe as *Hannibal* did, that interrupting the course of affaires, and neglecting warre, we should employ our selues in nourishing our bodies, there is no man but might iustly reprehend our vnseasonable sloth, not onely dangerous for the Conquerour, but for the conquered also. Lesse is permitted vs, then those that followed the Carthaginian warres, more danger impendeth ouer our heads, if we giue way, worse also if we perseuere. Fortune vrgeth war with

with me, I will not obey her, I receiue not her yoake, nay more (which with greater courage I ought to accompliſh) I ſhake it off. The minde is not to bee mollified. If I giue place to pleaſure, I muſt be ſubiect to griefe, ſlaue to labour, ſeruant to pouertie; both ambition and wrath will haue the ſame priuiledge ouer me: amongſt ſo many vices I ſhall be diſtracted, or rather diſmembred. Libertie is propoſed: for this reward doe we labour. Thou askeſt me what libertie is? To ſerue nothing, no neceſſitie, no fortunes; to keepe Fortune at ſtaffes end. That day I vnderſtand my ſelfe, that I can more then ſhe may, ſhe can nothing. Shall I ſuffer her when as death is at hand? To him that intendeth theſe thoughts, retirement both ſerious and ſanctified, ought to be ſought for and choſen. A place of two much pleaſure effeminateth the mind, and vndoubtedly the Countrey may doe ſome-what to corrupt the vigor. Thoſe cattell eaſily trauell in any way, whoſe hooſes are hardned on the craggie wayes: ſuch as are bred in the rotten and foggie Paſtures, are quickly wearied. The Souldier exerciſed on the Mountaynes, returneth more hardy; the Citizen and home-bred is recreant. Thoſe hands refuſe no labour that are transferred from the Plough to the Pike. The anointed and nice Souldier endureth not the firſt ſhock. The ſeuerer diſcipline of the place firmeth the courage, and maketh it more apt to attempts. *Scipio* was more honeſtly a baniſhed man at Liternum then at Bayas. His ruine is not to bee planted in ſo effeminate a place. And they alſo to whom at firſt, and in eſpeciall the fortune of the Romane people tranſlated the publike Riches, *Caius Marius*, *Cneius Pompey*, and *Cæſar*, builded certaine Mannor-houſes in the Region of Bayas, but they planted them on the tops of the higheſt Mountaines. This ſeemed more warlike, from an eminent place to behold the low Countrey farre and neare. Behold what ſituation they choſe, in what places, and what they builded; and thou ſhalt know that they were rather camping places, then houſes of pleaſure. Thinkeſt thou *Cato* would euer dwell in Vtica, to the end he might number the Adulterers that ſaild by him, and to behold ſo many kinds of Boats painted with diuers colours, and the Roſes floating ouer the whole Lake, that he might heare the night-brawles of ſuch as ſing? Had he not rather beene within his Trench, which in one nights ſpace he had digged, and cauſed to be incloſed, why ſhould it not better pleaſe him? Whoſoeuer is a man had rather be awakened from ſleepe by the Trumpet, then a melodie or concent of voyces. But long enough haue wee contended about Bayas, but neuer enough with vices, which I beſeech thee my *Lucilius*, perſecute beyond meaſure, and without end; for neither haue they end or meaſure. Caſt from thee whatſoeuer tormenteth thy heart, which if they could not bee drawne out otherwiſe, thy heart were to be pulled out with them. Eſpecially driue from thee pleaſures, and hold them in greateſt hatred, after the manner of thoſe theeues whom the Egyptians call *Philetæ*; to this end they kiſſe vs, that they may kill vs.

EPIST.

Epist. LII.

That we are vncertaine in the truth, and haue need of helpe and direction. But that ſome are more eaſily guided and formed; then other ſome according to their nature. But to the intent that thou mayeſt be formed, make thy choyce out of the ancient, and the preſent. Yet flie pratlers, ambitious, and ſuch as affect applauſe.

WHat is that, my *Lucilius*, that draweth vs one way when we intendan other, and forceth vs thither, from whence we deſire to flie? What is that which wraſtleth with our mind, and permitteth vs not to will any thing once? We wauer twixt diuers counſailes, we will nothing freely, nothing abſolutely, nothing alwaies. It is but folly (ſayſt thou) to be conſtant in nothing, and not long pleaſed with any thing. But how, or when ſhall we withdraw our ſelues from the ſame? No man is able to accompliſh it of himſelfe; ſome man muſt lend a helping hand, ſome one muſt bring vs out. Some (ſaith *Epicurus*) attaine vnto truth without any mans helpe, and haue made their owne way thereto. Theſe prayſeth he moſt, who aduanced themſelues, and animated themſelues; and ſaith, that there are others who had need of another mans helpe, who goe not except ſome one march before them; but that they willingly follow. Of this ſort he accounteth *Metrodorus*. Such a ſpirit is excellent, but yet of the ſecond ranke. We are not of the firſt number, it ſufficeth vs if we be receiued into the ſecond ranke: neyther contemne thou that man that may be ſaued by another mans meanes; for it is a very great matter to haue a will to be ſaued. Beſides theſe, as yet thou ſhalt find another ſort of men, and they not to be contemned, namely, they that may be enforced and compelled to the right, who haue not only need of a guide, but a helper, or to ſpeake more properly, a compeller. This is the third kind. If thou ſeeke an example hereof; *Epicurus* ſaith, that *Hermachus* was ſuch a one, therefore gratulateth he more the one, and admireth the other. For although both of them obtained one and the ſame end, yet the praiſe is greater, to haue performed the ſame in a more difficult matter. Suppoſe that a man hath builded two houſes, both equall, a like high and magnificent, the one of them planted on a firme foundation, whereon the worke is ſuddenly raiſed, the other on an vncertaine and falſe ground, where we ought to digge deepe, and imploy infinite paines before we light on firme land. In the one, all appeareth in ſight, that hath beene builded: in the other, the better and more difficult part is hidden. Some wits are facile and expedite, ſome are (as they ſay) to be faſhioned by the hand, and to be laid hold and wrought vpon in their foundation: therefore account I him more happie, that hath had no buſineſſe with himſelfe, and him likewiſe to haue deſerued beſt of himſelfe, that hath ouercome the malignitie of his nature, and hath not ledde himſelfe, but forcibly drawne himſelfe to wiſdome. Thou muſt know that this hard and troubleſome trauell is forced on vs. We trauell a way full of dangers: Let vs therefore combate and call for aſſiſtance. Whom ſayeſt thou ſhall I call vpon, that, or this man? For thine owne part, I counſaile thee to returne vnto the firſt, that haue now no more to doe: for not onely they of this time, but thoſe that haue beene our predeceſſors may aſſiſt vs. And amongſt thoſe that liue, let vs chuſe, not them that diuide and precipitate

tate many words with great volubilitie, and turne ouer common places, and that in priuate hath ſubtilties: but thoſe whoſe liues are our inſtructions, who when they haue told vs what is to be done, approue the ſame by their actions; who teach that which is to be eſchued, and are neuer ſurpriſed or found guiltie in doing that, which they haue forbidden to be done. Chuſe him for thine aſſiſtant, whom thou admireſt more when thou ſeeſt him, then when thou heareſt him: neither therefore forbid I thee to heare them likewiſe, whoſe cuſtom it is to admit the people, and to diſpute, if ſo be they expoſe themſelues to communitie to this intent, that they may amend themſelues, and make others the better, prouided they exerciſe not this for ambition ſake. For what is more baſe then Philoſophie, that ſearcheth the fauours and acclamations of the people? Doth the ſicke man praiſe the Phyſitian that launceth him? Be ſilent, ſit ſtill, and ſuffer your ſelfe to be cured. Although you yeeld me acclamations of honor, I will not otherwiſe heare you, then if you ſighed at the touch of your ſins. Will you haue it teſtified, that you are attentiue, and are moued with the greatneſſe of things? You haue free libertie; why ſhould I not permit you to iudge, and giue your voyce to that which you thinke beſt? Vnder *Pythagoras*, his Schollers remained fiue yeares without ſpeaking: Thinkeſt thou that it was lawfull for them incontinently after to ſpeake and praiſe? But how great is his folly, whom the applauſes of the ignorant diſmiſſe with ioyfulneſſe out of the auditorie? Why art thou glad, becauſe thou art praiſed by thoſe men, whom thou thy ſelfe canſt not praiſe? *Fabianus* declaymed before the people, but he was heard with modeſtie. Sometimes a great acclamation was raiſed of thoſe that praiſed him; but ſuch as the greatneſſe of the things prouoked, and not the ſound of a diſcourſe ſmoothed and fluent. There is ſome difference betwixt the applauſe of a Theater, and of the Schooles. There is ſome libertie alſo in prayſing. There are alwaies ſome markes and ſignes of thoſe things that are diſcouered. And a man may likewiſe gather an argument of anothers manners, euen in the ſlighteſt things. The gate, the carriage of the hand, and ſometimes one onely anſwer, or the finger dallying with the hand, or the bent of the eye, diſcouereth the impudencie of a man. A man knoweth a wicked man by his laughter, and a mad-man by his countenance and habite. For theſe things are outwardly ſhewed by certaine ſignes. Thou ſhalt know what euerie one is, if thou conſider how he is praiſed. On euery ſide the auditor applaudeth the Philoſopher with his clapping, and all this troupe that admireth him, ſitteth aboue his head; now is not this man praiſed, if thou vnderſtandeſt it, but that is onely an acclamation. Let theſe applauſes be reſerued to thoſe arts that haue a purpoſe to pleaſe the people, let Philoſophie be adored. A man may giue ſometimes leaue to young men to vſe this heat of ſpirit, but they will doe this out of violence of their ſpirits, when they cannot command themſelues ſilence. This maner of praiſe ſeruëth ſometimes for ſome exhortation to the auditors, and animateth the minds of yong men. But better were it they ſhould be moued with matter, then with painted words. Otherwiſe, eloquence would but endanger them, if it ſhould rather procure a deſire of it ſelfe then of matter. I will ſpeake no more for the preſent: for it deſireth a proper and long diſcourſe and execution, to know how a matter is to be handled before the people, what is permitted him by them, what them by him. It is not to be doubted, but that Philoſophie hath loſt much of her luſtre, after it is thus proſtituted; but ſhe may be ſhewed in her moſt retired abode, if ſo be ſhee be managed by a wiſeman, and not by a Sophiſter.

Epist. LIII.

He describeth his Nauigation and tossing on the Seas; By occasion that wee are tossed in our liues, but that verie few know and confesse their owne faults. Philosophie will teach and excite. Let vs giue our selues vnto it, shee will make vs equall with God.

WHat cannot I be perswaded vnto, who haue beene perswaded to saile? I set saile in a calme Sea, yet vndoubtedly the skie was ouer-charged with darke cloudes, which for the most part eyther are resolued into water, or into winde. But I thought that so few miles, betwixt thy *Parthenope* to *Puteoli* might eatily and quickly be cutouer, although the skie were doubtfull and dangerous. To the end therfore that I might more swiftly finish my iourny, I put out forth with to sea, and shaped my course for *Nesida*, without accosting the shores: when I had passed so farre already, that I cared not whether I went forward or returned, first, that equalitie of heauen that perswaded me to saile, was ouer-blowne; as yet it was no tempest, yet begun the Sea to rise, and the surges to swell and beat one another. Then began I to require the Master to set mee on some shoare. But hee told me, that the shores of the sea were dangerous, and vnfit to land at, & that he feared nothing more in a tempest then to beare vp for land; yet was I so tormented, that I remembred not my selfe of any danger: for a certaine languishing desire to vomit, that prouoked but preuailed mee nothing in emptying my stomacke, pained me infinitely, which stirred but voyded not choller. I therefore importuned the Master so, that wil he nill he, I compelled him to beare for the shoare; whereto when we somewhat neered, I expect not to doe any thing that *Virgil* commandeth, that the Prow of the Ship should be turned towards the shore, or that the anchor should be let slip into the sea; but remembring my selfe of that I was accustomed to doe, I cast my selfe into the water, couered in a rough mantle, as they are wont who wash themselues in cold water. What thinkst thou I suffered, whilest I striue to escape those perils, whilst I seek, whilst I make a way thorow these dangers? I vnderstand, and that vpon good ground, why the Mariners feared the land. They are incredible things that I suffered, considering that I could not support my selfe. Learne this of me, that *Vlysses* had neuer the sea so much his enemy, although he were daily & in all places in danger of shipwracke, because he vomited easily. But I had need of twice so many yeres more then he to finish a voyage by sea, if I should vndertake it. As soone as I had recouered my stomack (for thou knowest well that in leauing the Sea, a man loseth his desire to vomit) and for my recreation had annointed my bodie, I began to bethinke my selfe, how great forgetfulnesse of our sinnes followed vs, not onely of vices, which because they are more great, keepe themselues hidden, but also of the vices of the bodie, which at all times draw vs into remembrance of them. A light alteration may well deceiue some one man; but when it is augmented and groweth to be a burning Feuer, it causeth the most strong and endurate perforce to submit himselfe. Our feet paine vs, the ioynts feele some little shootings; we dissemble as yet, and say that it is some straine, or that we haue tired our selues too much in doing some exercise. We are much troubled what to call our infirmitie, which is not as yet knowne, but when it beginneth to swell vp our anckles, we are enforced to say it is the gowt. It falleth out farre otherwise, in regard of those sicknesses which seize our soules

For.

For the more that any one is ſicke, the leſſe ſenſible is he of the ſame. Thou muſt not wonder deare *Lucilius* hereat: for hee that ſlumbreth ſlightly, and dreameth in ſome ſort during his repoſe: ſometimes in his ſleeping thinketh that he ſleepeth; but a profound ſleepe extinguiſheth Dreames alſo, and drowneth the mind more deeply, then that it permitteth the ſame to make vſe of any her intellectiue faculties. Why doth no man confeſſe his faults? Becauſe hee is as yet plunged in the ſame. It is the part of one that is awake to ſhew his dreame, and it is a ſigne of amends for a man to confeſſe his faults. Let vs awake therefore, to the end we may blame and correct our errours. But onely Philoſophie muſt quicken vs, ſhe only muſt ſhake off our heauie ſleepe. To her only dedicate thy ſelfe, thou art worthy of her, and ſhee worthy of thee; embrace ye on another, deny thy ſelfe conſtantly, ſtoutly and openly to all other things. Thou canſt not Philoſophy vpon credit. If thou wert ſicke thou wouldeſt giue ouer the care of thy whole Family, and neglect thy forreine buſineſſe; there is no friend ſo deare vnto thee, whoſe cauſe thou wouldeſt deſire to plead; all thy care and coſt ſhould be to recouer thy health ſpeedily. What then, wilt thou not now doe the like? Lay aſide all impediments, and thinke on nothing, but how to make thy ſoule more perfect; no man commeth vnto her that is occupyed or diſtracted. Philoſophie vſeth Soueraigne Power as a King, ſhe giueth time, and taketh it not: ſhe is no ſecondary care, but will bee ſerued ſeriouſly; ſhee is a Miſtris, ſhe is preſent and commandeth. When as the inhabitants of a Citie preſented vnto *Alexander* a part of their Lands, and the halfe of all their goods: I am come, ſaith he, into Aſia with this reſolution, not to take that which you will giue mee, but that you ſhould enioy nothing elſe, but what I leaue you. Philoſophie vſeth the like authoritie in all things. I will not, ſaith ſhe, accept that time that you haue to come, or haue reſerued contrariwiſe: you ſhall haue none, but which I will giue you. Addreſſe thy minde wholy hither, be alwayes neere vnto her, giue her all the honour thou canſt; there will be a great difference betwixt thee and others. Thou ſhalt farre exceed all mortall men, and the gods ſhall but very little ſurpaſſe thee. Wilt thou know what difference there is betwixt them and thee? They ſhall continue more long. But truly it is the act of a good Worke-man to include the whole in a little. A wiſe-man is as content with the ſpace of his life, as God is of all the time of his eternitie. Some thing there is wherein a Wiſeman exceedeth God; Hee is wiſe but by the goodneſſe of his nature, and the Wiſeman by his owne induſtrie. Behold a marueilous thing to haue the frailtie of a man, and the ſecuritie of a God. Incredible is the force of Philoſophie, to repell all the forces of Fortune. There are ſome ſorts of Armes that can conquer her. Shee is couered with thick and maſſiue Armor: ſhe wearieth ſome things that combat her, and like light Darts, receiueth them with her open breſt; ſome ſhe ſhaketh off, and darteth them backe on him that caſt the ſame.

This, according to the proud Doctrine of Stoicks; but is a little too high: Chriſt hath taught vs otherwiſe.

Epist. LIIII.

That hee was troubled with often ſighing, and thereupon thought on death. That it is not to be feared, becauſe that we ſhall be the ſame after death, that wee were before. Let vs be prepared.

MY ſickneſſe, that had giuen me a long truce and intermiſſion, ſuddenly inuaded me. After what manner, ſayeſt thou? Truly thou haſt reaſon to aske mee, for there is not any one ſort, but that I haue beene ſenſible of it: yet am I, as it were deſtinated to one ſickneſſe, which why I call by the Greeke name I know not, for it may aptly enough be called of ſickneſſe. It continueth a very little time in his violence; and is like vnto a guſt, and paſſeth away almoſt in an houre. For who is he that could liue if this difficultie of breathing ſhould continue? All either the incommodities or dangers that may trauell a bodie, haue paſſed by mee, yet no one of them ſeemeth more troubleſome vnto me: and why? For in all other euils whatſoeuer, a man is but ſicke, but this is death it ſelfe. And therefore the Phyſicians call it the meditation of death. In the end this ſhort breathing finiſheth that which it hath often attempted. Thinkeſt thou that I write this vnto thee with great ioy, becauſe I haue eſcaped? If to this end that I took delight to be in health, I doe as ridiculouſly as hee, that thinketh himſelfe diſmiſſed of the ſuite, when he hath deferred his putting in baile to the action: yet in the very ſuffocation intermitted, I ceaſe not to comfort my ſelfe with ſome pleaſing & confident cogitatiõs: What is this (ſay I?) Doth death come ſo often to aſſaile me? Let him do it hardly. For mine owne part, it is a long time I haue proued it. When was it (ſayeſt thou?) Before I was borne: it is a death not to be that it was before. Now I know what thing it is; that ſhall be after my death, which was before my birth: if a man feele any torment therein, it muſt needes follow, that we had ſome ſenſe thereof before we came into this World; but then felt I no vexation. I pray you, ſhould he not be a great Foole, that ſhould thinke that a Candle were more vnhappie after it were extinguiſhed, then before that it was light? So fareth it with vs, wee are lightned and extinguiſhed; betwixt both theſe times we ſuffer ſome things. But before and after is a certain and profound aſſurance of our euils. For in this, my *Lucilius*, we erre, except I be deceiued, in that wee iudge death to follow; whereas ſhee goeth before, and is like to follow after. Whatſoeuer was before vs, is death? For what difference is there whether thou beginneſt not, or whether thou endeſt; the effect of both theſe is not to be. With theſe and ſuch like ſilent exhortations (for ſpeake I might not) I ceaſed not to talke vnto my ſelfe; at length by little and little, this ſighing which began alreadie to returne to be a breathing, tooke more long pauſes, and hauing more libertie, kept his accuſtomed tune and proportion. Neither as yet, although the fit bee ceaſed, hath my breath his naturall courſe. I feele a certaine touch and hanging on thereof. Let him doe what hee will, prouided that I ſigh not in my ſoule; aſſure thy ſelfe thus much of me, that when I ſhall find my ſelfe at the laſt gaſpe, I will not be aſtoniſhed. I am alreadie reſolued, I care not when the day commeth. Praiſe and imitate him that is not agrieued to die, when as he hath the greateſt occaſion to reape the pleaſures of life. For what vertue is it to iſſue out, then when thou art caſt out? Yet is there

O Chriſtian option in an Heathen.

there a vertue herein. True it is, that I am driuen out, but ſo it is as if I iſſued voluntarily. And therefore a Wiſeman is neuer driuen out; for to bee driuen out, is to be caſt out of a place in ſpite of a mans teeth: but a Wiſeman doth neuer any thing perforce, he flyeth neceſſitie, becauſe he willeth that which ſhe may conſtrayne.

EPIST. LV.

Of the Mannor of VATIA, *and of* VATIA *himſelfe. Then of good and euill Leiſure. Likewiſe that friends may and ought to be preſent in mind.*

WHen I deſcend from my Coach, I am no leſſe wearied, then if I had walked ſo long time as I was ſitting: for it is a labour to bee long time carryed, and I know not whether in that it bee more great, becauſe it is againſt Nature, which gaue vs feet, that wee might walke by our ſelues; eyes, that we might ſee by our ſelues. Daintineſſe hath cauſed this infirmitie in vs, and that which long time wee will not, we ceaſe to be able to doe: yet had I need to trauell my bodie, and to doe exerciſe, to the end, that if I had either choller ſtayed in my throate, I might diſcuſſe the ſame; or if my breath by any cauſe were growne ſhort, I might extenuate the ſame by this agitation, which I haue known to haue done me much good: and therefore cauſed I my ſelfe to be carryed more long time, for the pleaſure that I tooke vpon the ſhore, which ſhooteth out a certaine abutment or bowing Land, betwixt the Towne Cumæ and *Seruitius Vatia* his Lordſhip, encloſed as a ſtrait paſſage betweene the Sea, which is on the one ſide, and the Lake which is on the other, becauſe at that time it was more hard and more thicke, by reaſon of the tempeſt which had raged a little before. And as thou knoweſt when the billowes of the raging flouds couer the ſame very often, the ſands become more full and vnite, but a long calmie time cauſeth them to relent, and diuideth the ſand which was hardned by the water, after the humour hath beene wholly dryed: yet according to my cuſtome I beganne to looke about me, if I could find any thing in that place that might breed mee any profit, and I addreſſed my ſight vpon a Countrey houſe which had in times paſt pertayned to *Vatia*. There it was, where that rich man, who in times paſt had beene Pretor, and had neuer beene knowne by any other meanes, but for retyring himſelfe thither, ſpent his later yeares, and was for this only cauſe reputed happie. For as often as *Aſinius Gallus* friendſhip, as often as *Seianus* hatred or fauour had drowned ſome men, (for it was as dangerous to haue offended him, as to haue loued him) all men cryed out, O *Vatia*, thou art the only man that knoweth how to liue; and yet hee knew but how to hide himſelfe, but not to liue. Truly there is a great difference, whether thy life bee idle or ſlothfull. I neuer paſſed by this houſe of *Vatia*, but that I ſaid *Vatia* is entered here. But Philoſophie, my *Lucilius*, is a thing ſo ſacred and venerable, that if there be any thing that reſembleth it, it pleaſeth the World. For the common ſort ſuppoſe, that a man that is retyred from the Citie, to liue in repoſe, is full of aſſurance and contentment: and that he liueth but to himſelfe, but none of theſe can befall any one but a Wiſeman. For he being diſtracted by nothing knoweth how to liue vnto himſelfe. For (that which is the principall good) he knoweth how to liue. For he that flyeth both from men and affaires; he whom

the misery of his ambitions hath banished out of the Citie, that could not endure that any should be more happie then himselfe; that like a slothfull creature lay hid for feares, he liueth not to himselfe, but that which is more lothsome and disliking, he liueth to his belly, his sleepe and his lust. He liueth not continually to himselfe, that liueth to no man; yet constancie and persecurance in our first designes, is a thing so valued, that obstinate idlenesse retayneth and hath some authoritie also. Touching the building it selfe, I can speake or write thee nothing certaine, for I onely know it outwardly, and by the shew it maketh to all Passengers. There are two Caues of maruellous Workmanship, hauing two large porches of equall structure, and builded by hand; the one whereof neuer admitteth the Sunne, and the other is filled with his reflections vntill he set. There is a place planted with Plane-trees, in the middest whereof there runneth a brook, that falleth afterwards into the sea, & into the lake of Acherusium, diuiding it selfe into diuers Brookes, sufficient to nourish much fish, although a man take them daily: but it is spared when the Sea affordeth good fishing time, and when as a tempest restrayneth the Fisher-men: each one may catch and fish them easily. But the greatest commoditie that is in this house, is that it hath behind the wals thereof, the *Bayas*, and yet being exempt from all the incommodities thereof, it partaketh all the pleasures and delights of the same. I my selfe on my knowledge can giue it this commendation, that I beleeue it to be a place fit to be inhabited all the yeare long. For it is opposite against the West-wind, and intercepteth it so conueniently, that it hindereth it from blowing vpon *Bayas*. Not inconsiderately, as it seemeth, did *Vatia* make choice of this place, in which he might bestow his idle time, and old age; yet very little or nothing doth the place profit to the tranquillitie of the spirit, it is the mind which commendeth all things, I haue seene some liue pensiue and melancholy in their houses of pleasure: I haue seene other some liue in solitarie places, as if they had much businesse. Wherefore thou art not to thinke, that therefore thou art little at thine ease, because thou art not in Campania: but why art thou not? send thy thought hither: Thou mayst confer with thine absent friends yea as often, and as long as thou wilt; then most of all enuie we this pleasure (which is the greatest) when we are absent. For presence maketh vs wantons, and because that we conferre together, that wee walke together, and that at sometimes we sit together; so soon as we are departed one from another we remember them no more, whose presence we haue lost of late. And for this cause ought we not to be grieued with the absence of our friends, for there is not one, that is not farre absent from them, euen in their very presence: if thou wilt first recount all the nights, wherein thou art separated from them: the diuers occupations that both one and the other haue; the secret studies, the goings and commings out of the Citie; and thou shalt see that the time, which long Voyages make vs lose, is not ouer-great. A friend is to bee possessed in minde: shee seeth alwayes him whom she will see. And therefore I pray thee studie with mee, sup with me, and walke with me: we should liue in a miserable restraint, if any thing were hidden from our thoughts. I see thee, my *Lucilius*, then with most content, when I heare thee. I am so truly with thee, that I am in doubt whether I should begin to write, not Epistles, but Bookes vnto thee.

EPIST.

Epist. LVI.

That a ſetled minde enioyeth it ſelfe, and intendeth his ſtudies, yea euen amidſt the preaſſe of men. This teacheth he by his example. That inward ſilence and peace is more to be wiſhed for. Furthermore, that ſloth is euill, and the mother of deſires.

LEt me die, if ſilence be as neceſſarie, as it ſeemeth to him that is retired to his ſtudie. Behold what different cries ſound about me on euery ſide, I am lodged euen ouer the bathes. Repreſent vnto thy ſelfe now all ſorts of voyces, that may draw the eares into hatred of them: when the ſtronger ſort doe their exerciſes, when they ſpread their hands loaden with Lead; when either they trauell, or imitate him that laboureth, I heare their groanes. As ſoone as they haue giuen libertie to their retained breath, I heare their wheeſings and weightie breathings. When a man falleth into the hands of an vnmannerly lot, that taketh vpon him to annoint men, and is content to ſerue them, as he would doe any one of the inferiour people, I heare the ſtroake of his hand that ſtriketh them on the ſhoulders; which according as he layeth it on, either flat or hollow, changeth his ſound. But if perchance he that caſteth the balles, annointed with pitch to nouriſh the fire vnder the baynes, commeth in, and that he beginneth to reckon them, all is loſt. Count him likewiſe that cleanſeth the ordures, and the theeſe taken in the act, and he alſo that taketh pleaſure to heare his voice ring in the bath. Add likewiſe to this number, thoſe that with a full leape, and with a great ſhout, caſt themſelues into the bayne. Moreouer, put them in this ranke, who at the leaſt, if they doe no other thing, haue their voices and words full-mouthed; as him that draweth the haire from the arme-pit, that inceſſantly breatheth forth a ſmall and trembling voice, to the end he may be the better noted amongſt the reſt; that neuer holdeth his peace, but at ſuch time when he riddeth the arme-pits of haire, to ſome one whom he conſtraineth to crie for him. A man heareth afterward an infinite crie of Cake-ſellers, of Saudſige-mongers, and crackling Merchants, and all the Cookes skullions, who ſell their meat, euerie one of them with their proper tune, to the end they may be the better marked. O how yron a braines is thine (ſayeſt thou!) O how deafe art thou, if thy ſpirit be not troubled, amidſt ſuch dynne, and diuerſitie of cries, ſince our *Chryſippus* fell downe almoſt dead, to heare the good-morrowes which men gaue him in ſaluting him. For mine owne part, I honeſtly ſweare vnto thee, that I care as little for all theſe cries, as for the flouds or fall of a riuer; although that I haue heard ſay, that a people was conſtrained, for this only cauſe, to goe and rebuild their citie in another country, becauſe they could not endure the fal which the noiſe of *Nilus* made. In my opinion, words diſtract a man more then noyſes. For words diſtract the minde, and noiſe doth no other thing but fill and beate the eare. Amongſt thoſe that make a noiſe, but diſtract not my ſpirit, I place thoſe Coach-men and Smithes that hire my ſhop, the Lock-maker my neighbour, and he that dwelleth neere to the Temple of peace, when hee trieth his Trumpets and Haut-boyes, and who not onely ſingeth, but exclaimeth. The noiſe likewiſe more troubleth me that is intermitted, then that which is continued. But I am now in ſuch ſort hardened to all this, that I can heare a Captaine of a Gally, when he teacheth his Gally-ſlaues with a ſterne voyce, how to

to manage their oares. For I compell my mind to be intentiue to it ſelfe, and not to be diſtracted by exterior things. Let whatſoeuer voice be made exteriorly, prouided there be no debate in my ſoule, prouided that deſire and feare in mę are not at oddes, prouided that auarice and prodigalitie haue not any quarrell together, and that the one maketh not warre againſt the other. For what auaileth it vs to haue ſilence round about vs, if the paſſions of the minde ſtorme and be diſtempered?

Night couered all compos'd to quiet reſt.

This is falſe, there is no peaceable ſleepe, but that which reaſon hath compoſed. It is the night that repreſenteth vnto vs al our troubles, in ſtead of drawing them from vs, and doth nothing but change our cares. For the dreames of thoſe that ſleepe are as troubleſome vnto them, as is the day. That is true tranquillitie, in which a good and holy ſoule may repoſe. Marke mee him that ſeeketh for his ſleepe in a large and ſpacious houſe, and how to prouide that no noiſe offend his eares: all the troupe of his ſeruants keepe ſilence and are ſtill, and how they that would approach his bedde, lift vp their feet, and ſet them ſoftly on the ground. Truely he doth nought elſe but turne and toſſe this way and that way, he taketh but a ſlight reſt, intermixed with diſcontents of the mind, he complaineth that he heareth that which he heareth not. What thinkeſt thou is the cauſe hereof? It is a tumult that is engendred in his ſoule, that is it which he ſhould appeaſe; it is the ſedition of the mind that ſhould be extinguiſhed, which thou muſt neuer ſuppoſe to haue quiet reſt, although thy bones be laid to reſt. Repoſe ſometimes is without repoſe. It ſhall be therefore requiſite for vs to awake our ſelues by the managing of ſome affaires, and to occupie our ſelues in the ſearch of good arts and ſciences, when wee perceiue that the ſourge of idleneſſe (which cannot endure it ſelfe) doth ouerwhelme vs. The greateſt Generals of armies, at ſuch time as they perceiue that their ſouldiers doe grow diſobedient, they make them march, to keepe them in obedience, and cauſe them to vndertake ſome ſudden Voyage. They that haue buſineſſe, haue no leiſure to wax wanton. It is a thing moſt certaine, that there is nothing that more confoundeth thoſe vices which are engendred by idleneſſe, then trauell and occupation doth. We ſeeme verie often to haue retired our ſelues out of the Citie, by reaſon of our diſtaſte, for the euer managing of publike affaires, and for that we repent our ſelues, that we haue ſo long time remained in a place, where we receiue nothing but miſeries and diſpleaſures. And yet notwithſtanding, in that very caue, into which our feare and wearineſſe hath caſt vs, our ambition reuiueth and flouriſheth. For it is not wholly loſt, it is onely wearied, it is onely repulſed, ſeeing the affaires grew not anſwerable to his expectation. As much ſay I of prodigalitie and lauiſh expence, which ſeemeth ſometimes to be retired, and commeth afterwards to ſollicite thoſe anew who haue reſolued with themſelues to liue ſoberly and wiſely, and in the middeſt of their thrift ſhe re-aſſumeth thoſe pleaſures (which ſhe had not wholly condemned, but onely left for a time) with a force as much more violent, as ſhe is couertly hidden. For thoſe vices which appeare outwardly are much leſſe dangerous, and infirmities themſelues begin to take remedie, when they appeare in ſight, and manifeſt their venome. Make account therefore, that auarice, ambition, and thoſe other euill paſſions which trauaile our ſoules, are more pernicious, when we faine our ſelues to be healed, and to haue loſt them. We ſeeme to be idle.

and

and we are not. For if it were true that we are, if we had founded retreat to retire our ſelues from vices, if we haue contemned that which ſeemeth to be faire in outward appearance (as I haue ſaid a little before) there is nothing that can recall vs, there is neither ſong of birds, nor muſick of men that may croſſe our holy thoughts, when they ſhall alreadie be firmed and aſſured. That wit is ſlight, and as yet ſcarce well retired into it ſelfe, that admireth at the bruite of euerie ſmall accident. He hath ſome care hidden in his ſoule, and ſome feare that maketh him penſiue; and as our *Virgil* ſaith, Æneid. 2.

And me whom erſt no darted weapons mou'd,
Nor Grecian troupes for courage once approu'd,
Now euerie winde that breathes or beats mine eare,
Awakes my ſleepes, and breedes my ſudden feare,
Starting I wake, and feare doth me ſurpriſe,
For him I beare, and for my charge likewiſe.

The firſt of theſe is wiſe, and is not daunted with the darts that are ſhot againſt him, neither with the threatning armes of a great ſquadron of the enemie, nor with the out-cries of a Citie diſturbed with ſedition. But the other is an ignorant ſot, he is afraid to loſe his goods, he is afrighted at the firſt noyſe he heareth, he thinketh that a little voice is a great rumour, and the leaſt motion abateth his courage. The burthen of his riches maketh him thus fearefull: make choice of whom thou wilt, amongſt all theſe rich men, that gather much, and beare great wealth with them, thou ſhalt ſee that he is alwaies in feare, both for thoſe that he beareth with him, and for thoſe that follow him. Know therefore that then thou art well compoſed, when no feare can moue thee, when no voice can make thee depart out of thy ſelfe; not at that time when it flattereth thee, nor then when it threatneth thee, neither then when with a vaine rumour it ſhall make a noiſe in thine eare. What then? Is it not more commodious not to heare their ſlanders? I confeſſe it. Therefore is it that I would retire my ſelfe from this place, but my intent was to make triall of, and to exerciſe my patience. What needeth it a man ſuffer himſelfe to be tormented a long time, if *Vlyſſes* haue found ſo eaſie a remedie for his companions, againſt the Sirens themſelues?

Epist. LVII.

Of the Neapolitan Vault, and the horror there. Then that our firſt motions are not in our power. Somewhat of the tenuitie and cleritie of the minde.

WHen I would depart from *Baiæ* to returne to *Naples*, I eaſily beleeued that we ſhould haue a tempeſt, becauſe I would no more trauaile by ſea: but there were ſo many ſloughs all the way long, that a man might iuſtly imagine that I had iourneyed by water. I was enforced that day to ſuffer all the fatality of the wreſtlers. For after we had beene well wet, we were tormented all the day long with duſt in the Vault of *Naples*. There is nothing more long then that priſon, nothing more obſcure then the entrance of that caue, which was the cauſe that wee ſaw not through the darkneſſe, but darkeneſſe themſelues; neuertheleſſe, although the

the place had light in it, yet the duſt which is likewiſe as troubleſome and diſpleaſant in open aire, would obſcure the ſame. What doth it in the Vault, where after it is raiſed like a tempeſt, and is encloſed in one place where no aire breatheth, it falleth downe on thoſe that haue raiſed it? We haue ſuffered two great and contrarie incommodities, in the ſame way, and the ſame day, wee haue beene tormented with dirt and with duſt. Yet this obſcuritie gaue mee ſome fit matter to thinke vpon. I felt, as it were a great ſhake and fearleſſe change in my minde, which the noueltie of a thing ſo vnaccuſtomed, and the loathſomeneſſe of that place had cauſed. I ſpeak not now with thee of my ſelf, who am farre ſhort of a tollerable man, much leſſe from him that is perfect. I ſpeake of him, ouer whom Fortune hath no power, for ſuch a ones minde will receiue ſome touch: ſuch a ones mind and colour may be changed. For there are certaine paſſions which a man cannot auoid, by any vertue. Nature admoniſheth him that he is mortall. And therefore he will frowne at the firſt cauſe of ſorrow; he will tremble for feare at a ſudden accident, his ſight will be troubled, if being carried to the height of a huge mountain, he behold the huge and vaſte depth. This is not feare, it is a naturall paſſion, which reaſon cannot conquer. Therfore is it, that there are ſome valiant men, & moſt readie to ſhead their owne bloud, that cannot endure to ſee another mans. Some that cannot behold a freſh wound, and otherſome that ſwound, with only touching an old and matterie ſore; and others that are afraid to ſee a naked ſword drawne in ieſt, and yet feare not to be killed. I felt then, as I told thee, not an aſtoniſhment, but a change. Againe, as ſoone as we came vnto the light, a ſudden ioy ſurpriſed me, without thinking of that. Then began I to ſay in my ſelfe; how feare we without cauſe ſomethings more, ſomethings leſſe, although the end of all of them be alike? For what difference makeſt thou, whether the ruine of a Tower, or of a Mountaine, fall vpon a Sentinel? Thou ſhalt find none: notwithſtanding there are ſome that will feare more the fall of the Tower, although both of them be powerful enough to make them die: becauſe feare apprehendeth not the effects, but thoſe things from whence the effects proceede. Thou thinkeſt (it may be) that I will ſpeake of the Stoicks, who are of opinion, that the ſoule of a man, which is ſtifled and cruſhed vnder a great ruine, cannot iſſue, but that ſhe diſperſeth her ſelfe incontinently, becauſe ſhe might not eſcape freely. But I doe not; and they that ſay ſo are verie much deceiued, in my opinion. Euen as a flame cannot be choaked, becauſe it flieth and retireth it ſelfe, with that which driueth it: as the aire cannot be hurt with a ſtroake, nor be diuided, or harmed by a whip, but ſpreadeth it ſelfe round about the body, to which it maketh place: So the ſoule, which is the ſubtileſt and pureſt thing of the world, cannot be either retained or tormented within the bodie, but by the meanes of her ſubtiltie, ſhe glideth thorow all that which preſſeth her. And euen as the lightning, after it hath beaten and hugely blaſted an houſe, departeth thorow a verie little hole: So that ſoule which is farre more ſubtile then fire, paſſeth and penetrateth thorow all ſorts of bodies. Therefore may we enquire thereof, whether it may be immortall. But hold this for a thing aſſured, that if it ſurniue the bodie, that conſequently it cannot periſh by any meanes whatſoeuer, becauſe it may not periſh. For there is not any immortalitie, that is ſubiect to exception or condition: and there is nothing alſo which may hurt that which is eternall.

He proueth the immortalitie of the ſoule.

EPIST.

EPIST. LVIII.

That certaine late words are now out of vſe. He paſſeth to the Phyſiques, and ſheweth how manifold Ens *or Being is out of* PLATO. *He fitteth it to the Ethick, and that nothing here is the ſame, or perpetuall. Then what vſe can ſubtilties haue, and that this is to be taken in euerie thing. He addeth of olde age and death, and that neither is to be wiſhed or refuſed.*

NEuer had I better knowledge of the pouertie, or, to ſpeake truely, the indigence which we haue of words, then I haue at this day. A thouſand things preſented themſelues when as caſually wee ſpake of *Plato*, which wanted or had not their names, and ſome which had, and ſome that through our delicacie had loſt that name which they had by antiquitie. But who can allow of that diſguſt in ſo great pouertie? That Ox-flie which the Grecians call *Oeſtrum* that ſtingeth and chaſeth beaſts, and ſcattereth them in the Forreſts, our Latines called *Aſilus*. Thou mayeſt well beleeue *Virgil*:

And thoſe Oxe-flies that in great troupes doe flie
Neere Alburne Mountaine, or to Siler Wood;
The which in Rome Aſilus ſignifie,
And by the Greekes for Oeſtrum vnderſtood,
Stinging and buzzing, which make cattell ſtray
Amidſt the Forreſts ſcattered with diſmay.

I thinke that hee vnderſtood that this word was wholly loſt. And to the end that I delay thee no longer, there were ſome ſimple words in vſe, as when they ſaid amongſt themſelues, *Cernere ferro inter ſe*, that is to ſay, to determine their quarrels betwixt themſelues by armes. The ſame *Virgil* ſhall proue this,

And King LATINVS *too amazed ſtands*
To ſee two men both borne in forreine Lands,
In ſeuerall angles of this mightie frame,
Could thus aſſembled meete, and ioyne their hands,
To trie their right by ſword, and winne the ſame.

Which now we call *decernere*, which is as much to ſay as Decide. The vſe of this ſimple word is loſt. Our anceſtors ſaid *Si iuſſo*, that is to ſay, *Si iuſſero*, which ſignifieth, If I command. I will not that thou beleeue me. Herein *Virgil* is a faithfull witneſſe;

Let all the other troupes
Which I command, come after to the fight.

I labour not now by this diligence, that I may ſhew how much time I haue loſt after the Grammarians, but that thou mayeſt vnderſtand this, how many words a man readeth in *Ennius* and *Attius*, which at this day are ruſtie and out-worn, ſince thoſe of *Virgil* himſelfe, who is daily ouer-looked and handled by vs, are in ſome ſort loſt vnto vs. What meaneth this preparation, ſayſt thou?

Wheere-

Whereto tendeth it? I will not conceale it from thee. My desire is (without offensing thine eare) to say *Essence*; if not, I will neuertheiesse say it, although I should displease thee. I haue *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, (the Father of all Romane eloquence, and whom it is no shame to imitate) author and approuer of this word; whose example and authoritie I thinke is sufficient. If thou art desirous to haue one of our late Writers, that hath vsed this word, I haue *Fabianus*, one of our owne profession, a man of great learning and eloquence, of a style full of sharpenesse and elegancie, and of an extraordinarie puritie and neatnesse of tongue, which although it be excellent in his kinde, yet sometimes disgusteth with two much affectation. What should I doe, my *Lucilius?* How should I call this Greeke word, οὐσία, that is to say, Essence, or Existence, or Being, or Substance? a thing so necessarie, contayning in the vnderstanding thereof, all the whole frame of that, which by all Philosophers both ancient and moderne is called Nature, and which is the foundation of all things? I pray thee giue me leaue to vse this word. Yet wil I make vse of the libertie thou hast giuen me to vse this word, most sparingly; and wil not vse it but vpon necessity, when no other word will so perfitly explicate the sence: and it may be that I will not vse it at all, but content my selfe with the priuiledge onely. But whereto shall this facilitie of thine serue me, considering that I cannot in any sort expresse this word in Latine, which is the cause that I haue so much exclaimed against our language? yet more wilt thou contemne the Romane penurie and pouertie, when thou shalt find there is a syllable which I cannot translate. Asketh thou me what it is, τὸ ὄν, which is as much to say, as, That which is. Thou mayest suppose me to be grosse witted, and imagine it a verie easie matter to be done, and that a man may translate that after this maner, and say, *Quod est*, That which is. But there is a great difference betweene them. For I am constrayned to vse a Verbe for a Noune; & if I must needs giue one, I wil say *Quod est*, That which is. A friend of mine, and a man of great knowledge, told me this present day, that *Plato* gaue sixe significations to this word: I will expound all of them vnto thee, so soone as I haue explicated vnto thee, that there is a certain *Genus* and certaine *Species* also: for first of all we ought to seeke out this Gender, on which all the other *Species* and kinds doe depend, from whom all the difference and diuisions proceed, and vnder whom all is comprised. But this shall we find out if we begin to reade all things backward: for by this meane we shall ascend and attaine vnto the first. A man, as *Aristotle* saith, is a kind, a horse is a kinde, a dogge is a kinde. A common bond is therefore to be found out, which knitteth together all these things, and comprehendeth them all in himselfe; and what shall all this be? A liuing creature. A liuing creature then hath begun to be the Gender to all those I named of late; of a man, of a horse, & of a dog. But there are certain things which haue a soule, which are not liuing creatures: for it is a thing most certaine that seeds and trees haue soules; and therefore we say that they liue and die. Liuing creatures then shall hold the highest place, because that all things which haue life and sense are vnder this forme, yea, seedes also. Some things want a soule, as stones. Some things therefore shall be more high and greater then such as are liuing creatures, that is to say, a bodie. This will I diuide after this manner, that I may say that all bodies are animated or inanimated: and notwithstanding all this, there is something more high then a bodie. For we say that there are somethings corporeate, and other incorporeate: what then shall that be from whence these are deduced? That it is to which we haue heretofore assigned a name improper enough.

That

That which is: for ſo wil it be diuided into *Species*, if we ſay, That which is, hath either a bodie, or is incorporate. So here then is the firſt Gender & the higheſt, and if I ſhould ſay ſo, the generall; the reſt, to ſpeake truth are Genders, but they are *Speciats*, as a man is a *Genus*. For he containeth vnder him the kindes of Nations, Greekes, Romanes, and Parthians; and of colours, as white, black, and red. There are alſo ſome particulars, as *Plato*, *Cicero*, *Lucrece*. For this cauſe when he containeth diuers things vnder him, he taketh the name of a Gender, & when he is contained vnder any other, he is called a *Species*. But that Gender which is generall, hath nothing aboue it ſelfe: it is the beginning of all things. All whatſoeuer is, is vnder the ſame. The Stoicks would place another Gender aboue this as more principall, whereof I will ſpeak anon, ſo ſoone as firſt of all I haue made manifeſt this, that the Gender wherof I haue ſpoken, ought in right to be placed in the firſt ranke, ſince in it ſelfe it comprehendeth all things. I diuide That which is, into theſe kinds; that is to ſay, into corporeall and incorporeall: for there is no third. But how ſhall I make diuiſion of the bodie? I muſt ſay, that either they are animated, or inanimate. Againe, how diuide I things animated? I will ſay that ſome haue vnderſtanding, other ſome haue but a ſoule: or rather thus; ſome haue motion, walk or paſſe; ſome others are tied to the earth, and are nouriſhed and increaſe by the roots. Againe, into what kindes ſhould I diſtinguiſh liuing creatures? Either they are mortal, or immortal. Some Stoicks ſuppoſe the *primum Genus* to be *Quid*, but why they ſo think I will hereafter ſet downe: In nature, ſay they, there are ſome things which are and are not; and that nature comprehendeth thoſe things which are not, and preſent themſelues to our vnderſtanding, as are Centaures, Giants, and all other ſuch things; which being formed by a falſe imagination, begins to haue ſome Image, although they haue no ſubſtance. Now returne I to that which I promiſed thee, that is to ſay, how *Plato* hath diuided all things that are in ſixe ſorts. That firſt, *Which is*, a man cannot comprehend either by ſight or touch, or by any other ſence. That which is generall, is but in imagination. As a man in generall is not ſeene by the eye, but a particular man is, as *Cicero* and *Cato*. A liuing creature is not ſeene, but is onely comprehended in the vnderſtanding; yet are the kinds therof ſeene, as a horſe and a dog. Of things which are, *Plato* putteth for the ſecond Gender, that which is called eminent, & ſurpaſſeth all other. He ſaith that this is in way of excellencie. As a Poet is a common name, for all they that make verſes are ſo called. But now amongſt the Greeks this word ſignifieth but one, and when thou ſhalt heare them ſay Poet, thou muſt vnderſtand that it is *Homer*. What is it then that thou wouldeſt ſay? It is God, who is the greateſt and the moſt powerfull of all other things. The third kind is of thoſe things which are proper, and theſe are innumerable, but they are alſo placed out of our ſight. Askeſt thou me what they are? They are *Plato's* proper implements and moueables, he calleth them *Idea's*, of which all things which we behold are made, and to which all things are formed. Theſe are immortall, immutable, and inuiolable. Heare, I pray you, what *Idea* is, and what *Plato* thinketh of it. It is a patterne, and eternall mold of all things, which are made by nature: yet will I adde an interpretation to this definition, to the end the matter may more plainly appeare vnto thee: I haue a will to make thy picture. Thou art the patterne of my picture, of which my mind gathereth ſome habit, which he will delineate in his worke. So that face which teacheth and inſtructeth me, and from which I deriue my imitation, is *Idea*. Nature then, the mother of all things, hath an infinity of theſe patternes, as of men, of fiſhes, of trees, on which

is drawne and expreſt all that which ſhe ought to do, The fourth place is giuen to an Image. But it behooueth thee to be very carefull in vnderſtanding what this Image is, and that thou lay the blame on *Plato* and not on me, as touching the difficultie of things. Yet is there nothing that is ſubtil, which is not accompanied with difficultie. Not long ſince I vſed the compariſon of the Image which a Painter made. He when in colours he would paint *Virgil* to the life, beheld him. *Virgils* face was the *Idea*, and the patterne of his intended worke; but that which the Painter hath drawne from that viſage, and that which he hath painted on his table is εἰδωλον, that is to ſay, an Image. Askeſt thou me what difference there is? The one is the patterne, the other the figure, drawne from the patterne, and put vpon the worke: the one is that which the Painter imitateth, and the other is that which he maketh. A ſtatue that repreſenteth a man, hath ſome face that is εἰδωλον, which is as much to ſay, as an Image. The patterne it ſelfe alſo hath ſome face, on which the worke-man in beholding it, hath formed his Image, and that is the *Idea*. Askeſt thou as yet another diſtinction? εἰδωλον, that is to ſay, an Image is the worke which is made, and the *Idea* is out of the worke, and is not only out of the worke, but it is before that the work was. The fift Gender is of thoſe that are commonly, and they begin to appertain vnto vs. There it is where all things are, both men, and beaſts, and all other things. The ſixth Gender is of thoſe things that ſeeme to be, as Void and Time. *Plato* numbreth not amongſt theſe that which we ſee and touch, becauſe they fleet and paſſe & haue no being, but in a continual diminution and adiection. There is no one of vs that in his old age is that which he was when he was yong. No one man is the ſame in the morning which he was in the euening, our bodies are ruiſhed and rolled after the manner of riuers. All that which thou ſeeſt, runneth with the courſe of time, nothing is permanent whatſoeuer we ſee. I my ſelfe, whilſt I ſay that theſe things are changed, am changed my ſelfe. This is it that *Heraclitus* ſaith, we neuer deſcend two times into the ſame riuer: the ſame name of the riuer remaineth, but the water is ſtolne by. This is more manifeſt in a riuer then in a man; yet doth no leſſe a current carrie vs away. And therefore maruell I ſo much at our folly, that we can ſo heartily loue the bodie, which is a thing ſo ſubiect vnto flight, and that we haue feare to die ſome day, ſince euerie moment is a death of the firſt eſtate, wherein we were. Wilt thou feare leſt that ſhall be once done, which is daily done? I haue ſpoken of a man, which is a matter fraile, periſhable, and ſubiect to all accidents of fortune. But the world alſo, although it be eternall and inuincible, yet is it ſubiect to changes, and remaineth not in the ſame eſtate. For although as yet it hath all that which it euer had, yet hath it the ſame otherwiſe then it had it, and changeth his order. What, ſaiſt thou, ſhall this ſubtilty profit me? If thou ask, I will anſwer thee nothing. But euen as the Grauer, after he hath held his eyes ſo long time fixed on his work, that they are wearied, fauoreth & recreateth them, or, as we are wont to ſay, repoſeth them: ſo likewiſe ought we ſomtimes to recreate our ſpirit, and refect the ſame with ſome delights, prouided that theſe recreations be workes. Amidſt which, if thou take good heed, thou ſhalt find ſomething that may be wholſome. This, my *Lucilius*, am I wont to doe. In all things wherein I imploy my ſelfe, although they be far eſtranged from Philoſophie, I endeuor to draw ſome profit whereof I may make vſe. But what profit can I take from this Diſcourſe that I haue now intertained, ſo eſtranged from reformation of manners? How can theſe *Idea's* of *Plato* make me better? What ſhall I draw from theſe that may reſtraine my deſires? At leaſtwiſe I ſhal learne that *Plato* denieth, that

nothing

nothing of that which ſerueth our ſenſualitie, that heateth and prouoketh vs, is of the number of thoſe things that are really. Theſe things then are imaginarie, and beare ſome appearance for a time: There is nothing in them that is firme and aſſured; and notwithſtanding we deſire them as if they ſhould bee alwaies durable, and continually permanent with vs. Wee are wearied and feeble, and linger for a time in the way. Let vs fixe our mindes on thoſe things that are eternall: let vs admire the formes of all things that flie on high, and how God conuerſing amongſt them, and prouiding for all, conſerueth that againſt death which he could not make immortall, becauſe the matter hindered him; and how by reaſon he might ſurmount the vices of the bodie. For all things remaine, not becauſe they are eternall, but becauſe they are defended by the care of him that gouerneth them. Immortall things need no conſeruer or tutor; the work-man that made them, maintaineth them, ſurmounting by his vertue the frailtie of the matter. Let vs contemne all theſe things which are not ſo pretious, which are to be doubted whether they be at all. Let vs thinke alſo by the ſame meanes, that if the diuine prouidence freeth and keepeth this world (which is no leſſe mortall then we are) from all perils and dangers, that wee likewiſe may by our prouidence lengthen out a little time, and prolong life in this little bodie of ours, if we can bridle and moderate our pleaſures, by meanes whereof the greater part of men are loſt. *Plato* himſelfe by a diſcreet gouernement of himſelfe, attayned to old age. He had a ſtrong and able bodie, and men gaue him that name by reaſon of the broadnes of his breaſt; but his voyages by ſea, and thoſe dangers he had paſſed, had very much diminiſhed his forces: yet his ſobrietie and the moderation of thoſe things which call on and prouoke voracitie, and the diligent gouernment of himſelfe, tho many other cauſes hindred him, continued him to his old age. For thou knoweſt, as I think, that this befell *Plato* by reaſon of the benefit of his diligence, that he departed on his birth-day, and finiſhed the race of foure-ſcore and one yeares without any deduction. And therfore it was that certaine *Magi*, who by fortune were in the Citie of *Athens* at that time, ſacrificed vnto him after his death, ſuppoſing that his nature was more excellent then that of other mens, becauſe that he had iuſtly attained the moſt perfect number of life, which nine times nine accompliſh. I doubt not but that he was readie to remit ſome few daies of this ſum, and ſacrifice. Frugalitie may lengthen old age, which in my opinion, as it is not to be deſired, ſo is it not to be refuſed. It is a matter of great contentment for a man to be with himſelfe as long as he may, and eſpecially when he hath made himſelfe worthie to enioy himſelfe. As neerely approcheth he the nature of a Coward, that ſlothfully expecteth the laſt houre of his life, as he that is ouermuch addicted to Wine, who not onely emptieth and drinketh vp the Wine in the Veſſell, but ſwalloweth downe the Lees likewiſe. Yet may it be demanded and queſtioned, whether the laſt part of our age be the Lees of our life, or whether it be the moſt pure and liquideſt part of our age, prouided that the ſoule be not any waies enfeebled, and that the ſenſes be as yet entire for the ſeruice of the ſame, and that the bodie be not deſtitute of his forces, and halfe dead before his time. For it importeth very much to ſee whether a man prolong his life, or linger his death. But if the bodie bee in ſuch ſort vnprofitable, that it cannot any longer performe his functions; why ſhould not a man draw his ſoule out of priſon, that doth but languiſh? Peraduenture it were the beſt to doe it the ſooneſt that a man might, leſt when it ſhould be done thou canſt not doe it.

Stoical demands vnfit for Chriſtians.

And whereas there is a greater danger of liuing badly, then of dying quickly: he is a foole which with the price of the losse of a little time will not redeeme the hazard of a great inconvenience. Few men hath long age brought to death without iniurie. And diuers men haue ouer-passed their life time idlely, without doing any thing. But why shouldest thou esteeme him more cruell to lose some part of life, which must likewise take an end? Be not displeased to vnderstand that which I say, as if this sentence should bee pronounced against thee; but iudge thou of that which I say. I will not abandon mine olde age, if she reserue me wholly vnto my selfe. I say wholly, in respect of that part which is the best. But if she haue begun to trouble mine vnderstanding or to ruinate some part, or that she hath not left me my life, but my soule: I will depart out of this ruinous and rotten house. I will not flie a sickenesse by the remedie of death, prouided that it may be healed, and that it breed no damage to my soule: I will not kill my selfe, to make an end of my paine; for it is as much as to be vanquished, to die after this maner: yet if I knew that I should endure the same all the rest of my life, I would depart from it, not by reason of the griefe, but for that it would hinder me from doing all things for which a man desireth to liue. A man is a recreant, and of little courage, that dyeth to escape from paine. He is a foole likewise that liueth to feele nothing but paine But I am ouer-long, there is matter besides which cannot be expressed in a day. But how might he make an end of his life, that cannot make an end of his letter? Farewell then: for thou wilt reade these later words more willingly, then the other discourses which intreate of nothing but death.

Epist. LIX.

The difference betwixt voluptuousnesse and ioy, and that this is an honest word. Then praiseth he Lvcilivs *his style, and that a Philosopher likewise is not to neglect words: and that parables and similitudes are to be loued, yet that we are seriously, and not slightly to studie Philosophie, neither must wee please our selues quickly, since flatterie confoundeth vs.*

I Haue read thy letter with great pleasure, permit me (I pray thee) to vse these common words; neither reuoke them to the Stoicks signification. We beleeue that pleasure is a vice. Put case it be; yet are we wont to vse this word to expresse an affection of ioy in our soules. I know well, I tell thee, that pleasure (if we will that our words be aymed to our own purpose) is an infamous thing, & that ioy cannot happen but to a wise-man. For ioy is a certaine lifting vp of the mind, that trusteth to his proper goods and forces. Yet commonly we speake thus, & say that we haue conceiued a great ioy of such a mans Consulate, or of some mariages, or of our wiues bringing to bed; which are not so certaine ioyes, but that oft-times they are the beginning of future sadnesse. But true ioy hath this benefit, to accompanie it, that it neuer hath end, neither is turned to his contrarie. Therefore when our *Virgil* saith, *And the euil ioyes of the mind*, he speaketh elegantly, but yet not properly. For there is not any euil that bringeth ioy. He hath giuen this name vnto pleasures, & hath very well expressed that which he would say; for he meant and expressed those men that reioyce in their euill and misfortune: yet haue not I without cause said that I took great pleasure in thy Epistle.

For

For although an ignorant man reioyce vpon a good occaſion, yet ſo it is, that I call that affection which he cannot moderate, and that preſently will caſt it ſelfe vpon other diuers ſubiects. I call it, I ſay, pleaſure, conceiued by opinion of a fained good, conducted without meaſure and diſcretion. But to returne to my purpoſe, heare what delighted mee in thy Epiſtle: Thou haſt words at will, thy diſcourſe tranſporteth thee not, & draweth thee not further then thou haſt deſtinated. There are ſome that are drawne by the beautie of ſome word that beſt likes them, to write more then they had purpoſed, but the ſame befalleth not thee. All is well ordered, and well applyed. Thou ſpeakeſt as much as thou wilt, & ſignifieſt more then thou ſpeakeſt: this is a ſign of ſom greater matter. Moreouer, it appeareth that it hath no ſuperfluitie in it, & nothing proud: yet finde I ſomtimes Metaphors, which as they are not ouer-hardie, ſo are they not vnprouided of beautie, and that haue alreadie made proofe of their good grace. I finde certaine compariſons, whereof if there be any one that will interdict vs the vſe, and permitteth them onely to Poets, hee ſeemeth to me that he hath not read any of the ancient Authors: Amongſt whom as yet a plauſible ſpeech was not affected or expected. They that ſpeake ſimply, and to make vs only vnderſtand that they would ſpeake, were full of Metaphors & ſimilitudes, which in my opinion were neceſſarie, not for the ſame cauſe the Poets had to vſe them, but to aſſiſt the feeblenes of our ſpirit, and to repreſent moſt liuely to the Diſciple and to the auditor that which they ſaid. As behold, when I reade amongſt other, *Sextius* a vehement and ſubtill man, Philoſophying in Greeke words and Romane manners, I tooke great pleaſure to ſee the ſimilitude and compariſon which he vſed, that an army which feareth to be aſſailed by an enemie, marcheth in a ſquare battell, to be more readie for the fight: The wiſeman, ſaith he, ſhould do the like; he ought to ſtretch out his vertues on all ſides, to the end that if there be any danger that threatneth him, his ſupply may be in a readineſſe, and that without any diſorder they may obey their Gouernour; which we ſee to fall out in armies, which great Captains know how to arrange, where all the troupes are ſo orderly diſpoſed, that both the one and the other vnderſtand at the ſame time the commandement of their Generall, and the watchword is as ſoone heard amongſt the battell of footmen, as the troupes of horſemen. But *Sextius* ſaith, that this is more neceſſarie for vs, then for men of warre. For they haue oftentimes had feare of the enemie without cauſe, and the high-way they feared to be moſt dangerous to them, was moſt aſſured. Folly hath nothing which is exempt from feare. She feareth as much from aboue, as from beneath; ſhe is afraid both of the one quarter and of the other. There are dangers that come before her, and that follow after her. She is afraid of all things; ſhe is neuer aſſured, but feareth her owne ſuccours and aſſiſtants. But a wiſe-man is armed, and aduiſed againſt all fortunes and violences, although pouertie, miſerie, ignominy, and paine aſſault and charge him, he will neuer retire; he wil march, without any feare againſt his miſchiefs, and in the midſt of them. Diuers things hold vs bound, & reſtraine vs, diuers other take from vs our forces, wee haue ſo long time lyen ſoyled in theſe vices, that wee can hardly be cleanſed from them. For we are not onely ſoyled, but alſo wholly poyſoned. And to the end, that from one compariſon we paſſe not to another, I wil aske thee (which I haue oftentimes conſidered in my ſelfe) why it is that folly doth ſo obſtinately tie vs vnto her? Firſt, becauſe we repulſe her not valiantly, and that we will not doe our vttermoſt endeuour to ſeeke helpe. Next, becauſe we giue not ſufficient credit to thoſe things which are found out by wiſe men; nei-

ther receiue them with an open breaſt, but paſſe ouer, and that ouer-lightly, a thing of great importance. But how can any man ſufficiently learne what ſufficeth againſt vices, who learneth but then, when he hath leaſure to giue ouer the libertie of his vices? There is none of vs that diueth to the bottome, we haue onely gathered the top. And to men ſo much and more occupied, it hath ſufficed to imploy ſome little time in Philoſophie. But that which moſt hindereth vs, is that we ouer-much pleaſe our ſelues, with our ſelues: If we finde any man that will call vs good men, wiſe and holy men, we beleeue them. We are not ſatisfied with a moderate praiſe: whatſoeuer immoderate flattery hath heaped on vs, we receiue as due vnto vs; we conſent vnto thoſe that ſay we are verie wiſe and verie good, although we know well that they are accuſtomed to lie. And ſo farre flatter we our ſelues, that we will be praiſed for things wholly contrarie to that we doe. Such a one there is that heareth, that euen they whom he ſendeth to execution, call him ſweet and merciſull, liberall in his thefts and robberies, ſober and temperate in his drunkenneſſe and lecherie. Whence it commeth to paſſe, that we will not make any change in our ſelues, becauſe wee iudge our ſelues to be honeſt men. *Alexander*, at ſuch time as he ouer-ranne all India, and pillaged the ſame by war, as farre as thoſe nations that were ſcantly knowne to their neighbors; riding about the walls of a Citie, which he held beſieged, to know on what ſide it was moſt eaſie to be aſſaulted, & finding himſelfe wounded by the ſhot of an arrow, he remained a long time on horſe-back, and continued his enterpriſe. But after the bloud was ſtanched, and that the paine of the wound which was alreadie dried, began to encreaſe, and that his legge which hung on his horſe pommell, began to be aſtonied, he was conſtrained to retire himſelfe, and to ſay, *All the world ſweareth that I am* IVPITERS *ſonne, but this wound of mine crieth out that I am a man.* The like let vs do, when as by force of flattery, euery one of vs are made fooles. Let vs ſay, You report that I am wiſe, but I ſee how many vnprofitable things I deſire, and how many hurtfull I wiſh for. Neither vnderſtand I this which ſacietie teacheth brute beaſts, what meaſure ſhould be allotted for meat, what for drink, as yet I know now how much I ſhould take. Now will I teach thee how thou mayeſt vnderſtand, that as yet thou art not wiſe. He may be termed, and is wiſe, who is repleniſhed with ioy, glad and moderate, and that feeleth no paſſion, liueth equal with the gods. Now counſell thou thy ſelfe, if thou art neuer ſad, if no hope ſollicite thy mind, in expectation of that which is to come; if day and night, thy ſpirit enioy an equall and aſſured repoſe, if it be contented in it ſelfe, thou haſt attained to the fulneſſe of that felicity a may may deſire. But if as yet thou hunteſt after all ſorts of pleaſures, both here and there, make account that thou art as far eſtranged from wiſedome, as thou ſhalt be from ioy and content. Thou haſt a will to attaine therunto, but thou deceiueſt thy ſelfe, if thou think'ſt that thou mayeſt atchieue the ſame by the meanes of riches? Searcheſt thou thy ioy amidſt honours, that is to ſay, amongſt cares? Theſe things which thou thus deſireſt, and thinkeſt to be the meanes to breed thee pleaſure & content, are but occaſions of ſorrowes. All theſe, I ſay, thinke to finde ioy and pleaſure, but they know not the meanes to gaine a great and perdurable contentment. One ſuppoſeth to find it in his banquets and fooliſh expences: another in his ambition and great troope of vaſſals, that follow and flocke about him on euerie ſide; another by the fauours of his friends, another by vaine oſtentation of the ſtudie of liberall Arts and Sciences, and letters which beale nothing. All theſe are beſotted with a flattering pleaſure, which continueth not long; as drunkennes,

which

which yeeldeth ſome fooliſh ioy for an houre, and ſeeth it ſelfe afterwards followed with a tedious repentance. Or as the honour of an applauſe, and fauourable acclamation of the people, which hath beene gotten and ended with much paine. Thou muſt then thinke this, that the effect of wiſdome is the equalitie of ioy. The minde of a wiſeman is ſuch, as is the ſtate of the world aboue the Moone, there is the ayre alwayes peaceable and faire. See here wherfore thou oughteſt deſire to be wiſe, for the wiſeman is neuer without ioy. This contentment groweth not, but from the conſcience of vertues. No man can reioyce, but he that is conſtant, iuſt, and temperate. What then, (ſayeſt thou) do Fooles and wicked men neuer reioyce? No, no more then Lions do, that haue found their prey. When they are wearied and glutted with wine, and all other pleaſures, when as the night which they wholly ouer-paſſe in drinking, is as yet but very ſhort vnto them, when in a little bodie a man hath included greater pleaſures then it may containe, and that he beginneth to giue ouer, and caſt them out, then wretches as they are, beginne they to exclaime and cry out this Verſe of *Virgil:*

For how we lewdly ſpent this lateſt night
In fained pleaſures, thou well vnderſtandeſt.

They which are addicted to fooliſh expence and ſuperfluitie, paſſe all the night long in fooliſh pleaſures, as if it ſhould be their laſt. But that pleaſure and ioy that followeth the gods, and thoſe that liue as they doe, is neuer interrupted or brought to end: it ſhould ceaſe, if it proceeded and were borrowed from another. But becauſe it commeth not by the meanes of another, it dependeth not alſo on the power and authority of another. Fortune cannot take that away which ſhe hath not giuen.

EPIST. LX.

That the vowes of the common ſort are to bee deſpiſed, and Nature is to be heard.

I Complaine, I wrangle, and am wrathfull. Doſt thou now wiſh for that which thy Nurſe, thy Tutor, or Mother haue deſired for thee? Thou knoweſt not as yet how many euils they haue wiſhed thee. O how harmefull are the deſires of our friends vnto vs! yea euen then moſt hurtfull, when they fall out moſt happily. I do not now maruell if all the miſchiefes of the World befall vs, from our firſt infancie. For we haue taken increaſe amidſt the execrations of our Parents. Let the gods likewiſe heare our Prayers ſometimes, when we importune them for nothing. How long ſhall it be, that we wil alwayes craue ſome good at their hands, as if wee had not wherewith to nouriſh our ſelues? how long ſhall we fill the fields of great Cities with our tillage: how long time ſhall it bee that a whole Prouince or Nation ſhall be employed in reaping our Corne? How long time ſhall it be, that a great number of ſhips ſhall be employed, to carrie from diuers ſeas the corn that ſhould ſerue but one mans table? The Bull is fatned in the Paſture of a few Acres. One only Forreſt ſufficeth many Elephants. A man feedeth both of the Land and Sea. What then? Hath Nature giuen vs ſo vnſatiable a belly, in regard of that little bodie ſhe hath giuen vs, that it ſhould ſurpaſſe the voracitie and hunger of the hugeſt and moſt rauenous beaſts in this world?

world? No truly. For that which wee giue vnto Nature is as ſmall as nothing, ſhe is contented with a little. It is not the hunger of our bellies that coſteth vs ſo deare, it is our glorie and ambition. And for this cauſe (as *Saluſt* ſaith) they which follow the pleaſures of their belly, ought to bee reckoned and ranked amiddeſt the number of beaſts, and not of men; and ſome of them beſide, not amongſt the number of beaſts, but of the dead. He liueth that vſeth himſelfe, but they that lye hid in ſluggiſhneſſe, ſo liue in their houſes as in a Sepulcher. Although in their porches thou regiſter their names in Marble: yet they are buried before they are dead.

Epist. LXI.

Let vs ſtudie to bee amended and changed. Let vs thinke on Death, as if alwayes imminent, and addreſſed to lay hold on vs.

LEt vs deſiſt to will that which we would. I truly endeuour my ſelfe in my old age to behaue my ſelfe ſo, that men may iudge that I haue another will then I had when I was young. In this one thing employ I all my dayes and nights; this is my onely labour, this is my thought, to be able to bring mine olde euils to an end. I endeuour that one day may be to me as much as my whole life. I lay not hold of it as if it were my laſt, but behold the ſame as if it might bee the laſt. I write vnto thee this Letter with ſuch an apprehenſion, as if Death ſhould call mee, whileſt I am writing of it. I am readie to depart; and therefore in ſecuritie enioy I life, becauſe I am not much troubled how long it ſhall laſt. Before old age I tooke care that I might liue well, in old age that I might dye well; and to dye well, is to dye willingly. Labour with thy ſelfe that thou doe nothing vnwillingly: what ſoeuer muſt come to paſſe will come to paſſe, neceſſitie is but to him that refuſeth, and not to him that willeth. There is no neceſſitie for him that hath a will. I ſay this, that hee who willingly doth that which hee is commanded, hath fled the moſt vnſeaſonable and cruelleſt part of ſeruitude, that is to ſay, to doe that which he would not doe. Not he that vpon any command doth any thing, is a miſerable man, but he that doth it againſt his will. In ſuch ſort therefore let vs compoſe our mindes, that wee will that which neceſſitie requireth to be done: and aboue all things let vs thinke vpon our end, without any ſhew of heauineſſe. We muſt ſooner prepare our ſelues to death then to life. Life hath but ouer-much to entertayne the ſame, but we are they that long after thoſe inſtruments that entertayne the ſame. Wee thinke, and ſo ſhall wee alwayes ſuppoſe, that we want ſomewhat; neither yeares nor dayes ſhall bring to paſſe that we haue liued ſufficiently, but the minde. I haue liued, my deareſt *Lucilius*, as much as ſufficeth; I expect death, as one glutted with life.

Epist.

EPIST. LXII.

That neither men or affaires are hinderances to a good minde. The prayſe of DEMETRIVS.

THey that would make men beleeue, that the multitude of affaires is a hinderance vnto them, in the purſuite and ſearch of liberall ſtudies, doe nought elſe but lye. They pretend and faine occupations, they augment them, and buſie themſelues. I am diſcharged of affaires, my *Lucilius*, I am diſcharged, and whereſoeuer I am, I am wholly to my ſelfe. For I ſubiect not, but accommodate my ſelfe to affaires. I runne not after the occaſions which might make me loſe time, and in what place ſoeuer I bide, there is it that I entertayne my thoughts, and ruminate ſome profitable matter in my mind. When I giue my ſelfe vnto my friends, yet for all that I am not diſtracted from my ſelfe. I ſtay not alſo long time with them, whoſe company I haue entertayned for a time, and for ſome occaſion produced from the dutie of my charge. But I am alwayes with vertuous men; I ſend my thoughts and minde vnto them, in what places, and what times ſoeuer they haue beene. I leade alwayes with me, my *Demetrius*, the beſt of men, and leauing apart theſe purpurated fellowes, I talke with this man halfe naked, and admire him. But how ſhould I chooſe but admire him? He wanteth nothing. Some man may contemne all things, but no man can haue all things. The ſhorteſt way to riches is by contempt of riches. But our *Demetrius* liueth in ſuch ſort, that hee ſeemeth not to haue contemned all things, but onely to haue permitted that others ſhould enioy them.

EPIST. LXIII.

A Conſolatorie Epiſtle vpon the death of a friend, both wiſe and excellent.

THou art very impatient, becauſe thy friend *Flaccus* is deceaſed, yet will I not that thou ſubiect thy ſelfe to diſordinate ſorrow. I dare not exact this at thy hands, that thou ſhouldeſt not grieue, yet know I this, that it is the better. But to whom is it, that ſo firme a conſtancie of minde may happen, but to him alone who hath trodden Fortune vnder his feet? Yet him alſo would this thing trouble and pricke, yet would it but onely pricke. For our ſelues we may bee pardoned, if we melt in teares, prouided that they be not ouer-lauiſh, and that wee our ſelues haue repreſſed them. In the loſſe of a friend, neither let our eyes be dry, nor ouerflowing; wee muſt ſhead teares, but not weepe out-right. Suppoſeſt thou that I ſubiect thee to a rigorous Law? When as the greateſt Poet amongſt the Greekes, gaue leaue and limit to teares for one day only, when he ſaid that *Niobe* alſo bethought her of her meate. Wilt thou know from whence theſe plaints and immeaſurable teares proceed? By teares wee ſeeke the teſtimonie that wee bewaile them, and we follow not griefe, but wee ſhew it. No man is ſad to himſelfe. O vnhappy folly, there is alſo ſome ambition in griefe. What then, ſayeſt thou, ſhall I forget my friend? Vndoubtedly thou promiſeſt him a very ſhort remembrance, if it muſt continue no longer then thy griefe. The leaſt

leaſt occaſion of Fortune, will ſuddenly change the wrinckles of thy brow into ſmiles. To reſolue, my ſelfe a ſhort time will ſuffice, which aſſwageth all ſorrow, and pacifieth the moſt grieuous afflictions of this World. As ſoone as thou ſhalt ceaſe to obſerue thy ſelfe, this Image of ſadneſſe will forſake thee: now keepeſt thou, and entertayneſt thy ſorrow; but how charily ſoeuer thou keepe it, it will eſcape from thee, and the ſooner, the more ſharper it is. Aboue all things, let vs labour that the remembrance of our friends which we loſe, be agreeable and pleaſing vnto vs. No man taketh pleaſure to remember ſuch a ſubiect, whereon hee cannot thinke without torment: notwithſtanding if it cannot otherwiſe be, but that the name of our friends whom we haue loſt, muſt be reduced to our memorie, with ſome touch and attaint of ſorrow, yet that very touch it ſelfe hath ſome pleaſure in it. For as our *Attalus* was wont to ſay; So is the memory of our deceaſed friends pleaſing vnto vs, as ſome Apples which are ſharply ſweet, as in ouer-olde Wine the very bitterneſſe delighteth vs. But after a little time is ouer-paſt, all that which tormented vs is extinguiſhed, and then a pure and true pleaſure is conceiued in our minds. If wee will giue credit vnto him, to thinke that our friends are in health, is to eate Honey and Cakes. But the memorie of thoſe that are deceaſed can yeeld no ioy, but that which is intermixed with ſome little bitterneſſe. But who is he that would deny that theſe ſharpe things, and ſuch as haue in them ſome acrimonie, doe acuate and whet the ſtomake? Yet am not I for all this, of that opinion. The remembrance of my friends that are deceaſed, is agreeable and pleaſing vnto me. For I had them, as if I were to loſe them, and I haue loſt them, as if I had them. Doe therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which thy diſcretion requireth. Forbeare to giue an euill interpretation of the benefits of Fortune, ſhe tooke away, but ſhe had giuen. Let vs then enioy our friends with a greedie deſire, becauſe wee know not whether they ſhall continue with vs a long time or no. Let vs thinke that we haue oftentimes leſt them, when as wee had made ſome long Voyages, and how oftentimes abiding with them in the ſame place, wee haue not ſeene them; and we ſhall find that we haue loſt more time when they were aliue. Canſt thou endure thoſe that make no reckoning and account of their friends when they haue them, but bewayle them afterwards moſt miſerably, and neuer loue any, but euen then when they haue loſt them? They then more abundantly weepe, becauſe they are afraid, leſt it ſhould grow in doubt whether they loued their friends or no; and ſeeke (but too late) to teſtifie their amitie. If we haue other friends, we doe them iniurie, and conceiue an euill opinion of them, to thinke that they cannot comfort vs as much as one onely whom we haue loſt. And if we haue not any, we our ſelues doe our ſelues greater wrong then wee haue receiued at Fortunes hands. Shee hath onely taken one from vs, and we haue not made any. Againe, hee ſcarcely loued any one, which could not loue more then one. If a man that were robbed, and had loſt the onely one Coate that he had, had rather bewaile his misfortune, then bethinke him by what meanes hee might eſcape the cold, and finde ſomething to couer his ſhoulders, wouldeſt thou not eſteeme him for a great Foole? Thou haſt buried him thou louedſt, ſeeke now another whom thou mayeſt loue. It is better to get a new friend, then to bewaile an olde. I know well that the thing which I pretended now to ſpeake is very vulgar, and knowne vnto euery man: yet will I not pretermit it, though all the World hath vſed it. Hee that by reaſon and counſaile could not finde an end of his ſorrow, met with it in time; but it is moſt contemptible, for a Wiſeman to finde no remedie for his for-

ſorrow, but by wearying himſelfe with the ſame. I had rather thou ſhouldeſt relinquiſh thy ſorrow, then that thou ſhouldeſt be left by it. Deſiſt from doing that as ſoone as thou canſt; which although thou wouldſt thou canſt not long doe. Our Anceſtors limited the terme of a yeare for women to mourne in; not that they ſhould mourne ſo long, but that they might not mourne longer. To men they prefixed no diſtinct time, becauſe no time is honeſt; yet which of theſe women wilt thou name mee, which could ſcarcely bee drawne from the pile where their Huſband was burned, or dragged from his dead Carcaſſe, whoſe moanes continued for a whole moneth? Nothing groweth more ſoone into hatred then griefe; which being new, findeth a Comforter, and draweth ſome vnto him to ſolace him, but being inueterate is derided; and not without cauſe, for either it is fayned, or it is fooliſh; yet doe I write this vnto thee, euen I, who haue immeaſurably bewayled *Annæus Serenus* my deare friend, that (which I write with hearts-griefe) I might bee numbred amongſt the examples of thoſe, whome ſorrow hath ouer-come. But at this preſent time I condemne mine owne action, and thorowly perceiue that the greateſt cauſe of my ſo mourning, was, becauſe I neuer thought that hee might haue dyed before me. I thought onely that hee was younger, and farre more young then I, as if the Deſtinies called vs by order of our birth. Let vs therefore continually meditate, as well on our owne mortalitie, as theirs whom wee loue. Then ſhould I haue ſaid: my *Serenus* is younger, what is this to the purpoſe? he muſt dye after mee, but he might alſo before me: and hauing not thought hereupon, fortune ſurpriſing me on the ſudden, ſtrooke me thus. Now know I that all things are mortall, and that they are mortall, vnder an vncertaine Law. That may bee done to day, what euer may be done. Let vs thinke therefore deare *Lucilius*, that we ſhall quickly come thither where hee is lodged, whom wee ſo lament for. And haply (if the opinion of Wiſemen ſauour of truth, and any place receiue vs,) he whom wee ſuppoſe to haue periſhed, is but ſent before vs.

Epist. LXIV.

The prayſe of Qvintvs Sextivs, *and then of wiſdome it ſelfe. That the Authours thereof are venerable, and that notwithſtanding wee may adde thereunto.*

THou wert yeſterday with vs. Thou mightſt complaine thy ſelfe if yeſterday onely, and therefore I added, with vs; for thou art alwayes with mee. Certaine friends were come to viſit mee, for which cauſe the Chimney ſmoked more then it was accuſtomed; not that this ſmoake was of that kind, as that which was woont to fume from the Kitchins of thoſe that entertaine Feaſts, which is woont to terrifie thoſe that watch by night; but a little ſmoake that ſignified that ſome Gueſts were come to me. Wee deuiſed on diuers things according to the cuſtome obſerued in Banquets, reducing nothing to a reſolution; but paſſing from one thing to another. At laſt the Booke of *Quintus Sextius* the father (a man of much knowledge in my opinion, and a Stoicke, although ſome would deny it) was read vnto vs. O good God, how is this man repleniſhed with conſtancie and courage! Thou ſhalt not find the like amongſt all the Philoſophers.

Some

Some mens Writings haue only a goodly Title, the reſt is without life. They make inſtitutions, they diſpute, and cauill, they adde no courage, becauſe they haue none. When thou haſt read *Sextius*, thou wilt ſay hee liueth; he is full of vigour, he is free, he is more then a man. Hee leaueth mee alwayes repleniſhed with great aſſurance. Howſoeuer my minde be diſpoſed, if I reade him (I will confeſſe vnto thee) I am addreſſed to prouoke all caſualties, and freely to exclayme. Why ceaſeſt thou Fortune? Come and encounter me, thou ſeeſt I am ready for thee; I inueſt my ſelfe with his courage who ſeeketh where hee may approue, and where he may expreſſe his vertue:

He wiſheth freely that he might behold
A foming Boare amidſt his idle fold,
Or ſome ſterne Lion from the hils deſcend,
With golden Creſt his cattell to offend.

I deſire to haue ſomwhat that I may ouercome, by whoſe patience I may be exerciſed: for *Sextius* likewiſe hath this admirable qualitie in him, that he will ſhew thee the excellencie of an happie life, and will not put thee out of hope to obtayne the ſame. Thou ſhalt know that ſhee is lodged in a place very high, notwithſtanding a man that hath will, may mount thereunto. Amongſt all other things, only vertue may giue thee this that thou mayſt admire, without loſing thy hope to attaine her. Truely the onely contemplation of wiſedome, very oftentimes robbeth me of very much time. I behold the ſame with no leſſe aſtoniſhment, then I doe the Heauens and the World, on which I oftentimes caſt mine eyes, as if I had neuer ſeene the ſame: therefore is it that I reuerence and honour the inuentions of wiſedome, and the inuenters alſo: It delighteth me to goe and take poſſeſſion thereof, as of an heritage common vnto many. Theſe things are gotten, theſe things are laboured for mee. But let vs play the part of a good Father of a Family: let vs increaſe that Inheritage which was left vs, and let this Poſſeſſion deſcend to my Poſteritie, in more ample manner then I receiued it from mine Anceſtors. Much there is that as yet remayneth to be done, and much more ſhall remaine: for after the reuolution of a thouſand ages, the occaſion ſhall neuer be left to them that are borne hereafter, to adde ſomewhat. And although Antiquitie hath inuented all things, yet the vſe, the ſcience, and diſpoſition thereof, which hath beene inuented, ſhall alwayes remayne new. Put caſe wee had ſome Medicines left vnto vs for the healing of eyes, I need not ſeeke for other; yet are theſe to bee fitted both to the diſeaſes, and to the times: by one of them the heate of the Eyes is extinguiſhed, by another the thickneſſe of the Eye-lids is attenuated; by one a ſudden Flux of Humor and Rheume is diuerted, by another the ſight is quickned. It behoueth thee to grinde theſe remedies, and allay them well, to make choice of the time, and that thou obſerue a meaſure in euery one of them. The remedies of the minde were inuented by our Ancients, but it behoueth vs to ſeeke, how and when they ſhould bee applyed. They that liued before vs haue done much, but they haue not done all. Yet muſt we honour them, and reuerence them as Gods. Why then ſhould I not haue the Images of theſe vertuous and great men in my Houſe, to kindle and quicken vp my ſpirit? And why ſhould I not celebrate their Birth-dayes? Why ſhould I not name them alwayes for Honours ſake? That Veneration that I owe to my Maſters, the ſame owe I to theſe Maſters of Mankind, from whom the beginnings

nings of ſo many benefites are deriued. If I ſee either a Conſull or a Pretor, I will doe all that which is vſually done in yeelding them honour and reuerence; I will light off my Horſe, I will put off my Hat, and giue him the way: What then? can I remember both the *Catoes*, wiſe *Lælius*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Zeno*, and *Cleanthes*, without ſome great acknowledgement of Honour? Truely I reuerence them, and hearing the greatneſſe of theſe names, I alwayes ariſe to yeeld them Honour.

EPIST. LXV.

He intreateth of the ſearch of naturall things. Of cauſe and matter, and teacheth how much they are profitable, if they be moderately handled, and to a good end, that is of life: by theſe the mind is lifted vp to God and honeſtie.

I Diuided yeſterday into two parts; the one was for my ſelfe, the other for my ſicknes, which vſurped all the fore-noone to it ſelfe, & left the after-noone for me: for which cauſe I firſt of all aſſayed the forces of my ſpirit in reading ſome Book. But when I ſaw that he took pleaſure herein, I grew bold to command him far more, yea, I permitted him. I wrote therefore ſomething with a greater care then I was accuſtomed, whilſt I contend with a difficult matter, and will not be ouercome, vntill ſuch time as ſome of my friends came in vnto me, who withdrew me perforce, and reprehended me for a man intemperate in the time of my ſickneſſe. In ſtead of writing, ſome Diſcourſe was ſet abroach, whereof I will relate vnto thee that part which is in queſtion, wherein thou art made Vmpire. Thou haſt more buſineſſe in hand then thou thoughteſt of. Certaine it is, that there are three cauſes, & the Stoicks, as thou knoweſt, ſay, that there are two things in nature, whereof all other things are made, The Cauſe and the Matter: the Matter remayneth idle; yet prepared to all things, which will not ſtirre, except it be moued. But the Cauſe, that is to ſay, the reaſon, formeth the Matter, and turneth it which way ſoeuer ſhe liſteth, and produceth out of it diuers workes. There muſt be then ſomething, whereof a thing may bee made, and after that a meanes by which it is made. This is the Cauſe; that the Matter. All Art is the imitation of Nature; and therefore all that which I haue ſaid of the vniuerſall, may bee transferred to theſe, which are to bee made by man. A Statue had a Matter that ſhould receiue the workmanſhip, and an Artizan that ſhould giue forme vnto the Matter. Therefore in the Statue the Matter was Braſſe, and the cauſe the Workman: all other things are of the ſame and alike condition. They take their Eſſence from that whereof they are made, and of him which maketh them. The Stoicks ſay that there is but onely one cauſe, namely that which maketh. But *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the cauſe may be ſaid after three manners. The firſt cauſe, ſaith he, is the Matter it ſelfe, without which nothing may be made: the ſecond is the Workman: the third is the forme, that is annexed to any Work whatſoeuer, as vpon a Statue: for *Ariſtotle* calleth it εἶδος, that is to ſay, an Image. There is yet another (ſaith he) which is annexed for the fourth, which is the deſigne and intention of the whole Work. I will tell thee more plainly what it is: The Braſſe is the firſt cauſe of the Statue; for it had neuer beene made, if that whereof it was founded and drawne had not beene. The ſecond cauſe is the Workman: for this Braſſe could not haue faſhioned it ſelfe into the forme

of a Statue, if ſome skilfull Artiſt had not beene imployed therein. The third cauſe is the forme; for neither ſhould this Statue be called *Doriphorus* or *Diadumenus*, except this forme had beene expreſſed in the ſame. The other fourth Cauſe is, the purpoſe and intention wherefore it was made: for without it, it had not beene made. And what is this intention? It is the ſame that inuited the Work-maſter, that it is which he followed: it is then eyther Siluer, if he made it to ſell; or glory, if he made it for reputation; or his Deuotion and Pietie, if he would giue it for a preſent to a Temple. Therefore this alſo is the cauſe for which it is made. Thinkeſt thou that amongſt the cauſes of a Work which hath bin made, that we ought not to count that without which it could not be made? To theſe doth *Plato* annex a fift, which he calleth *Idea*: for this is the example or patterne, on which the Workman caſting his eyes, doth that which hee had deſtinated and determined to doe; and it skilleth not whether he haue his patterne abroad whereunto he referreth his eye; or within, in his fancie which hee hath conceiued and placed in himſelfe. God hath the patternes and examples of all things in himſelfe. He hath conceiued in his vnderſtanding the members and faſhions of all that which ſhould be made by him: he is full of all theſe formes and figures which *Plato* calleth *Ideas*, which are immortall, immutable, and indefatigable. So that although men dye, yet humanity vpon which man is made, remayneth: and although men become ſicke, and doe dye, yet that ſuffereth nothing. There are then fiue cauſes, according to *Plato*; That whereof, that by which, that whereby, that whereto, and that wherefore. In the laſt place, in the Work which is made of theſe things, as in a Statue (becauſe of it we haue begun to ſpeake) that whereof is the Braſſe, that by which is the Workman, that whereby is the forme that is giuen vnto it, that whereto is the patterne which the Workman imitateth, that wherefore is the deſigne and intention of him that made it, and that which is compoſed of all theſe is the Statue. All theſe things the World hath alſo, as *Plato* ſaith The Workman is God, that which is made is the matter, and the forme is the habite and the order which wee ſee in this World, the patterne and example is that whereon God hath formed the greatneſſe of this faire worke; the intention is the deſigne for which he made it. Aſkeſt thou me what Gods intention was? His goodneſſe. Truely *Plato* ſaith ſo. What cauſe had God to make the World? He is good, hee hath made good things. He that is good enuyeth not any thing which is good: and therefore he hath made the beſt that he could. Giue now thy iudgement hereupon, and pronounce who he is, that in thy opinion hath moſt neerly aymed at the truth, not who hath ſaid the truth, for that is farre beyond our apprehenſion, as the truth it ſelfe. But this great multitude of Cauſes, ſet downe by *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, eyther comprehend ouer-much, or too little. For if they thinke that the cauſe to make a thing, be all that without which nothing may bee made, they haue ſet downe too few cauſes; they ſhould nominate time, for nothing can be done without time; they ſhould ſet downe place, for if there be not a place where a thing ſhould bee done, it cannot bee made. They ſhould put downe motion without which nothing is made, nothing periſheth: moreouer, there is not any art or change without motion. But here ſeek we the firſt and generall cauſe. This ſhould be wholly ſimple, becauſe the matter is ſimple. We aske what this cauſe is? It is the reaſon efficient, that is to ſay, God. And by this reaſon that I told you, there are not diuers and particular cauſes; but they depend wholly vpon one, that is on that which maketh. Thou ſayeſt that forme likewiſe is one of the cauſes, and that it is it which the Workman putteth vpon his Worke:

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it is a part, but not a cauſe. The patterne alſo or example is not a cauſe, it is a neceſſary inſtrument of the cauſe; ſo is the patterne neceſſary to the Workman, as the poliſhing Iron, or the Fyle, for without them Art can profit nothing: yet are they not parts, or cauſers of the Art. The intention of the Work-man (ſaith he) for which he vndertaketh to make any thing is a cauſe; yet though it were a cauſe it ſhould not bee efficient but acceſſarie. Now theſe cauſes are innumerable, but wee diſpute of a generall cauſe: vndoubtedly they haue not ſpoken with their accuſtomed ſubtilty, when they haue ſaid that this whole World & this work ſo well finiſhed, was the cauſe: for there is a great difference betwixt the work and the cauſe of the worke. Pronounce then thy ſentence, or ſay (as it is more eaſie in matters that are doubtful) that this queſtion is not yet in ſtate to be iudged, & ſo diſmiſſe vs. Thou wilt ſay vnto me, what pleaſure doſt thou conceiue in loſing thy time after theſe things, which cannot diſburthen thee of any paſſion, nor maſter any couetouſneſſe? For mine owne part, firſt of all I diſcourſe of that which may ſettle my minde in repoſe, and I rather enquire after my ſelfe then this Vniuerſe. Doing this I loſe not my time as thou thinkeſt. For all theſe Diſcourſes, if they bee not cut off, if they bee not drawne to vnprofitable ſubtilties, doe animate and rayſe the minde, which feeling it ſelfe preſſed with a heauy burthen, deſireth nought elſe but to deliuer her ſelfe, and to returne to thoſe places where ſhee hath beene. For this bodie is but a burthen and puniſhment of the ſoule. Shee is wearyed with the burthen, ſhee is in bondage, if Philoſophie come not to ſuccour her. But ſhee hath commanded her to breathe in the contemplation of Nature, and hath permitted her to forſake the Earth, and annex her ſelfe to diuine things. This is the liberty ſhee hath, this is her refectorie; meane while ſhee iſſueth out of Priſon where ſhee is detayned, and goes to recreate her ſelfe in Heauen. Euen as Worke-men, who haue long time held their eyes fixed vpon any ſubtill Worke, and wearied them thereupon, eſpecially if they labour in ſome obſcure place, and with little light, goe out into the open Ayre, and ſeeke out ſome publique place, where the people are accuſtomed to diſport themſelues, and recreate their ſight in the cleere light of the day: ſo the mind, impriſoned in this darke and obſcure receptacle, as often as it may, ſeekes libertie, and repoſeth it ſelfe in the contemplation of the Workes of Nature. A Wiſeman, and he that followeth Wiſdome, is in ſome ſort tyed to his bodie, but is abſent from the ſame in his beſt part, and addreſſeth his beſt thoughts to high and ſublime matters, and as if he had taken the Oath of a Souldier, he maketh account, that the time that his life laſteth is his pay or wages: and in ſuch ſort is he reformed and reſolued, that he beareth neither loue nor hatred to his life, and patiently ſuffereth all tranſitory things, although hee know that a greater good remayneth hereafter. Wouldeſt thou interdict me the contemplation of all things in Nature, and retyring me wholly, reſtrayne me to one onely thing? Shall I not ſearch what the beginnings of all things are? Who it is that formed them? Who it was that diſtinguiſhed all that which was confuſe and mixed in a maſſe in a manner idle and immoueable? Shall I not ſeeke who it was that made this World? By what Wiſdome this incredible greatneſſe of the Vniuerſe hath receiued his Lawes and his order? Who it is that hath gathered together ſo many things that were ſcattered? Who hath ſeparated thoſe that were confuſed? Who hath diuided the beautie amongſt thoſe things which were hidden vnder an abiect deformity? Whence commeth this ſo great light? Is it fire, or any thing more reſplendent then fire? Should I not enquire after theſe things?

Shall I not know whence I deſcended? or whether I ſhall ſee them but once or diuers times? Shall I not know whither I muſt returne, and what place attendeth my ſoule, after it ſhall be deliuered from this humane ſeruitude? Wilt thou hinder me from mounting to heauen, that is to ſay, Wilt thou command me to liue abiectly? I am more great, and borne for greater things, then to be a Slaue to my bodie, ouer which I neuer fixe mine eyes, but as on the chaines that hold me Priſoner, and reſtrayne me from my libertie. It is my bodie which I expoſe to Fortune, to withſtand her aſſaults: I permit not any wound to paſſe theron, that may afflict my ſoule. All that which may ſubiect it ſelfe, or ſuffer iniurie in mee, is but this Priſon of mine, abiect and ſlauiſh; the ſoule that remayneth therein is free. Neuer can this fleſh of mine make mee partake any feare, nor vſe any cowardize, vnderualuing a good man, nor to lye to doe honour to this miſerable bodie. When it pleaſeth me, I will breake the company I haue with him. And now although we are vnited together, wee will not bee companions vpon equall tearmes. The ſoule will ſay that all appertayneth to her. The contempt of her bodie is her true liberty. But to returne to my purpoſe. Truly the contemplation of that we ſpake of late, may ſerue very much to this libertie: That is to ſay, that all things are compoſed of matter, and of God. God gouerneth all theſe things, which being ſpread round about him, follow their Gouernour and their Chiefe. And God, who is hee that maketh, is more powerfull then the matter which ſuffereth the forme that God will giue vnto it. The ſame place that God obtayneth in the World, the ſame hath the ſoule in the bodie. That which the matter is to God, the ſame is the bodie to vs. The Interiour therefore ought to enioy the Superiour. Let vs bee firme and conſtant againſt Fortune, and let vs not feare or tremble at iniuries, wounds, impriſonment or pouertie. What is Death? Either it is the end, or a paſſage: neither feare I to ceaſe to bee, for it is the ſame, as if I had neuer beene; nor to paſſe, becauſe in no place ſhall I bee lodged more ſtraitly.

EPIST. LXVI.

That CLARANVS *is olde, but liuely, and that in bodie hee was deformed, but in minde honeſt. Hee careth not for the Houſe wherein hee dwelleth. The difference of goods among the Stoickes, and that all things are equall. What then? Are Ioy and Patience the ſame? They are ſo in regard of Vertue, not of matter. And that externall things alſo giue not any augmentation of good. Theſe things handleth hee copiouſly, diſtinctly and excellently. O let vs reade it, and apply the ſame.*

I Haue ſeene *Claranus* my companion in ſtudie, whome of long time before I had not ſeene. Thou expecteſt not, in my opinion, that I ſhould tell thee he is old, but at leaſt as yet hath hee his ſpirits liuely and vigorous, and ſuch as ſtriue with his little bodie. To ſpeake the truth, Nature hath done amiſſe, to lodge ſo faire a minde in ſo foule an Hoſtrie. Or elſe, it may be, ſhe had an intent to teach vs, that the ſtrongeſt and bleſſedeſt mind might hide it ſelfe vnder any skin, whatſoeuer. Yet hath he ouercome all impediments, and through the contempt of him-

himſelfe hath he attayned ſo farre, as to contemne all other things. In my opinion, he deceiued himſelfe, that ſaid,

Vertue is farre more gracious, getting place
Vnder the couert of a comely face.

For ſhee hath no need of any forreine ornament, ſhe deriueth her dignity from her ſelfe, and maketh the bodie which ſhe poſſeſſeth, holy and ſacred. Truely I began to behold my friend *Claranus* very neerly, and in my iudgement hee ſeemeth very faire, and as ſtraight in bodie, as confirmed in minde. A great man may iſſue from a ſheepe-coate, and a vertuous and faire ſoule may be cloſed in a deformed and baſe bodie. And Nature, in my opinion, expreſly cauſeth ſome to bee borne after this manner, to make vs ſee, that vertue may bee lodged in all places; if poſſibly ſhe could haue brought forth naked ſoules, ſhee would haue done it. But now doth ſhee farre more; for ſhee produceth ſome that are deformed in body, which notwithſtanding ceaſe not to expreſſe their value. *Claranus*, as I ſuppoſe, was made to ſerue for a patterne, and to let vs ſee, that the ſoule cannot be defiled by the deformity of the bodie, & that the body may receiue ornament by the beautie of the ſoule. But although wee haue remained very few dayes together, yet notwithſtanding diuers Diſcourſes paſſed betweene vs, which I will orderly digeſt, and afterwards ſend vnto thee. The firſt day the queſtion was, how goods ſhould be equall, ſince there was a threefold condition of them. Some of theſe goods, as our Philoſophers ſay, are placed in the firſt ranke, namely, Ioy, Peace, and felicitie of the Countrey. The other are in the ſecond, which neuer make themſelues known, but in a miſerable ſubiect, as patience in the middeſt of torments, and temperance in a great ſickneſſe. We deſire that the firſt ſhould befall vs euery day, and the ſecond when need requireth. There is alſo a third ſort, as to walke modeſtly and grauely, to carry a modeſt countenance, and vſe the geſtures and behauiours of a wiſe man. How is it then, that theſe goods may be equall among themſelues, ſince we are to deſire the one, and depart from the other? If wee will diſtinguiſh, let vs returne to the firſt, and conſider what it is. A ſoule that fixeth his eyes vpon the truth, that knoweth that which ſhe ought to eſchew or deſire, that prizeth all things, not by opinion, but by the Lawes of Nature, that intermixeth it ſelfe amidſt this great vniuerſe, and fixeth her contemplation vpon the effects thereof, that is inceſſantly occupyed in thinking and doing, that is as great as ſhe is vehement, that ſuffereth not her ſelfe to be ouercome neither by aduerſe or pleaſing things; that ſubmitteth not, neither to the one nor to the other fortune, that is eminent aboue all things that may happen or befall her, that is faire with a good grace, that hath her ſtrength accompanied with health and ſobriety, that is neuer affrighted nor aſtoniſhed, whom no violence can ſhake, whom fortune cannot rayſe or depreſſe. Such is the vertue of the ſoule, ſuch is her face, if ſhee might expreſſe her ſelfe at once, and might wholly and at once diſcouer herſelfe to our ſight: yet many differences hath ſhe in her ſelfe, which diſcouer thēſelues in the diuerſity of life, and her actions; and yet becommeth ſhee neither more great nor more ſmal then ſhe is. For the ſoueraigne good may not decreaſe, neither hath vertue power to go back-ward, yet changeth ſhee in diuers qualities, and conformeth her ſelfe according to the habit of thoſe things ſhe wil do. She changeth and transfigureth into her likeneſſe all that which ſhe toucheth; ſhee maketh the actions, amities, and ſometime whole houſes where ſhee entereth,

and which ſhee hath vnder her gouernment, honourable: all that which ſhee manageth, ſhee maketh amiable, and reſplendent; and therefore her force and greatneſſe cannot bee rayſed higher, becauſe that which is greateſt cannot receiue increaſe. Thou ſhalt finde nothing more iuſt, then that which is iuſt; nothing more true, then that which is true; nothing more temperate, then that which is temperate. Conſtancie findeth nothing that may aduance it, no more then Confidence, Veritie, or Faith. What thing is that, which may be added to a perfect thing? Nothing: or if any thing might be annexed, it is not perfect: therfore not to Vertue alſo, for if any thing might be annexed, it were deficient. Honeſtie alſo cannnot receiue any augmentation. For honeſtie is in the ſame ranke with other things which I haue ſpoken of. But what ſhall we ſay of that which is decent, of that which is iuſt, and of that which is lawfull? Thinkeſt thou not that they are of the ſame forme, and comprehended vnder certaine limits? To haue power to encreaſe, is a ſigne of an imperfect thing. All ſorts of good are ſubiect to the ſame Lawes, the priuate and publike profit are ioyned together, and truly inſeparable, in ſuch ſort, that one may not ſeparate that which is prayſe-worthy, from that which is to bee deſired. Vertues therefore are equall and alike betweene themſelues, as alſo their effects are, and all men to whom they befall. But the vertues of vegetables and liuing Creatures, becauſe they are mortall, fraile, fluxible, and vncertaine, ariſe and fall, and therefore are they not eſteemed in the ſame reckoning. But humane vertues haue but one onely meaſure. For there is but one right and ſimple reaſon. Nothing is more diuine then that which is diuine, nor more celeſtiall then that which is celeſtiall. As touching mortall things, wee ſee that they are ſometimes high, ſometimes low; that ſometimes they are abaſed and increaſed, exhauſted and repleniſhed. And therefore in ſo vncertaine a condition they are vnequall; but things that are diuine, are of the ſame nature. But reaſon is no other thing then a part of the diuine Spirit, infuſed and plunged in our humane bodies: if therefore reaſon be diuine, and that there is not any good without reaſon, all goods of what kind ſoeuer are diuine; but there is no difference betwixt diuine things, therefore not betweene goods. Ioy therefore, and a ſtout and obſtinate ſufferance in torments are equall, for in both there is the ſame greatneſſe of minde, but in the one more remiſſe and relenting, in the other more withſtanding and intent. What, thinkeſt thou not his vertue as great, that ſtoutly entreth his enemies Citie, as his that patiently ſuſtayneth the ſiege? *Scipioes* courage is great, which holdeth *Numantia* ſo cloſely beſieged and beleagred, who conſtrayned that inuincible Nation, to make away themſelues by their owne hands: and great is the minde of thoſe beſieged, that know that nothing is ſhut vp from him to whom death is open, and that expireth in the embracing of his libertie. The like equall are the reſt alſo among themſelues, Tranquillitie, Simplicitie, Liberalitie, Conſtancie, Equanimitie, Sufferance: for in all theſe, there is but one vertue that maketh the minde vpright and immutable. What then? is there no difference betwixt ioy and the inflexible patience of paines? None at all in regard of the vertues themſelues; much in reſpect of thoſe things, in which both the vertues are exemplified. For in the one there appeareth a recreation and repoſe of ſpirit, in the other a griefe contrarie to nature. Theſe ſubiects then are the meanes, which receiue betweene them a great difference. But the vertue is equall both in the one, and in the other. The matter changeth not the vertue. That which is diſtaſtefull and difficult cannot make it worſe, neyther that which is ioyfull and agreeable better. It followeth then, that both the one

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and the other of theſe goods are equall. For this man cannot beare himſelfe more vertuouſly in his ioy, nor the other in his torments; and truely two things in which nothing may be bettered, are equall. For if thoſe things which are placed out of vertue, either can diminiſh or encreaſe the ſame, that ceaſeth to be one good which is honeſt. If thou grant this, all honeſtie periſheth. Why? I will tell thee: Becauſe there is nothing honeſt, that is done either by an vnwilling man, or by him that is enforced: all honeſtie is voluntarie; if thou mixe with it ſlothfulneſſe, complaints, refuſals, and feare, he hath loſt all that is good in it ſelfe, to pleaſe himſelfe. It cannot be honeſt, which is not free, for that which feareth is in bondage. But that which is honeſt is equally aſſured, and full of peace and repoſe. If he refuſeth any thing, if he weepeth, if hee iudgeth that it is euill, he entreth into ſome perturbation, and feeleth a great diſcord in his ſoule. For on the one ſide, the appearance of good calleth him, and on the other, the feare of the euill retireth him. Thus he that will doe any thing with honor, ought to iudge, that nothing of that which oppoſeth it ſelfe againſt his will, is euill, although it be incommodious. All that which is honeſt, ought to be effected, without another mans command or reſtraint. It is pure and ſincere, and no waies intermedled with any other euill. I know well what a man may anſwer me here. Thou endeuoureſt to perſwade vs this, and there is no difference whether any man be in ioy, or lie in torture, and wearie his executioner. I might anſwer that which *Epicurus* ſaith, That a wiſe-man would cry out with a loud voice, although he were roaſted in *Phalaris* Bull: O how ſweet is this torment, and how little appertaineth it to me? Why wondereſt thou, if I ſay, that the good of him that is ſeated in the middeſt of a banquet, and of that other, which remaineth and ſtandeth firme and conſtant amidſt the torments, are equall; whereas (which is farre more incredible) *Epicurus* ſaith, That it is a ſweet thing to be tortured? But I anſwer thereunto, that there is a great difference betwixt ioy and dolour. For if I ſhould be put to my choyce, I would demand the one, and flie the other: the one is amicable to Nature, the other is contrarie. As long as they are eſteemed after this rate, they are verie different betweene themſelues: but when we come vnto vertue, both the one and the other are equall, as well as that which maketh his way by ioy, as the other that maketh it by ſorrow. Vexation, griefe, and whatſoeuer other incommoditie, are of no moment, for they are ſurmounted by Vertue. Euen as the cleareneſſe of the Sun extinguiſheth the leſſer lights: euen ſo paines, afflictions and iniuries, are diſſipated and abated by vertue; which, in what place ſoeuer ſhe ſhineth, extinguiſheth all that which appeareth not to be enlightned by her. And thoſe paines and incommodities that fall vpon vertue, haue no more power ouer her, then a little raine ouer the ſea. But to the end thou mayeſt beleeue that this is true, a good man will run without any cunctation to euerie faire thing, although the hang-man be there, the torture be prepared, the fire be enkindled, he perſeuereth, he will not bethinke him of that he muſt ſuffer, but on that which he ought to doe. He will caſt himſelfe vpon an honeſt thing, as betwixt the armes of a good man, he will make account that it is profitable, aſſured, and ful of good hap. An honeſt thing therefore ſhall haue the ſame place and credit with him, although it bee heauie and troubleſome, as a good man ſhould haue, although he were poore, baniſhed, and ſicke. Well then, ſet mee on one ſide, a good man full of riches, and on the other ſide, one that hath nothing at all, and yet notwithſtanding hath all things in himſelfe; the one ſhall be as good a man as the other, although their fortunes be different. The ſame

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reckoning ought a man to make in all things, as he doth of men: Vertue is as laudable in a ſickneſſe and impriſoned. Thy vertue then ſhall be no leſſe praiſe-worthie, if Fortune hath conſerued thy bodie in health and without harme, then if it were maimed in ſome member. Otherwiſe it were to praiſe the Maſter by his mens liueries. For all theſe things on which Fortune exerciſeth her power, are baſe and ſeruile; as are riches, the bodie and honours, they are weake, fraile, mortall, and poſſeſſed with vncertaintie. Contrariwiſe, the workes of vertue are free and inuincible, the which are not to be wiſhed for more, when they are fauoured by any flattering fortune, nor leſſe alſo when they are followed with ſome diſaſter. That which we call friendſhip towards men, is a deſire and couetouſneſſe towards good things. I ſuppoſe thou wouldſt not rather priſe a good rich man for his wealth, thē thou wouldeſt do a poore man: nor a ſtrong and mightie man, then a feeble & weak man. By the ſame reaſon, thou wouldeſt not rather wiſh a faire and peaceable thing, then that thing which is painfull and laborious. And if it be ſo of the two that ſhould be equally good, thou hadſt rather like of him that ſhould be neat and perfumed, then him that ſhould be ſlouenly and vncombed: In fine, thou wouldeſt come thus farre, that thou wouldſt more loue a man that were complete in all his members, that had neuer beene hurt, then a weake and ſpur-blind fellow. Briefly, by little and little thy diſdaine would increaſe ſo farre, that of the two that ſhould be equally ſage and iuſt, thou hadſt rather haue him that were faire locked and friſled, then him that is diſguiſed and balde. When the vertue both of the one and the other is equall, the inequalitie of other things appeareth not. Becauſe all theſe other things are no parts, they are but acceſſaries. For who is he that would make ſo vniuſt an eſteem amongſt his children, that he would make better reckning of him that were whole, then of him that were ſick: of him that were great & high of ſtature, more then of him that were low and little? Wild beaſts diſtinguiſh not their yong ones, they couch themſelues on the ground, to nouriſh them all together: Birds do equally diſtribute their meat to their yong. *Vlyſſes* maketh as great haſt to ſee his rocks of *Ithaca*, as *Agamemnon* his noble wals of *Mecana*. For no man loueth his countrey becauſe it is great, but becauſe it is his owne. But whereto tend theſe things? To the end thou mayſt know, that vertue carrieth an equall eye and regard on all her works, as on her proper children, that ſhe loueth all of them alike, and thoſe farre more that feele any paine, becauſe the loue of fathers extendeth more towards thoſe, on whom they haue moſt compaſſion. In like manner, vertue beareth not leſſe affection to thoſe her workes, which ſhe ſeeth ſuffer more affliction and torment, but following the cūſtome of good parents, ſhee embraceth and cheriſheth them the more. But why is it that one good cannot bee greater then another? Becauſe there is nothing more apt then that which is apt, nor nothing more full then that which is full. Thou canſt not ſay that this is more like vnto a thing then that; conſequently there is nothing more honeſt, then that which is honeſt. So then, if the nature of vertue be all alike, all the three ſorts of goods are equall. And therefore I ſay that it is all one to be moderate in ioy, and moderate in paine. Ioy ſurmounteth not the conſtancie of the ſoule, that deuoureth his complaints vnder the crueltie of a hang-man. The one of theſe goods are to be deſired, the other to be admired; yet both of them are equall: for all that which is ill is couered vnder the cloake of a more great good. Hee that ſhould be of an opinion that theſe two things were not equall, he ſhould ſhew that he would neuer caſt his eyes vpon vertue, and that he onely

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regarded exterior things. True goods haue the ſame weight and greatneſſe, both the one and the other. But the falſe are vaine and deceiuable. Therefore it is that thoſe goods that ſeeme ſo faire and ſo great to the exterior eye, deceiue vs when they are brought to their touch and weight. This is true, my *Lucilius*, all that which reaſon and vertue praiſeth and priſeth, it is firme, it is eternall, it maketh the ſoule aſſured, and lifteth it vp to heauen, to remaine there euerlaſtingly. But the goods which we commend without reaſon, and that haue their onely being in vulgar iudgement, doe but fill them with winde, that reuiue in them. Contrariwiſe, that which a man feareth as euill, doth but affright our minds, and terrifie the ſame no otherwiſe then apprehenſion of ſome danger troubleth beaſts. All theſe things then doe recomfort the ſoule, or torment it without reaſon: for neither is the one worthie of any ioy, nor the other of any feare. There is nought but onely reaſon, which is immutable and conſtant in her iudgement; for ſhe obeyeth not, but commandeth the ſenſes. Reaſon is equall with reaſon, as right to that which is right. Vertue then is the like; for ſhe is nought elſe but right reaſon. All vertues are rightfull reaſons, if they be rightfull they are equall. Such as the reaſon is, ſuch are the actions. Therefore all are equall: for ſince they are like vnto reaſon, they are alſo like betweene themſelues. And thoſe actions terme I equall betweene themſelues, which are vpright and honeſt. But yet they ſhall be much different, by reaſon of the varying of the matter, which is now more ample, now more ſparing, now more worthie, now more ignoble; now pertaining to many, now vnto few. And notwithſtanding in all thoſe things, that which is the beſt is equal. Euen as amongſt good men, all are equall as they are good men, yet haue they ſome differences in age, the one is elder, the other younger; they haue difference in bodie, the one is faire, the other deformed; they differ in fortune, this is rich, that is poore: he is gracious, powerfull, known to Cities and Nations, this vnknowne to many and obſcure. But in that they are good, they are equall. The ſenſe iudgeth not of good and euill: it knoweth what is profitable, and is ignorant of that which is vnprofitable: he cannot giue his aduice, but of that which is repreſented before his eyes: he cannot foreſee thoſe things that are to come to paſſe, neither haue remembrance of that which is forepaſſed; leſſe knoweth he that which may enſue: notwithſtanding, thereupon dependeth the order and ſucceſſe of things, and all the conſtancie of life, which ſhould be right and perfect. Reaſon then is it that iudgeth of good and euill, that maketh no account of forreine matters which come externally, and that thinketh that thoſe things which are neither good nor euill, are but ſome ſmall and light increaſings, all good to her is in the mind. Moreouer, there are certaine things which ſhe placeth in the firſt ranke, to which ſhe purpoſely commeth, as to a victorie, to wiſe children and well borne, and the health of the country. There are other goods of the ſecond degree, which are not knowne but in aduerſities, as to ſuffer a ſickneſſe or baniſhment patiently. And certaine other indifferent, which neuertheleſſe are more friendly then contrarie to nature: as to walke modeſtly, and to keepe a graue countenance when a man ſitteth. For it is a thing as naturall to ſit as to ſtand, or to walke. But the two firſt are much different the one from the other; for the firſt are according to nature, that is to ſay, to reioyce at the pietie of his children, and the felicitie of his Countrey. The ſecond are againſt Nature, to ſuſtaine torments with a great conſtancie, and endure thirſt, when as the infirmitie burneth the entrailes. What ſhall it then be? Is there any thing contrarie to Nature that may be called good? No truely. But this

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good is often found in a thing which is enemie to nature: for to be hurt, to be dried and conſumed in the fire, to be afflicted with a ſickneſſe, is againſt nature; but to conſerue a mans ſoule in ſuch harmonie, that ſhe is not wearied to ſuffer torments, that is friendly to nature. What is reaſon then? It is an imitation of Nature. What is mans chiefeſt good? It is to doe all things according to Natures will. It is vndoubted (ſaith he) that a peace which hath neuer beene interrupted, is better then that which hath beene gotten with effuſion of bloud. There is no doubt (ſaith hee) but that health which neuer hath beene ſhaken, is better and more happie, then that we haue recouered perforce, and by a long patience of a ſickneſſe that threatned vs with death: In like manner it is not to be doubted, but that ioy is a greater good, then a mind ſubiect to ſuffer torments, wounds, and fire: I deny it. For thoſe things that happen caſually, receiue a great difference, becauſe they are eſteemed by the profit of thoſe that receiue them. The intention and end of good men is to conſent vnto Nature. She is equall in all. When as the whole Senate followeth the opinion of one man, a man cannot ſay, This man is better aduiſed then the other; for all of them haue followed that opinion. I ſay the ſame by vertues; all of them conſent vnto Nature: I ſay the ſame by good men; all of them conſent vnto Nature. One is dead young, another old: ſome one moreouer is dead in Infancie, that hath enioyed no other good then to haue the onely ſight of life: all theſe were equally ſubiect to dye, although death hath ſuffered ſome of them to liue more long, and that to others ſhe hath cut off the threed of life, euen in the flower of their age, and hath interrupted the beginnings and birth of ſome other. One dieth in the midſt of his ſupper, to another his ſleepe and death hath beene but one, and ſome alſo haue beene ſtrangled amidſt the embraces of their minions. Adde alſo to theſe, thoſe that are dead by the ſword, or haue beene ſlaughtered by the ſting of Serpents, or that haue beene cruſhed to death vnder ſome ruine, or that are dead through a long conuulſion of their ſinewes, that by little and little hath tortured them. A man may ſay that the end of ſome is better, and of others is worſe. But the death of them all is equal. The meanes whereby they come thereunto, are diuers; but the poynt where they ended is but one. There is not any death more great, the one then the other: for ſhe hath one and the ſame meaſure in all perſons, that is, to put an end to life. I ſay the like of goods; one of theſe goods nouriſheth it ſelfe, betwixt pleaſures and delights, and the other feeleth nothing but aduerſities and diſaſters. Some one hath gouerned at his pleaſure the ſweetneſſe of a good fortune, and another hath euer borne the force of a tyrannie: yet both the one and the other goods are wholly equall, although the one hath not marched but by plaine and eaſie paths, and the other by places both tedious and dangerous. In briefe, the end of all is wholly alike. They are goods, they are praiſe-worthy, they follow vertue and reaſon: vertue maketh all things equall amongſt them which ſhe acknowledgeth. It behoueth thee not, amongſt thoſe opinions which I hold to wonder thereat. In *Epicurus* opinion there are two ſorts of goods, whereof this happie and ſoueraigne good is compoſed; which are, that the bodie be without paine, and the ſoule without paſſion and perturbation. Theſe goods increaſe not when they are compleate: for which way may that increaſe which is full? The bodie is without griefe; what may be added to this indolencie? The ſoule is peaceable, and in aſſured repoſe; what may be added to this tranquilitie? Euen as the cleere skie and the heauen appearing in his brightneſſe, cannot receiue any more accompliſhed beautie: ſo the eſtate of a

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man that hath care of his bodie and of his ſoule, and will compound his good by the meanes both of the one and the other, is wholly perfect; he hath attained the fulneſſe of his deſire, if he feeleth no tempeſt in his ſoule, nor trouble in his body. If any other forreine contentments befall vs, they augment not any waies this ſoueraigne good, but in a ſort ſeaſon the ſame, and make it pleaſing. For this intirely perfect good of humane nature, contenteth it ſelfe with the placability of body & ſoule: I will alledge you from *Epicurus* himſelfe, a diuiſion of goods wholly like vnto ours. For there are ſome with him that be had rather ſhould happen vnto him, that is to ſay, the repoſe of the body free from all paine, and the contentment of the ſoule that may reioyce in the contemplation of her goods. There are others which he praiſeth and approueth, although he could not wiſh they ſhould befal him; as that patience which I ſpake of late in a great ſickneſſe, and extreme dolours, which *Epicurus* ſuppoſed his laſt and fortunateſt day of his life. For he ſaid that he ſuffered torments in his bladder and in his vlcerated belly, which could not receiue a more great increaſe of dolour. And yet he eſteemed that day the moſt happie. But nothing can make a man happy, but him that enioyeth the ſoueraigne good. There is then amidſt *Epicurus* goods, ſuch as thou wouldſt not feele: but ſince fortune willeth that it muſt be ſo, we muſt embrace, priſe, and praiſe the ſame as the greateſt goods. A man cannot ſay that the good which hath giuen a period to a happy life, and for which *Epicurus* in his laſt words hath giuen thankes, is not euen and equall with the greateſt goods. Permit mee yet further, my *Lucilius*, to ſpeake more boldly to thee: if any goods may be greater then others, I had rather follow thoſe that were diſpleaſant, then thoſe that are gracious and delicate. For it is more honour to ouercome ſuch things as are difficult, then to moderate thoſe that are ioyfull. I know well by the ſame reaſon that it may be effected, that ſome one may entertaine his felicitie modeſtly, and his calamity conſtantly. As valiant ought he to be eſteemed that hath all night ſtood Sentinell in the Trenches, although the enemie hath not ſallied to force the Campe, as he that after his legges haue beene cut off, hath entertained the combate on his knees, and hath neuer forſaken his weapons. We ſay to thoſe that ordinarily returne from the field, ſprinkled with bloud, God increaſe your vertue. Therefore it is, that I would alwaies praiſe thoſe goods farre more continually, which are become conſtant by a continuall exerciſe, and that haue combated againſt fortune. Should I make doubt rather to praiſe that roaſted and maymed hand of *Mutius*, then the moſt healthſomeſt hand of the moſt valiant man that is? he ſtood vpright, contemning his enemies and the flames, he beheld his hand that conſumed and dropped thorow his enemies Torch, vntil at laſt *Porſena* enuied the glorie of him, at whoſe griefe in the beginning he took pleaſure, and cauſed to his great diſguſt, the fire to be taken from him. Why ſhould I not account this good amidſt the firſt and principall? Why ſhould I not eſteeme it farre more then thoſe, which ſome enioy in ſo much ſecuritie, without feare of fortune, ſince it is a thing more rare to haue ouercome an enemy with a dried and waſted hand, then with a whole and wel armed? But why, wilt thou ſay, wouldeſt thou deſire this good? Wherefore not? for there is not any one can do the like, but he that can wiſh the ſame. Should I wiſh rather to yeeld my feet to be ſoftly rubbed by one of mine old varlets, or by ſome woman, or by ſome one that from a man ſhould become a Woman, to ſtretch the ioynts of my little toes? Why ſhould I not thinke *Mutius* more happy for managing the fire, in ſuch ſort as if he had ſtretched out his hand to any man, to rubbe him ſoftly?

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He ſalued all the offence he had done, he made an end of the warre diſarmed and lame, and with that maimed hand he ouercame two Kings.

Epist. LXVII.

After his ſmall Preface, a queſtion whether euerie good is to be wiſhed for. He ſaith that it is, yea euen that whoſe matter is in euils. As to be conſtantly burned, ſicke, and whipped. Neither is the burning it ſelfe, a ſickneſſe, nor the whipping, but that, ſaith he, is to be wiſhed for, to ſuffer the ſame ſtoutly and conſtantly. Againe, that Vertues are vnited together, and as one, ſo all. Theſe alſo are worthie and beſitting a ſtout and reall Stoick.

TO the end, to begin with common things; The Spring began to open it ſelfe, but as if it approched alreadie towards Summer, and at ſuch time as it ſhould be hot, it waxed warme. Neither as yet is it to be truſted, for oftentimes it returneth to Winter. Wilt thou know how vnaſſured it is? As yet I dare not aduenture to bath my ſelfe in cold water, as yet doe I temper the cold thereof. This is, ſayſt thou, not to ſuffer either heat or cold. So it is, my *Lucilius*, mine age is contented enough with his coldneſſe; that ſcarcely may be thawed in the midſt of Summer. And therfore for the moſt part of the time, I lie couched on my mattreſſe. I thanke mine age that hath tied me to my couch. And why ſhould I not giue it thankes for this? All that which I ſhould not will, I cannot act. My greateſt diſcourſe is with my bookes: If at any time thy Epiſtles come betweene, me thinkes I am with thee, and ſo am I affected in mind, as if I did not write backe vnto thee, but anſwered thee face to face. And therefore will I intreat of that which thou demandeſt of me, as if I ſpake with thee. Wee will both of vs examine what this queſtion is. Thou wilt haue me tell thee whether euerie good be to be deſired. If it be good, ſayſt thou, to endure torments couragiouſly, and to ſuffer the fire with a great conſtancie, and to endure a ſickneſſe peaceably: it followeth that all that is to be deſired, and yet ſee I nothing in it, that is worthie to be wiſhed. Truely, as yet know I not any man, that hath payed any vow he hath made for being beaten with whips, or made lame by the gowt, or made longer by the racke. Thou muſt, my *Lucilius*, make a diſtinction of theſe things, and then ſhalt thou finde that there is ſome poynt which may be wiſhed for. I could well wiſh that torments ſhould be alwaies eſtranged from me: but when of force I muſt needs feele the ſame, then would I wiſh that I might endure them vertuouſly, couragiouſly, and honourably. Why ſhould I not rather wiſh, that the warre ſhould neuer happen? But if it bee proclaimed and begun, then would I deſire, that with a generous courage I might ſuffer wounds, famine, and all that which the neceſſitie of warre bringeth with it. I am not ſo fooliſh, as that I would deſire to be ſicke, but if it muſt ſo fall out, I would deſire alſo that I might not do any thing intemperately, or effeminately. So the euils and incommodities are not to be deſired, but the vertue whereby incommodities are ſuffered. Some of our Stoicks thinke, that the conſtancie and patience in torments and euils, neither ought to be deſired nor deteſted. For when a man wiſheth, he ought to deſire a thing wholly peaceable, pure, and exempt from ſorrowes. But I am not of their opinion. Wherefore? Becauſe it cannot be that a thing ſhould be good,

and

and ſhould not be deſired. Furthermore, if vertue is to be deſired, and if there be not any good without vertue, it followeth that all good is to be deſired. Againe, if a conſtant patience in torments ſhould not be deſired. I aske thee againe, is not Fortitude to be wiſhed for? But ſhe contemneth and prouoketh all perils. The fayreſt and moſt admirable part that is in it, is not to flie from the fire; to preſent himſelfe to wounds, and ſometimes not to auoid them, but to open his breaſt to receiue them. If then fortitude is to be deſired, patience likewiſe in ſuffering torments is to be wiſhed for, (for this is a part of fortitude:) but ſeparate theſe things, as I ſaid, there ſhall be nothing that ſhall deceiue thee. For to ſuffer torments, is not to be wiſhed for, but to ſuffer them couragiouſly. That courage wiſh for, which is a vertue. Yet who euer wiſhed this to himſelfe? Some vowes are open and profeſſed, when they are particularly made: ſome are obſcured, when as many things are comprehended in one vow. As when I deſire an honeſt life, but an honeſt life conſiſteth of diuers actions. In this is *Regulus* tombe, *Catoes* wound rent open by his owne hands, *Rutilius* baniſhment, the inuenomed cup that tranſlated *Socrates* out of priſon into heauen. So then when I wiſhed my ſelfe an honeſt life, I wiſhed theſe things alſo, without which ſometimes it cannot be honeſt.

O thrice and foure-times happy men were they,
That vnder Troy-towne walls diſmembred lay,
Before their parents eyes.——

What difference makeſt thou, eyther that thou wiſheſt it vnto any one, or that thou confeſſeſt that it is to be deſired? *Decius* made a vow to die for the Common-weale, and ſeeking nought but death, galloped his horſe into the ſwarmes of his enemies. Another after him, that emulated his fathers vertue, after his ſolemne and expreſſe execrations againſt himſelfe and againſt his enemies, thruſt himſelfe mainely into the thickeſt ſquadrons of them, hauing no other care, but to ſacrifice himſelfe for his Countrie, ſuppoſing that a good death was a thing to be deſired. Doubteſt thou then, that it is not a noble wiſh to die in the bed of honour, and in ſome vertuous action? When any one endureth torments conſtantly, it may be he imployeth all his vertues, although he hath but one at hand which diſcouereth it ſelfe, that is to ſay, patience: For there is Fortitude, of which, patience, ſufferance, and tollerance are the branches. There is Prudence, without which no counſel is conceiued, which perſwadeth to endure that valiantly, which thou canſt not flie. There is Conſtancie, which cannot be deiected from her place, and giueth not ouer her reſolution by no feare of torture. There is that inſeparable ſocietie of all the vertues. All that which is done honorably, one onely vertue doth it, but it is by aduice of counſell. But that which is allowed by all vertues, although it ſeeme to be done by one, is to be deſired. Why? ſuppoſeſt thou that thoſe things are only to be wiſhed for, which come by pleaſure and idleneſſe, and are receiued from painted, tapiſſed, and adorned gates? There are ſome ſad pleaſures, and ſome vows that are celebrated, not with reioyce, but with adoration and veneration of the whole Aſſembly. Thinkeſt thou not that in this kinde *Regulus* wiſhed to returne into the hands of the Carthaginians? Put vpon thee the mind of a generous and vertuous man, and ſeparate thy ſelfe a little from the opinions of the cõmon ſort. Aſſume as faire & magnificent a forme of vertue as thou oughteſt:

which is to be honoured by vs, not with gaunds and garlands, but with ſweat and bloud. Behold *Marcus Cato*, thruſting his moſt pure hands into that his ſacred breſt, to enlarge his wound, which as yet was not ſufficiently deepe: whether at length wouldeſt thou ſay vnto him, I would that which thou wouldeſt, and I am grieued at that which thou doeſt? Happy be it vnto thee which thou doeſt. In this place our friend *Demetrius* commeth to my mind, who termed a ſecure life, and ſuch a one as was not ſubiect to Fortunes incurſions, the dead ſea. For to haue nothing to awaken thee, nothing to moue thee, nothing by whoſe aduertiſement and aſſault, thou mayſt make triall of the firmitie of thy mind, but to liue alwaies in a repoſe which hath neuer beene troubled, this is not a tranquillitie, but a calme. *Attalus*, the Stoick, was wont to ſay, I had rather that Fortune ſhould nouriſh mé in the campe, then in her delights. I ſuffer torments, but it is with conſtancie: this is well. I am maſſacred, but endure it conſtantly; this doth well. Heare moreouer, what *Epicurus* ſaith: And ſweet it is: I will neuer giue a delicate name to a thing ſo honeſt and ſeuere; I am burned, yet remaine inuincible: why ſhould it not be deſired, not that the fire burne me, but that it ouercome me not? There is nothing more worthie then Vertue. All that whatſoeuer, which is done by her direction and command, is good and deſirable.

Epist. LXVIII.

He perſwadeth repoſe, but ſo as it be ioyned with Philoſophie. That we are not to boaſt thereof. And in it we are to entreat of our ſelues, with our ſelues, that is, to enquire of our vices, and to amend them. To conclude, that this repoſe is aboue all other affaires, becauſe it ſerueth the great Common-weale.

I Will be of thy minde: go to then, and retire and hide thy ſelfe in repoſe, or rather hide thou thy repoſe. If thou canſt not learne this by the Stoicks precepts, at leaſt thou ſhalt learne it by their example. But by their precepts alſo thou ſhalt learne it, which I will approue vnto thee when thou wilt. Wee intermeddle not with all affaires of Eſtate, neither alwaies, neither without any end. Moreouer, when we haue giuen a wiſe-man a Common-weale worthy of himſelfe, that is to ſay, the world; he is not out of his Common-weale, although he be retired. But it may be rather, that forſaking a little corner, he goeth into places more great and ſpacious, and lodging himſelfe in heauen, he then vnderſtandeth, that when he was mounted in his chaire, and in his throne, he was rather deſcended into a more baſe place. I will ſhut this ſecret in thy boſome: That a wiſe-man neuer profiteth ſo much, then when both humane and diuine things become the obiect of his eyes. I returne now vnto that which I began to perſwade thee vnto, that is, that thy ſolitude may be truely ſolid: It behoueth thee not to renowme thy ſelfe for a Philoſopher. It were better thou ſhouldeſt obſcure thine intent vnder ſome other title. Thou muſt call it ſickneſſe, feebleneſſe, idleneſſe. It is an idle ambition to glorie in doing nothing. There are certaine beaſts, which becauſe they will not be tracted, confound their ſteps euen about that place where they lurke in. The like muſt thou doe; otherwiſe thou ſhalt not want them that will follow the Queſt of thee. There are many that paſſe before the gates of thoſe that are opened, without entring

entring into them, and peepe into the cranies of thoſe that are cloſed. The coffer that is ſhut, whetteth on the thiefe to breake it open; no man maketh reckoning of that which is vnlocked, and theſe lock-pickers aſſault not the doore that is open. Theſe are the manners of the common people, and thus doe the moſt ignorant. They deſire to enter forcibly into other mens ſecrets. It is therefore moſt expedient for a man not to boaſt of his retirement, and it is a kind of boaſting, to lie hidden too much, and to ſequeſter a mans ſelfe from the ſight of the people. This man is locked vp in *Tarentum*, that man is retired in *Naples*, and that other man for many yeares hath not ouerſtrid his threſhold. Vndoubtedly, he ſummoneth the world to come and ſee him, that will ſuffer a report to paſſe of him through the Citie, that he is retired. After thou haſt retired thy ſelfe, thou muſt doe nothing that men may talke of thee; ſpeak thou onely with thy ſelfe. But what ſhalt thou talke with thy ſelfe? That which ſome men doe willingly entertaine of others. Haue alwaies an ill opinion of thy ſelfe. Accuſtome thy ſelfe to ſpeake the truth, and to heare it alſo. Aboue all things, ſpeake thou often of thoſe imperfections which thou feeleſt in thy ſelfe. There is no man but knoweth his owne infirmities. Therefore it is that ſome man diſburdeneth his ſtomack by vomit, another ſtuffes it with continuall eating, another emptieth and weakeneth his bodie by the meanes of faſt. Thoſe that are often tortured with the paines of the gowt, abſtaine either from bathing themſelues, or drinking of wine. And without obſeruance of any other manner of diet, they ordinarily ouercome the ſickneſſe wherewith they are tormented. So likewiſe, there are certaine parts in our ſoule, which are the cauſes of our infirmities, which how we ought to recouer, we diligently muſt bethinke our ſelues. What doe I in that repoſe I take? I cure mine vlcer. If I ſhould ſhew thee my foote ſwolne, my hand wholly mortified, or the dried ſinewes of my contracted leg, thou wouldeſt ſuffer me to betake my ſelfe to my bed, and ſeeke cure for my ſickneſſe. But that euill which I cannot diſcouer vnto thee, is farre greater. It is an inflammation and apoſteme which I haue in my breſt. I will not that thou praiſe me, neither will I that thou ſay, O great man! He hath deſpiſed all things, and after he hath condemned all the furies of humane life, he is fled. Alas I haue condemned nothing but mine owne proper actions. Thou muſt not deſire to come vnto me, to the end to profit thy ſelfe. Thou art deceiued, if hence thou expectest any ſuccours. Here dwels not the Phyſitian, but the Patient. I had rather when thou art gone, thou ſhouldeſt ſay: I thought this man to be a happy and learned man, I gaue eare vnto him, I am deceiued, I heard nothing, I ſaw nothing that I might deſire, or that might allure me to returne againe vnto him. If this be thy opinion, if this be thy ſpeech, I know thou haſt profited ſomewhat; I had rather thou ſhouldeſt pardon my repoſe, then enuie it. What then, *Seneca*, commendeſt thou repoſe of ſpirit vnto me? Thou groweſt an Epicure in thy opinion at length. I recommend vnto thee repoſe, to the end, that by the means thereof, thou mighteſt do things more great and more excellent, then thoſe which thou haſt left behind thee. To knocke at great mens gates, to keepe reckoning of old men that haue no children; to haue great reputation in Court, is but a momentarie power, and full of enuie; and if thou wilt ſpeake truth, an abiect. This man farre ſurpaſſeth me in reputation amongſt the Lawyers. He in his allowances and paies for ſeruice, and his dignities gotten thereby, he in the multitude of his Clients; I cannot be ſo well followed as the one, nor recouer ſo great reputation as the other. But I ought not to make ſo great account to be ouercome by men,

prouided alwaies, that I may ouercome Fortune. Would to God that had been thy mind heretofore, to haue followed this purpoſe. Would to God we held not this diſcourſe of happie life, vpon that inſtant, wherein death preſenteth her ſelfe to our ſight, yet let vs not delay for all this. For now beleeue we many things by experience, which we ſhould haue beleeued by the diſcourſe of reaſon, to be both ſuperfluous and harmefull. Let vs doe like thoſe that ſet forward on their iourney late, and that by diligence would recouer the time which they haue loſt, let vs pricke forward on the ſpurre. This age is as yet verie proper to this ſtudie: It is alreadie clenſed from his skumme: it hath alreadie left thoſe vices which ſhe could not conquer in the heat of her youth. There wanteth little, but that ſhe hath wholly extinguiſhed them. And when, ſaiſt thou, ſhall this profit thee, which thou learned euen in the period of thy yeares, or to what intent? To this, that I may die the better: yet oughteſt thou not to thinke that there is any age more proper vnto wiſdome, then that which by long experience, and by a continuall and frequent ſufferance of caſualties hath mortified and ouercome her ſelfe; and which after it hath triumphed ouer her affections, hath attained to the knowledge of that which profiteth and concerneth her ſelfe. This is the true time of that good which remaineth but a little while, what man ſoeuer, and how old ſoeuer he be that hath attayned wiſedome, it is by his yeares that he hath compaſſed it.

Epist. LXXIX.

That places are not to be changed, but that we ought to be more repoſed in bodie, to the end the minde may be more pacified. That wee are to fixe the ſame on a wholſome ſtudie, and to auoid thoſe things which diſtract vs.

I Will not that thou change countries, or tranſport thy ſelfe from one place to another, firſt, becauſe ſo often change is a token of an inſtable and vnſetled mind. Thou canſt neuer make profit of thy retirement, vnleſſe thou giue ouer trauell, and wandring from c:untrey to countrey. If thou wilt ſettle thy minde, limit thy bodie in ſome place; then will thy continued remedies profit thee much. Thou muſt not break the repoſe or forgetfulnes of thy former life: ſuffer thine eyes to forget; ſuffer thine eares to accuſtome themſelues to wholſome counſailes. As oft-times as thou ſhalt walke in the ſtreets, thou ſhalt find in paſſing by, ſomething that may renue thy affections. Euen as he that would deſpoyle himſelfe of loue, ought to flie the remembrance of that beautie, which he hath loued: ſo he alſo that wil diſcharge himſelfe of the affection of all things, of that deſire wherewith he burned in times paſt, he muſt retire both his eies and eares from that he hath forſaken. Affection reuolteth ſuddenly: on which ſide ſoeuer ſhe turne her ſelfe, ſhe ſhall find a readie recompence of her employment. There is no euill without reward. Auarice promiſeth vs money, luſt many and diuers pleaſures, ambition the purple and applauſe, and thereby power and authoritie, and what ſoeuer authoritie may doe. Vices ſollicite thee with rewards, but here muſt thou liue without taking any thing. Scarce can it be effected in a whole age, that thoſe vices which haue had their increaſe by ſo long liberty, ſhould be ſubdued & brought in ſubiection, much leſſe may it be done, if we diuide the time which is ſo ſhort, into little parcels. Hardly can continuall watch

watch and labour bring one onely thing to perfection. Truely, if thou wilt liſten to me, meditate hereupon, exerciſe thy ſelfe to receiue death, and to ſeeke her out when any occaſion ſhall counſaile thee thereunto. It skils not whether ſhe come to vs, or we to her: perſwade thy ſelfe that the fooliſh mens prouerbe and vſual ſpeech is falſe; *It is a faire thing to die a good death.* Thou maiſt beſide this, thinke thus with thy ſelfe: No man dieth but on his prefixed time: thou loſeſt none of thy time; for that which thou leaueſt behinde thee, is another mans.

EPIST. LXX.

That by the ſight of the POMPEIES, *and the admoniſhment of time paſt, he thought vpon the ſwiftneſſe and flight thereof. That death is at hand, which is the hauen of troubles. That ſhe is neither to be feared nor deſired, or intertained but ſometimes, and when? When reaſon, not violent paſſion, perſwadeth. Many and moſt excellent things to this purpoſe.*

AFter a long ſpace of time I haue ſeene thy *Pompeies*, and in ſeeing them me thought that I had recouered againe my former youth: all whatſoeuer I had done there whilſt I was a young man, mee thought I could as yet doe it, and that but a little while ſince I did it. We ſaile along our life, my *Lucilius*, and as if it were vpon the Sea, as our *Virgil* ſaith;

The Shores and Cities flie.

So likewiſe in this ſo ſwift courſe of time, we loſe the ſight, firſt of our childehood, and after of our youth, and then whatſoeuer intercurreth betwixt youth and old age, which is confined both to the one and to the other, anon after alſo the better yeares of our old age. In the laſt place, the common end of all humane race beginneth to diſcouer it ſelfe. Are we ſo fooliſh to thinke that it is a rock? It is the Port which we ought one day to deſire, and neuer to refuſe; into which, if any man hath beene caſt and carried in his young yeares, he ought not to complain, no more then he would, that with a ſhort cut hath ended his Nauigation. For as thou knoweſt, there are ſome whom ſlacker winds mocke and detaine, and wearie with gentle tediouſneſſe of a peaceable calme; ſome are ſwiftly borne away by a ſudden guſt. Thinke that the ſame befalleth vs. Life hath brought and rauiſhed ſome very ſwiftly thither, whither, although they would haue delayed, they muſt needes come. Otherſome hath ſhe pined and burned, which as thou knoweſt is not alwaies to be retained; for to liue is not our good, but to liue wel. And therfore a wiſe-man liueth as much as he ought, not as much as he can. He will alwaies ſee in what place he ought to liue, with what perſons, in what manner, and what he ought to doe. If diuers troubles and ſorrows ſuddenly ſurpriſe him, to the intent to intercept his peace, he openeth the priſon himſelfe; neither doth he this onely in a deſperate extremitie, but as ſoone as he hath the leaſt ſuſpicion of fortune, he taketh a diligent heed whether that day ſhould be his laſt or no. He makes no great reckoning, whether by his own hand, or another mans hatred he receiue his death, or whether it be ſooner or later. He feareth not as if he were endangered to loſe much; no man can haue great loſſe of water by a dropping Ewer. It skils not whether

a man die ſooner or later to die either well or ill, that importeth much; and to die well is to flie the perill of an euill life. Therefore thinke I that that *Rhodians* ſpeech was moſt effeminate, who by a Tyrant being caſt into a caue, and nouriſhed there after the manner of a wild beaſt, being perſwaded by ſome to abſtain from his meat, anſwered, *A man ought to hope for all things whilſt he liueth.* But ſuppoſe this were true, yet ought we not buy life at euerie rate. There are certaine things, which although they are good, although they are certaine, yet would I not attaine them by a confeſſion of feebleneſſe and faintneſſe of heart. Shal I beleeue that fortune hath power in all things ouer him that liueth, rather then ſuppoſe, that fortune can do nothing ouer him that knoweth how to die? Yet ſometimes, although aſſured death be dependent, and that a man know that a puniſhment is deſtinated for him, yet muſt he not ſet hand and further his puniſhment. It is a folly to die through the feare of death: Comes he that ſhould kill thee? Expect him. Why putteſt thou thy ſelfe forward? Why vndertakeſt thou the charge of another mans crueltie? Doſt thou enuie thy hangman the office to execute thee, or wilt thou ſpare his labour? *Socrates* could haue ended his daies by his abſtinence, and might haue rather died for hunger then of venome; yet remained hee full thirtie daies in priſon, attending his death, not with this mind, that all things might be pacified, or that ſo long a time might make him conceiue greater hopes, but to the end he might yeeld himſelfe vnto the lawes, and ſuffer his friends to enioy *Socrates*, euen vntill his laſt. But what more great folly could haue beene ſeene, then to deſpiſe death, and to feare priſon? *Scribonia*, a woman of great authoritie, was aunt on the fathers ſides to *Druſus Libo*, a young man, who had as weake a braine, as his deſcent was noble, and that hoped for far more great fortunes, then any other might hope for in that time, or himſelfe in any other time after; when as, being ſicke, he was borne away from the Senate in his Litter, not with frequent obſeruances (for all his neereſt friends had forſaken him ſhamefully, not as a guiltie, but a conuicted perſon and to be executed) he began to aske counſaile whether he ſhould haſten his death by his owne hands, or expect the ſame. To whom, *Scribonia*: What pleaſure haſt thou, ſaid ſhe, to finiſh that which another ought to execute? But ſhe could no waies perſwade him. He murthered himſelfe with his owne hands, and not without cauſe: for beeing aſſured that within three or foure dayes after, (if he had bin found aliue) he ſhould die that death whatſoeuer was beſt liking to his enemie, he finiſhed that which another man ſhold haue executed. Thou canſt not thē make a general iudgement, when as the violence of a forrein tyrant denounceth thee death; whether thou oughteſt to further or expect the ſame. For there are diuers reaſons, which draw vs both to the one and the other opinion. If the one death ſhould be accompanied with torments, and the other ſhould be ſimple and facile: why ſhould I not allow of that? Euen as I would chuſe a ſhip to ſaile in, and a houſe to dwel in; in like maner would I chuſe the better death, to depart out of this life. Furthermore, euen as thē longeſt life is not the beſt, ſo the longeſt death is the worſt. There is nothing wherein we ſhould more accommodate our ſelues to our thoughts, then in death. Let the ſoule depart by that iſſue her ſelfe inforceth, whether it be ſhe deſire the dagger or the halter, or a poyſoned cup that may ſuddenly ſeize all the veines, let her proceed and breake the bonds of her ſeruitude. Euerie one ought to endeuour to approue his life vnto others, and his death vnto himſelfe. That which pleaſeth vs moſt is the beſt. Theſe things are fooliſhly thought: ſome wil ſay, that I did it not couragiouſly enough, ſome

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that too much raſhly, ſome that there was a kinde of death more generous. Thinkeſt thou that it lyeth in thy power to make choice of a counſaile, which ſhall not bee ſubiect to common report and cenſure? Thinke onely to diſpatch thy ſelfe ſpeedily out of the power and hands of fortune; otherwiſe there will not want ſome who will conceiue an euill opinion of thine action: Thou ſhalt find ſome, yea euen thoſe who haue made profeſſion of Philoſophie, that will denie that any man ought to violate or ſhorten his life, and that maintayne it for a foule offence, for a man to murther himſelfe, and that it were better to expect the end which Nature hath determined. But hee that ſpeaketh thus, ſeeth not that he cutteth off the way of libertie. The eternall Law hath done nothing better, then to giue vs one onely entrance into life, and diuers iſſues. Shall I expulſe the crueltie of a ſicknes, or the tyrannie of a man, when as I may eſcape euen through the midſt of torments, & driue all aduerſities far from me? This is one thing, wherin we cannot cõplaine of life, ſhe retaineth nõ man. It is a great good for human affaires, that there is not one that is miſerable, but by his own default. Takeſt thou pleaſure in life? Liue. Art thou diſpleaſed therewith? Thou mayeſt return to the place from whence thou cameſt. To heale thy head-ach thou haſt oft-times let bloud, to extenuate thy body thou haſt opened thy veine: Thou needeſt not to open thy breſt with a deep and vaſt wound; a Lancet will giue way to that great liberty, and in a prick conſiſteth ſecuritie. What is it then that maketh vs fearefull and ſlacke to diſlodge? There is not one of vs that thinketh that hee muſt depart one day out of this houſe: ſo doth the cuſtome and indulgence of the place detayne the ancient Inhabitants, although to their owne vndoing. Wilt thou alwayes keepe this liberty againſt this body? Inhabit it as if thou ſhouldſt leaue it, and make account that one day thou muſt loſe his company. Thou ſhalt afterwards be more conſtant and reſolute, when any neceſſity ſhall conſtrayne thee to depart. But how can they thinke vpon their ends, who couet all things without end? There is nothing in this World, the remembrance and meditation whereof is more neceſſarie. For haply it is in vaine, where a man thinketh on other things. Haue we prepared our minds againſt pouerty? The riches remayne with vs. Are wee alreadie armed againſt contempt of paine? The felicitie of a whole and healthfull body hath had no neede, that wee ſhould make proofe of our vertues. Haue wee gotten this authority ouer our ſelues, that wee can ſuffer death and the loſſe of our friends conſtantly? Yet fortune hath conſerued and made all them ſuruiue vnto vs, whom we moſt loue. But the day that ſhall haue need of the vſe and practice of this onely thing, ought vndoubtedly to come. Thou muſt not thinke that great Perſonages onely, haue had that courage and force to breake the bonds of their humane ſeruitude. Thou muſt not thinke that *Cato* onely could rent out his ſoule with his hand, which hee could not pricke out with his Poynard. Since ſome men of as bad condition as may bee, with great heate of courage haue attayned that place of aſſurance, and being vnable ſuddenly to finde wherewith to make themſelues away to their liking, or chuſe any inſtrument which was proper for them thereunto, haue layd hand on the firſt thing they could encounter, and haue made vſe of theſe things for Weapons, which of their nature were no wayes hurtfull. Not long ſince an Alman, one of thoſe that ſhould combate with the beaſts, in the ſports and ſhowes in the morning, retyred himſelfe, fayning that hee would withdraw himſelfe to diſcharge his naturall neceſſities; for they were not ſuffered to goe into any other ſecret place without guard: there ſtopped hee the ſticke

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or ſtaffe (to which a Sponge was faſtned, to clenſe and cleere the priuie parts) wholly into his throat, and forcibly cloſing vp the paſſage of his breath, ſtifled himſelfe: this was to braue Death and contemne it: It was vndoubtedly, although ſcarce cleanly and honorably. What folly is there greater, then to dye effeminately, when we muſt die aſſuredly? O ſtrong, O worthy man, deſeruing the election of that Death that beſt liked him! How couragiouſly had he vſed his Sword, had he found it? with what reſolution of minde had he caſt himſelfe into the depth of the Sea, or the cauitie of a clouen Rocke? Being diſpoyled of all commodities, hee found the meanes how hee might bee beholding vnto himſelfe onely, both for the meanes and weapons for his death. To the end that thou mayeſt know that there is nothing that hindereth vs from dying but want of will. Let each man iudge as he liſt of this violent mans actions, prouided that it be reſolued vpon as a thing aſſured, that we ought to preſer a baſe & villanous death, before the cleanlieſt ſeruitude in the World. But becauſe I haue begunne to vſe abiect examples, I will continue them: for euery one will inforce himſelfe to doe his beſt, if he ſhall perceiue that death is contemptible to perſons that are moſt abiect and baſe. We thinke that theſe *Catoes* and *Scipioes*, & thoſe other whoſe memories we entertaine with admiration, are inimitable. But I will proue you preſently that this vertue is accompanyed with as many examples, amiddeſt the men moſt miſerable, deſtinated to the ſports and ſpectacles of beaſts, as amidſt the Chiefetaines of Ciuill Warres. When as not long ſince, with ſure guard, the Souldiers carryed forth a Wretch, ſent out for the morning Spectacles, ſtooping downe his head as if hee were preſſed with ſleepe, he ſuffered it to hang ſo lowe, that he put it betweene the Cart-wheeles, and held it ſo long in that place, that the Wheele in turning it ſelfe brake his necke. Hee auoyded the puniſhment in the ſame Chariot, on which hee was carryed forth to bee puniſhed. There is nothing that may hinder a man that hath a will to dye, and to be deliuered. Nature keepeth vs in an open place. He to whom his laſt neceſſity is ſo fauourable, as to aduiſe on the iſſue and end which hee ſhall eſteeme moſt conuenient: hee that hath diuers meanes in his power to ſet himſelfe at liberty, may chuſe; he ſhall doe well to thinke how he may moſt eaſily be deliuered. But he that hath ſo hard hap, as not to find any occaſion, let him take hold on the firſt that ſhall preſent it ſelfe, as if it were the beſt, although it be ſtrange and vnheard of: he that wanteth no courage, wanteth no inuention how to dye. Thou ſeeſt how thoſe Slaues which are moſt miſerable, when as their miſerie toucheth them to the quicke, awaken themſelues, and how they deceiue their keepers, though neuer ſo diligent: hee is a man of the greateſt courage that hath not onely commanded, but alſo found out the meanes of his death. I haue promiſed thee diuers examples of men of this condition I haue ſpoken of. In the ſecond combate which was made vpon the water, one of the Barbarians thruſt all that Iauelin into his throat, which was giuen him to combate his Enemies. Why haue I not long ſince, ſaid he, fled all theſe torments and all theſe ſhames? Why ſhould I attend Death, hauing the Armes in my hands? This ſpectacle was ſo much the more magnificent, as much as it is more honeſt for men to learn to dye wel, then to kill. What then? That which the moſt abiect and contemptible ſpirits may haue; why ſhould not they partake, whom long ſtudie and reaſon (the Ladie Miſtris of all things) hath inſtructed? It is the ſame reaſon that warneth vs, that there are diuers manners of death, but that there is but one and the ſame end; and that it auayleth nothing to know whence that beginneth, that muſt one day come.

come. The ſame reaſon warneth thee, if it lye in thy power to dye without griefe: but if it cannot be, doe the beſt that thou canſt, and lay hold on all that which preſenteth it ſelfe to lay violence on thy life. It is an outrage to liue by Rapine; contrariwiſe to lay hold on Death, and to draw him forcibly vnto vs, is a thing moſt honorable.

EPIST. LXXI.

That the chiefeſt good ſhould be continually in our eyes, and that to it all our counſels and actions ſhould be referred. What therefore is that? Onely honeſt. They adulterate the ſame that mixe externall things, becauſe it is onely freed in the minde. Againe, that goods are equall, and that contempt differeth not from Honour, if both proceed from honeſtie. He giueth CATO *for example, and dilateth the ſame very worthily. Likewiſe that an honeſt Death differeth not from ſuch a life. Againſt the Academikes, which make degrees of happineſſe. That neyther it, nor honeſtie are intended. And therefore the moſt bleſſed may bee in torment. Is it ſo? Will hee not wax pale, tremble, or griene? Yes, (for theſe are naturall) but all theſe ſhall bee ouercome by the ſtrength of his minde, yet not preſently all. There are differences betweene Wiſemen and ſtudious. Reade diligently, marke and admire.*

THou askeſt my counſell in all thy affaires, from time to time, not remembring thy ſelfe that we are ſeparated by a large Sea. But ſince the greater part of counſaile dependeth on the opportunitie of time, it muſt fall out of neceſſitie, that ſometimes in certaine things my counſaile is then brought vnto thee, when as at that time the contrarie were more allowable. For counſailes are fitted to affaires, and our affaires paſſe away ſwiftly, or to ſpeake truth, roule away impetuouſly. Counſell therefore ought to bee giuen daily, yet is it ſometime ouer old by a day; it muſt be bred ſwiftly, as they ſay, and vnder hand. But how it is found I will ſhew thee. As oft as thou wilt know what either is to bee fled, or what ought to be affected, haue regard vnto the chiefeſt good and ſcope of thy whole life. For thereto muſt all that conſent whatſoeuer wee doe. Who ſo hath not a ſumme of his life before his eyes, can neuer diſpoſe the parts of the ſame. No man, although his colours bee ground to his hand, can repreſent the ſimilitude of any thing, except alreadie he be reſolued, what hee intendeth to paint. Therefore erre we, becauſe we all of vs deliberate on the parts of our life, and no man debateth of the whole. Hee muſt know whereat hee aymeth, that will ſhoot his Arrow; and then muſt hee ayme and guide his Arrow by his hand. Our counſailes therefore erre, becauſe they haue not whereunto they ſhould be directed. Hee that knoweth not what harbour hee ſhall make for, hath no winde fitting for him. It muſt need fall out that caſualtie muſt effect much in our life, becauſe all of vs liue caſually. And to ſome it happeneth, that they wot not that they know certayne things; euen as oftentimes we ſeeke for thoſe, with whom we are conuerſant and preſent: So for the moſt part we know not the end of the ſoueraigne good, though it bee before our eyes, neither by many words nor long circumſtance, ſhalt thou gather what the chiefeſt good is. You muſt ſhew it, as the Prouerbe ſaith, by the finger, without extending it to ſo many things. For to what purpoſe is it to diuide the

the ſame into parts, when as thou mayeſt ſay, *That is the chiefeſt good which is honeſt*; and that which thou ſhouldeſt moſt wonder at, *There is but onely one good, which is honeſt*; the reſt are falſe and adulterated goods. If thou perſwade thy ſelfe this, and perfectly loueſt Vertue (for to loue it, is but a ſmall matter) whatſoeuer ſhee ſhall touch, that to thee (howſoeuer it ſeeme to others) ſhall be both happie and ſucceſſefull, both to be tormented, if thou lye more ſecure then he that tortureth thee; and to be ſicke, if ſo be thou curſe not Fortune, and giue not way to thy ſickneſſe. To conclude; all thoſe things which to other men ſeeme euill, both ſhall be ſweet vnto thee, and returne thee profit, if ſo be thou canſt ouercome them. Reſolue on this, that nothing is good, but that which is honeſt, and that all incommodities may iuſtly bee called goods, which are once made honeſt by Vertue. To many wee ſeeme to promiſe greater things then humane nature is capable of, and not without reaſon. For they reſpect the bodie; let them returne to the minde, and then ſhall they meaſure man with God. Take courage my *Lucilius*, the beſt of men, and diſmiſſe this ſtudie of Letters, which the Philoſophers affect, who reduce the moſt magnificent thing of the World to ſyllables, that teach but baſe and trifling matters, and diminiſh and waſte the vnderſtanding. Become thou their Diſciple that haue inuented theſe things; not theirs that teach them, and endeuour thus much, that Philoſophie might rather ſeeme difficult then great. Follow them, if I haue any authority ouer thee. *Socrates*, who reduced all Philoſophie vnto manners, and ſayd that the chiefeſt Wiſedome was to diſtinguiſh good from euill: *To the end that thou mayeſt be happie* (ſayth hee) *permit thy ſelfe ſometimes to be eſteemed a Foole.* Let whoſoeuer will, out-rage thee in words, and offend thee in deeds, yet ſhalt thou ſuffer nothing, if ſo bee vertue be with thee. If thou wilt, ſaith hee, be bleſſed: if thou wilt bee an entyre honeſt man, ſuffer thy ſelfe to be contemned. This will no man perſorme, but he that hath equalled and proportioned all goods, becauſe that neyther good is without honeſtie, and honeſtie is equall in all. What then? Is there no difference betwixt *Catoes* Pretorſhip, and his repulſe? It skilleth not whether *Cato* be ouercome in the Phariſalian field, or whether he ouercome. This good of his, wherein he cannot be ouercome, though his Confederates were conquered: was it equall with that good, wherewith he returned a Conquerour vnto his Countrey, and compoſed the peace? Why ſhould it not be equall? For by the ſelfe-ſame vertue euill fortune is ouercome, and the good is confirmed; yet vertue cannot bee made greater or leſſer. Shee is alwayes in the ſame meaſure. Yea, but *Cneius Pompey* ſhall loſe his Armie: but this fayre luſtre and pretext of the Common-weale, the principall Citizens, and the chiefeſt bands of *Pompeyes* Confederates, which being compoſed of the Senate that bare arms, ſhall bee defaced in one only Battell, and the wreckes and ruines of ſo great an Empire, ſhall bee noyſed and ſcattered through the whole World: one part thereof ſhall fall in Egypt, another in Africa, and ſome in Spaine. And that which is worſe, this miſerable Common-weale cannot haue this good to bee ruinated all at once. Let all happen whatſoeuer may. Although *Iuba* can be no further ſuccoured in his owne Kingdome by the knowledge of the paſſages, and the conſtant vertues of his people. Although the fidelity of the Inhabitants of Vtica being broken with ſo many miſhaps, bee deficient, and the fortune of *Scipioes* name abandoneth him in Africa it ſelfe. It hath long ſince bin prouid, ed that *Cato* ſhal neither feel loſſe nor detriment; yet was he conquered. Account thou this amongſt *Catoes* repulſes; hee will ſuffer with as equall conſtancie,

ſtancie, as well that which hath beene contrarie to his vertue, as to his eſtate of Pretor. The day that hee refuſed the ſame, hee ſported; and that night hee would kill himſelfe, hee read. Hee cared as little to loſe his life as his Pretorſhip; he had perſwaded himſelfe, and reſolued to endure all that might happen. But why ſhould not he with a ſtout and confident minde, endure the changes of the Common-weale? For what may a man ſee that is exempt from change? The Earth, the Heauens, and the ſtructure of all this great World, although it be gouerned by God, is ſubiect thereunto. It ſhall not alwayes retayne that fayre order it now obſerueth. Some day ſhall come, that ſhall caſt it out of this accuſtomed courſe. All things alter by certayne ſtations, they muſt bee borne, encreaſe, and be extinguiſhed; whatſoeuer thou ſeeſt wheele and winde about vs, and all that whereon wee are ſuſtayned and ſtayed, as a thing moſt firme and ſolide, ſhall come to nothing, and be defectiue. There is nothing but hath his age and declination. Nature cauſeth all thoſe things to deſcend into one place, by ſpaces of vnequall time. All that which is, ſhall be no more, yet ſhall it not periſh but be diſſolued. To vs diſſolution is to dye: for we reſpect nothing but that which is before our eyes. The dull minde, and ſuch as hath addicted it ſelfe to the body, foreſeeth no further, for otherwiſe ſhee would more conſtantly and couragiouſly ſuffer, both her owne and her friends diſſolutions and deaths, if ſhee hoped that all thoſe things ſhould goe by turnes from death to life, and that thoſe things which are compounded, ſhall bee diſſolued, and ſuch as are diſſolued ſhall bee re-aſſembled, and that God, which gouerneth the whole World, employeth his eternall Art on this Worke. Therefore, when as *Cato* hath repreſented before his minde, all the eternitie of time, he will ſay: All Mankind whatſoeuer is or ſhall bee, is condemned to dye. All the Cities, in what place ſoeuer they be, that haue had dominion ouer their Neighbours, and haue beene greatned and honoured by forren Empires, the time ſhall come when it ſhall bee enquired where they were builded, and by ſundry ſorts of diſſolution ſhall they bee extinguiſhed. Warre ſhall deſtroy ſome: Idleneſſe, and a long peace conuerted into ſlothfulneſſe, and fooliſh expences, (a fatall adiunct of great riches) ſhall conſume the others. A ſudden inundation of the Sea ſhall hide all theſe fertile Fields, or an Earthquake ſhall ſwallow them vp in his bottomleſſe boſome. What cauſe haue I therefore to grudge at, or grieue for, if in a ſmall moment I outſtrip publike fate? A conſtant ſoule muſt obey God, and whatſoeuer the Law of the great Vniuerſe commandeth, let him ſuffer without cunctation or delay. For eyther ſhee ſhall bee tranſlated into a better life, to remayne with more brightneſſe and tranquillitie amongſt diuine things, or certainly ſhee ſhall remixe her ſelfe with her nature, and returne into her whole, neuer more to ſuffer any incommoditie or paine. The ſoueraigne good then of *Marcus Cato*, ſhall not conſiſt now more in his an honeſt life, then in his honeſt death; for vertue is not intended. *Socrates* ſaid, that Verity and Vertue were the ſame. For as ſhee increaſeth not, no more doth Vertue alſo, ſhee hath her perfection, ſhe is full. Thou muſt not wonder then to heare that goods are equall, as well they which we are to take by a certaine reſolution, as thoſe which a ſudden current of Fortune bringeth to vs. For if thou admitteſt any inequalitie, that thou wilt reckon it amongſt the leſſer goods to bee conſtant in torments, thou ſhalt reckon it alſo amongſt the euils. Thou ſhalt terme *Socrates* vnhappy in his Priſon, and *Cato* infortunate, renting open his wounds more couragiouſly then he inflicted them. Thou ſhalt iudge *Regulus* the vnhappieſt man in the World, for

for paying the penaltie of his obserued faith vnto his mortall enemies. And yet there is not one, how delicate soeuer, and effeminate he be, that hath dared to say thus; for they deny him to be blessed, and yet they deny him to bee miserable. The ancient Academikes confesse, that amidst these torments and paines hee was vnhappie, but not perfectly and fully; which can in no manner bee allowed of. For if he be happie, he hath attayned the soueraigne good, and the soueraigne good cannot haue any degree aboue the same. He is happy that is vertuous, prouided that aduersities ouercome him not, prouided that hee remayne entyre and safe, although the bodie be crushed in sunder; but certaine it is that he remayneth entyre. For I speake of a vertue most excellent and courageous, which is animated and incited against all that which offendeth it: that minde which oftentimes young men of generous hope and dispositions put vpon them, whom the beautie of some honest thing hath prouoked, so that they contemne all casualties; vndoubtedly Wisdome will infuse and teach, and perswade vs that the onely good is that which is honest. And that this can neither bee remitted or intended, no more then a rule by which a man measureth that which he would make straight, which if thou bow, whatsoeuer thou changest from it, it is the iniurie of the right. The same therefore will wee say by Vertue, that shee also is straight, and admitteth no crookednesse, it can bee no more intended. Shee it is that iudgeth of all things, and nothing iudgeth of her, if she cannot be made straighter, no more are those things which are done by her straighter, the one then the other, for they must needes bee answerable to the same; so are they equall. What then sayest thou? Are these things alike to sit at a Table banquetting, and to be tortured? Doth this seeme strange vnto thee? Thou hast more occasion to wonder at this. It is an euill thing to sit at a Banquet; it is a good thing to bee tortured: if that bee done lewdly, this honestly. The matter is not the cause that this is eyther good or euill; it is the vertue. This whersoeuer it appeareth, all things are of the same measure and price. Hee that iudgeth another mans vnderstanding by his owne, presently lifteth vp his nayles to scratch out mine eyes, when I say that his good that suffereth aduersities constantly, and his that maketh an honest iudgement of prosperitie, are equall: when I say that the good of him that triumpheth, and of him that with an inuincible courage is led before the triumphant Chariot, are alike. For they thinke that nothing is done which they cannot doe, nd by their owne infirmitie, they censure vertue. Why wondereſt thou, that some reioyce when they see themselues burned, wounded, harmed, slaine and fettered? Sometimes they suffer it for their pleasure. Sobrietie sufficeth for a penaltie, to a prodigall & dissolute man. Trauell is no lesse then torture to an idle man. The effeminate taketh pity of him that is industrious, and studie is a hell to him that is slothfull. In like sort, those things (for which our forces seeme ouer feeble) are in our opinion hard and intollerable, whereas in our forgetfulnesse, we finde many that thinke it a torment to want wine, and trouble to rise early. These by nature are not difficult, but wee are recreants, wee are effeminate. Wee ought to iudge of great things with a great courage; otherwise it will seeme to be their errour, which is ours. So certaine things that are most straight, when as they are let downe into the water, seeme crooked and bowed to them that be hold them. It skilleth not what thou seest, but how. Our minde is dimmed in beholding those things, and examining them which are true. Giue me a young man well borne and of good spirit: hee will say that he supposeth him more fortunate, that hath borne all the burthens of aduerse for-

Fortune, with a conſtant minde on his ſhoulders, then him that hath wholly trodden Fortune vnder foot. It is no wonder to bee temperate in tranquillitie, admire him that is high-minded, where all men are deiected, that ſtandeth there where all men are ſuppreſſed. What euill is there in torments, or what in thoſe things which we call aduerſe? The euill is, as I thinke, when the ſoule is aſtoniſhed, when it is weakned, when it is ſmothered vnder the burthen. But none of theſe may befall a Wiſeman. He remayneth alwayes vpright, how ouer-charged ſoeuer he be. There is nothing that leſſeneth his courage, nothing that is tedious vnto him, which hee muſt ſuffer. For hee neuer complayneth that ſuch a Fortune hath befalne him, which in any ſort may befall any man whatſoeuer; he knoweth his owne forces, and his abilitie in ſuffering ſo great a burthen. I will not put a Wiſeman out of the ranke of men, I will not exempt him from dolours, no more then I would doe a rocke which hath no ſenſe. I remember my ſelfe that he is compounded of two parts: The one is irrationall, and that it is which may feele bytings, burnings, and paines. The other is reaſonable, that is it which is neuer ſhaken in opinion, that is exempt from all feare, and that is inuincible. In this part it is that a mans chiefeſt good lodgeth; before the accompliſhment whereof, the minde wandreth as vncertayne and doubtfull, but after ſhee hath attayned to her perfection, it is in aſſurance and in immutable firmitie. So he that hath but begun, and that neuertheleſſe will aſcend vnto the higheſt, and follow vertue, although hee approcheth the good which is wholly perfect, yet vnable as yet to accompliſh the ſame: hee will ſometime ſtay himſelfe in the way, and temperate, in ſome ſort, the vehemency and ſtrength of his mind; for as yet hath he not ouer-paſſed thoſe things which are incertayne, but remaineth as yet in danger of diſaſter. But he that is bleſſed and in whom vertues are accompliſhed, then loueth himſelfe moſt, when hee hath made proofe of his conſtancie, and if there be any thing which other men, feare, prouided that he may receiue ſome honeſt reward of his deuoyre and ſeruice, he endureth not onely, but hee embraceth the ſame; and had rather heare it ſpoken, he is more honeſt, then to heare it ſaid, he is more happie. I haue now retyred my ſelfe thither, whither thy expectation draweth me: leſt thou ſhouldeſt ſuppoſe, that the vertue whereof I ſpeake, ſhould ſeeme to extend it ſelfe aboue all naturall things. A Wiſeman ſhall tremble, he ſhall feele paines, hee ſhall be pale, for all theſe ſenſes appertayne vnto the bodie. Where is then the originall of his calamities? Where then appeareth his euill moſt approoued? Then it is when his paſſions aſtoniſh his ſoule. Then it is, when they make her confeſſe that ſhee is a Slaue, and that they engender ſome Repentance in her. The Wiſeman vndoubtedly ſurmounteth Fortune by his vertue. But there are diuers men who haue made profeſſion of wiſdome, and notwithſtanding haue beene terrified by very light threatnings. In this place it is our error, who exact that from a Proficient, which is ſpoken of a Wiſeman. I ſtriue as much as in me lyeth, to beleeue all this which I prayſe, yet perſwade I not them as yet, and although I had perſwaded my ſelfe, I ſhould not haue them ſo readie at hand, or ſo exerciſed, that they ſhould bee addreſſed againſt all caſualtie. Euen as Wooll taketh ſome ſtayne of Colours at the firſt, and drinketh not vp other ſome, without often maceration and boyling: ſo ſome wits, when as they haue conceited certayne Diſciplines, forthwith make vſe of them. But this Science, except it bee deeply imprinted in the ſoule, and hath taken deepe roote and long reſidence therein, hath not deeply dyed, but ſuperficially coloured the ſame, and performeth nothing of that ſhee hath promiſed.

This may bee quickly learned, and in few words; namely, That there is but one onely good, which is Vertue, and that vndoubtedly there is not any without Vertue. And that Vertue is lodged in our better part, which is that, which is reasonable. What shall this Vertue bee? A true and immoueable iudgement, from whence shall proceed the heate of the soule, whereby the appearance of things which may moue this heate, shall become cleare and certayne. It behoueth that this iudgement esteeme all those things good and equall in themselues, which shall be atchieued by the counsaile of Vertue. In regard of corporall goods, they are goods for the bodie, yet are they not entyrely perfect goods. Well may they be esteemed at some rate, but it shall be without any supereminencie. There is a great difference betwixt them: the one shall be greater, the other lesser. In like sort ought men to confesse that there is a great difference betweene those that follow Philosophie. Some one hath so farre profited therein, that he dare lift vp his eyes against Fortune: yet not perseuerantly; for they are oftentimes obscured by the beames of her too cleere light. Some other haue profited so much, that hee dare encounter her face to face, if he haue attrayned to perfection, and be full of assurance. But it must needes so fall out that things which are imperfect grow to ruine, and now frustrate themselues, and anon after come to decay or dissolution; and they come vnto decay if they perseuer not to grow forward, and inforce themselues: and if they remit any thing of their studie, and faithfull intention, they shall grow backward. No man findeth aduancement and profit there where he left it: let vs therefore be diligent and perseuer; there remayneth yet more then wee haue ouercome: but the greatest part of profit, is to desire profit. Herein my conscience shall beare mee witnesse: I will, and with my whole minde I will: I see well also that thou hast this inspiration, and that thou prosecutest with great feruencie those things that are more faire. Let vs then make haste, and so doing, our life shall be the cause of our great good; otherwise it is but a delay, and truly a very lothsome one, if wee conuerse in base matters: let vs endeuour so, that all the time may be ours, but it will not be, except we beginne to be our owne. When shall it come to passe that wee will contemne both fortunes? When shall it come to passe, that suppressing all our affections, and bringing them vnder our obedience, we may say thus: I haue ouercome? Askest thou me whom I haue ouercome? Not the *Persians*, not the farre distant *Medes*, or that warlike Nation of the *Dacæ*; but Auarice, but Ambition, but feare of death, which haue vanquished the Conquerours and Vanquishers of the whole World.

Epist. LXXII.

He delayeth to anſwer Lvcilivs *Petition, and that vpon inſt occaſion. He ſheweth that the ſtudie of Goodneſſe is deferred by vs, but badly. That wee ought to intend to this onely, pretermitting all other things. That nothing hapneth that may hinder him, eſpecially that is wiſe, and proficient in ſome ſort. The difference betwixt them both. That externall things neyther adde nor detract from a Wiſeman, that is alwayes contented with himſelfe.*

I Would anſwere thy Queſtion which thou haſt propoſed to mee, if I could remember the ſame, but it is long time ſince I made tryall of my memory. And therefore it is that it followeth mee not ſo eaſily. I know well, and feele it in my ſelfe, that the like hath befalne me which happeneth in Bookes that are mouldie, and whoſe leaues cleaue together. I muſt dilate my mind, and whatſoeuer things haue beene hoorded therein, they ought to bee remoued and brought in vſe, that they may alwayes be in a readineſſe as often as I haue need to vſe them. But let vs deferre this for the preſent; for it requireth much labour and much diligence. Aſſoone as I may make more longer reſidence in a place, I will take this taske in hand; for there are ſome things which thou mayeſt compoſe in thy Coach, and ſome other that deſerue the Bed, the repoſe, and ſolitarie places. Yet thoſe very dayes wherein a man is occupyed, we muſt doe ſomewhat, yea, all the whole dayes: for new occaſions and occupations will be neuer ſcantie; wee ſee this our ſelues, and from one ſprings many; and that which is worſt, wee giue our ſelues delayes. But as ſoone as I haue made an end of this, I will wholly intend that, and if I can end this troubleſome matter, I will addict my ſelfe vnto ſtudie. Thou muſt not expect till thou haue leaſure to follow Philoſophie. Thou muſt contemne all other things, to be alwayes with her. A man cannot finde time that may be ſufficiently long for her, although it continue with vs from the yeares of our infancy, vntill the longeſt life of man. It skilleth not much whether thou omitteſt Philoſophie, or intermitteſt it. For ſhe remayneth not there where ſhe is interrupted; but euen as thoſe things that are bent, as ſoone as they are let ſlip doe forcibly retyre themſelues, ſo reduceth ſhe to her beginnings all that which was forgotten ſince that time that a man had exerciſed and continued himſelfe in her ſtudie. We muſt reiect all affaires and occupations, we muſt not ſtudie how to diſpoſe them, wee muſt not ſtudie how to diſpoſe them, wee muſt wholly diſpoſſeſſe and driue them from vs. There is no time vnfitting for a wholſome ſtudie. But there are many that addict not themſelues to the ſtudie of thoſe things, for the loue whereof they ought to ſtudie. Shall there be any occaſion that may let them? Truely not him whoſe minde in all affaires is watchfull and ioyfull. To theſe perſons onely true ioy is interrupted, which haue not as yet attayned perfection. But in regard of the wiſe, their ioy is continuall, it keepeth the ſame tract, there is not any fortune or occaſion that can countermand the ſame. It is alwayes peaceable and repoſed; for it hath no dependance of another: it expecteth no fauour at Fortunes hands, nor mens applauſe: the felicitie it hath is domeſticall, it would depart out of the mind if it ſhould enter: it is bred there. Sometimes it commeth externally, to the end a man ſhould remember that hee is mortall; but this comming is very ſlight, and ſurpaſſeth not the vpper skin. He

feeleth, I ſay ſome incommoditie; but that good which is the greateſt he hath, is neuer ſhaken: well wot I that outwardly there are ſome incommodities, euen as vpon a ſtrong and able body there appeareth ſome itch, and pimples, and vlcers, but inwardly there is no euill. The difference, I ſay, that is betweene a man that hath already acquired a perfect wiſdome, and him that is as yet to attayne the ſame, is ſuch as there is betwixt a man that is healthfull, and him that beginneth to recouer himſelfe from a long and tedious ſickneſſe, who thinketh himſelfe to be then in good health, when the fit of his Feuer is the ſhorteſt. This man, except he be very carefull of his health, he feeleth by times certayne ſhakings, & eaſily falleth by relapſe into his former infirmitie. But a Wiſeman cannot fall againe, nay more, he neuer more can be attainted therewith: for as touching the body, it hath health but for a time, and that Phyſitian that hath recured him, cannot promiſe him perpetuitie: hee is oftentimes recalled by him, whom almoſt before time he had reſuſcitated. But the ſoul is healed for euer at one time. I will teach thee how to know when a man is in health; if he be content with himſelfe, if he may truſt himſelfe, if he knoweth that all mortall mens Vowes, that all the benefits which are giuen and demanded haue no moment in a bleſſed life. For that thing whereunto a man may annex ſomewhat, is not perfect. But that from whence nothing may bee taken continueth eternally. He whoſe ioy is perpetuall may reioyce of that which is his owne. But all theſe goods whereunto the common ſort aſpire, inconſtantly flowe hither and thither: Fortune giueth nothing with warrantize; and yet the benefits of Fortune are pleaſing vnto vs when they are tempered by reaſon, and ſhe directeth them. She it is that maketh vs allow of exterior things. The vſe whereof diſpleaſeth if they be deſired ouer-ardently. *Attalus* was wont to vſe this compariſon: Haſt thou ſeene a Dogge ſnatching at a piece of bread with open throat, or a morſell of fleſh which his Maſter caſteth him? He deuoureth incontinently all that which is giuen him, and ſtill openeth his mouth, in hope that ſome one wil caſt him more. So falleth it out with vs, whatſoeuer Fortune caſteth vpon vs during our expectation, that ſwallow we without any pleaſure, ſtill expecting and affecting ſome ſecond prey. So fareth not a Wiſeman; he is full, and if any thing befall him, he ſecurely receiueth and layeth it vp; his ioy is great, continuall, and his owne. Is there any one that hath a good will, and that profiteth ſomewhat, but hath not as yet attayned to perfection? Such a one ſhal be ſometimes deiected, ſometimes incouraged, ſometime is he raiſed as high as heauen, otherwiſe drawne downe as low as Earth. The ignorant, and ſuch as haue little experience, neuer make an end of their precipitation, but fall into confuſion, and into *Epicurus* his *Chaos*, voyde and infinite. There is another third kind of thoſe that wanton it about Wiſdome, which as yet they cannot attaine, yet are they in ſight thereof; and if I might ſay ſo, they may clap her on the hand. Theſe are neither ſhaken, neither doe they fall, they are not as yet on the continent, but they are already in the harbor. Since then there is ſo great a diſtance betwixt thoſe that are on high, and thoſe that are moſt low, ſince that they which are in the middeſt, feele as yet ſome ſtorme, and that they are followed with more danger to returne vnto a more wicked life, wee muſt not addict our ſelues to any occupations, we muſt reiect them. If they were once entred, they would ſet ſome other in their places. Let vs hinder their beginnings, and the leſſe labour will there be to keepe them from beginning, then to ſee them take end.

EPIST. LXXIII.

That Philoſophers are not diſobedient but more obedient, and faithfull to Princes, then theſe that are ambitious and Palatines: for theſe affect Enuie, and are alwayes vnquiet, often diſpleaſed; but the other loue them, becauſe they liue quietly vnder them, and are ſuch that are full of good Merchandize. They impute this benefit alſo, although it happen vnto many. At length hee counſelleth him to aſpire vnto vertue, that is, to God; for that (ſuch is the Stoicks pride) they make a Wiſeman equall with him.

THey deceiue themſelues, in my iudgement, that ſuppoſe that they who haue wholly addicted themſelues to Philoſophie, are diſobedient and rebellious to their Magiſtrates and Kings, or that they contemne thoſe by whoſe authoritie publike affaires are adminiſtred: for contrariwiſe there is not any one that reuerenceth and reſpecteth them more then they. And not without cauſe; for that Kings cannot doe greater good vnto any man in this World, then to thoſe that may enioy a peaceable repoſe. It muſt then neceſſarily fall out, that they to whom publike aſſurance openeth the way to the intention they haue to liue well, ſhould reuerence the Authour of the ſame good as their Lord and Father. And truly farre more then thoſe light-witted and irreſolute men, who being infinitely bound vnto their Princes, will notwithſtanding haue men thinke that they owe them more; on whom a man cannot imploy any liberality, how great ſoeuer it be, that may ſatisfie their ambitious deſires, which increaſe alwayes the more, the more they are glutted. But hee that thinketh to receiue new benefits, hath alreadie forgotten the old, and Couetouſneſſe hath not any vice more great then Ingratitude. Adde hereunto now, that there are none of thoſe that are imployed, and conuerſant in publike affaires, that reſpecteth thoſe at any time, whome hee hath ouer-ſtripped, but lookes into thoſe that out-ſtrip him; and it is not ſo pleaſant a matter vnto them, to ſee many men come after them, as it is grieuous vnto them, that any one ſhould ouerpaſſe them in dignitie. All ſort of ambition hath this vice, that it neuer reſpecteth that which is paſt. And ambition is not onely inconſtant and wandring, but all couetouſneſſe likewiſe; becauſe it beginneth alwayes from the end. But that ſincere and poore man, who hath forſaken the Court and the Palace, and all preheminency in Common-weale to retyre himſelfe for more noble intents and ends, loueth thoſe by whoſe authority it is lawfull for him to doe theſe things with ſecurity; he alone payeth them with gratuitall teſtimony of acknowledgement, and confeſſeth himſelfe to bee indebted vnto them for a great good, although they know not his good will. Euen as he honoureth and reuerenceth his Maſters, by whoſe inſtructions hee is deſpoyled of thoſe vices, in like ſort reſpecteth hee thoſe, vnder whoſe protection and gouernment hee may exerciſe honeſt diſciplines. But the King protecteth others alſo by his power. Who denyeth it? But euen as amongſt others that haue trauelled by Sea, and haue beene partakers of one and the ſame calme, he thinketh himſelfe more bound vnto *Neptune*, that hath brought home more great quantitie of precious Merchandize; and as the Merchant payeth his vow with greater courage then a Paſſenger doth: And as hee alſo amongſt the Merchants that bringeth Perfumes, Purples, and other precious things which are ſolde for

their weight in gold, reknowledgeth this fauour more liberally, then doth he that hath but layd downe poore Merchandize, and other things which ſhould ſerue but to balliſt and loade the Ship: So the benefit of this peace, appertayning to all, doth more deeply content them that vſe the ſame well: For there are many of theſe Magiſtrates and mighty men, to whom peace is more troubleſome then Warre. Art thou of that opinion, that they which make no other vſe of peace, but to employ it in Drunkenneſſe, in Ryot, and other ſorts of vices; for the extermination of which, it were neceſſary to enterpriſe a War, ſhall be ſo much obliged for the ſame? Except haply thou wert of that opinion, that a Wiſeman were ſo iniuſt, that hee thought that hee were no wayes obliged to his Gouernour for publique and common benefits. I owe much vnto the Sunne and Moone, and yet they ſhine not for me alone. I am particularly bound vnto the yeare, and to God that tempereth and gouerneth the ſame, although they haue not beene ordayned for my particular honour. It is the fooliſh auarice of mortall men, that maketh a diuiſion of theſe goods, and aſſigneth the propertie vnto them, and that beleeueth nothing to be his that is for publike profit. But this Wiſeman iudgeth nothing to bee more aptly his, then that which is common betweene him and all other men. For goods cannot be common, if the portions of them appertayned not to particulars. A man is made partaker how little part ſoeuer he enioy in a common thing. Adde hereunto alſo this other reaſon, that the greateſt and trueſt goods are not ſo diuided, that a little ſhould light vpon euery priuate man. They come wholly into euery mans poſſeſſion. Of thoſe preſents which Princes make vnto the people, the particulars take as much by powle, as hath beene promiſed to euery one. At a common Banquet, and at the common dole of fleſh, and in all that which is receiued by hand, the Almes is diſtributed in prizes. But theſe indiuiſible goods, ſuch as peace and libertie are, theſe alſo are intyre to all, as they are particular vnto euery one: and therefore a Wiſeman conſidereth what he is, by whoſe meanes the publike neceſſity conſtrayneth him no more to beare Armes, nor to intend the Watch, nor to ſtand Sentinell on the walles, and not to pay an infinitie of taxes any more which Warre bringeth with it, and giueth thankes vnto his Prince. This doth Philoſophie teach vs, eſpecially to be dutifully thankefull for benefits, and faithfully to requite them; and the onely acknowledgement ſometimes ſerueth for payment. Hee will therefore confeſſe that he is very much bound vnto him, by whoſe wiſe Gouernment and prouidence this great and happie repoſe is befalne him, to be able to paſſe the terme of his life in ſuch tranquilitie and quiet, which is not interrupted by any publike occupations.

'Tis God, O MELIBE, *that gaue this peace,*
Him as my God Ile honour without ceaſe.

If then theſe calmes and contentments are ſo principally to be aſcribed to him that hath procured them for vs, the greateſt good whereof is,

He (as thou ſeeſt) my yoked Teame permits
To plough the Earth, by him in pleaſant fits,
Mine Oaten Pipe I tune as beſt befits.

How much ought we to eſteem that repoſe which wee partake with the gods,

that

that maketh vs become gods? Thus ſay I, *Lucilius*, thus call I thee to heauen by a ſhort way. *Sextius* was wont to ſay, *That* IVPITER *could not doe more then a good man.* IVPITER hath more meanes to be liberall towards men. But among two good men, he is not the better that is the richer, no more then betweene two that haue equall knowledge in gouerning a Ship, thou wilt not call him better that gouerneth a Carricke or great veſſell, and full of rich lading. What aduantage hath *Iupiter* ouer a good man? It is but onely this, that he is more long time good. A wiſe-man reckoneth himſelfe nothing the leſſe, becauſe his vertues are determined in a ſhorter time. Euen as of two wiſe men, he which is dead in fulneſſe of his age, is not more happie then he, whoſe vertue hath taken end in leſſer yeares. So God likewiſe ſurmounteth not a wiſeman in felicitie, although he exceed him in age. That vertue is not greater which is longer. *Iupiter* hath all theſe things, but he hath giuen the vſe and poſſeſſion thereof vnto others: This onely vſe appertaineth vnto him, that he is the cauſe that others may vſe the ſame. The wiſe-man likewiſe is glad to ſee the poſſeſſion of all goods in an other mans hands, and maketh as ſmall account alſo of that as *Iupiter* doth, and further ſuppoſeth himſelfe to haue this aduantage aboue him, that *Iupiter* cannot haue vſe of them, and a wiſe-man will not. Let vs therefore beleeue *Sextius*, who ſheweth vs a faire way, and crieth out, This is the way to heauen, by ſobrietie, by temperance, and by patience in aduerſitie. The Gods diſdaine no man; enuie no man, they entertain and ſtretch forth their hand to thoſe that aſcend. Wondereſt thou to heare that men goe vnto the Gods? God commeth vnto men, nay (which is more neere) he commeth into men. There is not any ſoule that is good without God. There are certaine diuine ſeeds diſperſed in the bodies of men, which grow anſwerable to their originall, and grow alike vnto that graine from whence they took their beginning, if they be entertained in the boſome of a good huſbandman. But if he be euill, he choaketh them as a barren and ſaggie ground; and finally, in ſtead of corne, beareth chaffe and ſtraw.

EPIST. LXXIIII.

O faire! O honeſt Epiſtle! and of honeſtie it ſelfe! and that indeed it is the onely good! the reſt but in opinion. He that will ſafely and ſecurely liue, let him ſo thinke. What likeneſſe? Let him haue a readie buckler againſt all caſualties, which is to follow God. At length he anſwereth certaine obiections. Laſtly, he ſheweth that a bleſſed life is as a circle, perfect both in ſmall and great. That nothing is added, nothing taken there from by externall things. It muſt be reiterated. O faire! O honeſt! enioy thou this, who haſt ſuch a minde.

THy Letter delighted mee, and awakened mee when I was wearied, and quickened my memorie alſo, which is now ſlow and heauie. Why ſhouldeſt thou not, my *Lucilius*, thinke this perſwaſion to be the greateſt inſtrument of bleſſed life, that there is onely one good, that is to ſay, that which is honeſt? Hee that hath circumſcribed all ſorts of good vnder honeſtie, is happie in himſelfe. For he that iudgeth that other things are goods, ſubiecteth himſelf to the power of Fortune, and dependeth on another mans will. This man is ſorrowfull for the loſſe of his children, another carefull of them that are ſicke, and that other, if they

they be diſhoneſt and noted of infamie. Thou ſhalt ſee one man tormented with the loue of another mans wife, and another tranſported with the loue he beareth his owne. There ſhalt not want ſome one likewiſe, that is diſtracted with repulſe, and ſome ſhall there be that are diſguſted euen in their higheſt honour. But the greateſt number of all thoſe men which are thus miſerable, is of them whom the aſſault and touch of impendent death, (which they feare on euerie ſide) preſſeth and tormenteth inceſſantly; for there is no one thing from whence ſhe may not come. Euen, therefore, as if they liued in an enemies countrey, they ought to looke about them on euerie ſide, and on euerie voyce they heare, to turne their neckes thitherward: for except this feare be driuen out of their breaſts, they liue in continuall heart-breake and ſuſpition. Some will be found out that haue beene ſent into exile, and depriued of their goods, and ſome alſo will occur (which kind of pouertie is the moſt irkſome) poore in their riches. Thou ſhalt meet with ſome that are ſhipwracked, or ſuch as haue ſuffered ſome ſuch like thing vnto ſhipwracke, whom either the wrath or enuy of the common ſort (which is a dangerous weapon to wound the better ſort) hath ouerthrowne vnawares, and when they were moſt ſecure: after the manner of a guſt, which is wont to breake forth in the moſt ſeeming ſecuritie of a calme: or of a ſudden lightning, at whoſe cracke the neighbouring countries haue trembled. For euen as there he that is neereſt to this fire, remaineth as much amazed, as if he had beene ſtriken: in like ſort, in theſe accidents that come by violence, the calamitie oppreſſeth one, but feareth the reſt, and maketh the abilitie to ſuffer equall with the heauineſſe of thoſe that doe ſuffer. Other mens misfortunes, which ſurpriſe them at vnawares, aſtoniſh the minds of all thoſe that ſee them. And euen as the onely noyſe of a ſling, although it be not charged, frighteth the birds: in like manner, we not onely tremble at the ſtroake, but at the leaſt cracke we heare. No man therefore can be bleſſed, that hath credited himſelfe to this opinion. For nothing is bleſſed, but that which is without feare: The life is miſerable that is incombered with ſuſpicion. Whoſoeuer hath addicted himſelfe verie much vnto caſualties, hath made himſelfe a great and inexplicable matter of perturbation. There is but one way for him to tract, that will ſearch out a life full of aſſurance, which is to contemne the goods of Fortune, and to content himſelfe with that which is honeſt. For if any man thinketh that there is any other thing better then vertue, or that there is any other good beſides the ſame: he openeth his boſome to that which Fortune ſpreadeth, and with extreme care expecteth thoſe goods whereof ſhe maketh larges. Suppoſe and imagine in thy mind, that Fortune maketh publique plaies, and that ſhe ſcattereth amidſt this great aſſembly of mortall men, honors, riches, and fauours: whereof the one part is broken and torne in peeces, betweene the hands of thoſe that rauiſh them; another part is vnequally diuided by a diſloyall ſocietie; and another is ingroſſed, to their great detriment who light vpon the ſame: and finally alſo, ſome others haue fallen into the hands of thoſe that thought not any wiſe of them; and others haue beene loſt there, becauſe they were ouer greedily affected, and whilſt they are couetouſly catcht at, they are ſtrucke out of their hands. To conclude, there is not any, how happie ſoeuer his rauiſhment be, whoſe ioy, in reſpect of that he hath rauiſhed, can endure long time. For which cauſe, the wiſer ſort, as ſoone as they ſee the preſents brought in, flye out of the Theatre, as knowing well, that a little thing would coſt them deare. No man fighteth with him that retireth, no man ſtriketh him that flieth, it is vpon the prey the contention grow-

groweth. The ſame ſucceſſe is there in thoſe things that Fortune caſteth down from on high. We burne in miſerable deſire after theſe goods, we are in great trauell, we deſire to haue many hands; now regard we this man, preſently that man; we thinke that they are too ſlowly ſent vnto vs which ſtir vp our deſires, and that it can fall but into few mens hands, although it be expected and deſired by all men. We deſire to meet with thoſe that fall; we laugh if we may ſurpriſe any thing, and ſome other enuie vs, whom vaine hope hath deceiued. We redeeme a lamentable damage with a little prey, or thereby we are deceiued. Let vs therefore depart from theſe playes, and let vs giue place to theſe rauiſhers. Let theſe men fixe their intention as much as they will on thoſe goods which hang in the aire, and let themſelues likewiſe be more in ſuſpence. Whoſoeuer is reſolued to be bleſſed, let him reſolue there is but one good, which is honeſtie. For if he ſuppoſeth that there is any other good; firſt of all he hath an euill opinion of the diuine prouidence, becauſe many miſhaps befall good men: and becauſe alſo that all that which their prouidence hath giuen vs, is but of a verie ſmall continuance, if wee compare it with the age of the whole world. From this complaint it groweth, that we are vngratefull interpreters of diuine things. We complaine, becauſe goods befall vs not euery day, that they are little, that they are incertaine, and that they muſt ſuddenly depart from vs. Hence commeth it to paſſe, that we will not liue, neither haue deſire to die; we hate life, and we feare death. All our counſailes are vncertaine, and there is no felicitie that can ſatisfie vs. The cauſe hereof is nothing elſe, but that we haue not yet attained that ſoueraign good, which cannot be ſurmounted by any other thing, and on which we ought to ſtay our deſires; for aboue the place that is moſt higheſt, there is no other place. Askeſt thou me why vertue hath need of nothing? Becauſe ſhe is pleaſed with things preſent, and deſireth not the abſent. There is nothing but ſeemeth great vnto her, becauſe that euery thing ſufficeth her. And if thou ſhouldeſt ſeparate thy ſelfe from this opinion, neither pietie nor faith ſhould haue any place. He that would follow both the one and the other, ſhall be conſtrained to ſuffer verie much of that which wee call euill, and to ſpend much of that which wee eſteeme and reckon of for good. Fortitude, that muſt make triall of him ſelfe, is loſt; Magnanimitie is loſt alſo, becauſe ſhe cannot approue her ſelfe, except ſhe contemne all things as ouer baſe, which the common ſort deſireth as the moſt greateſt. In brieſe, the grace and requitall of all good turnes is loſt, it is but paine and trauell, if we thinke that there is any other thing more precious then faith, and if we fixe not our eyes on that which is the beſt. But to let theſe things paſſe, either thoſe that are called good, are none at all; or a man is happier then God. For God maketh no vſe of thoſe goods which are prepared for vs; diſordinate pleaſures, fooliſh expences in banquets, riches, nor any of that which may allure a man, or draw him to loathſome pleaſures, appertaine not to him. We muſt then ſay (that which is vncredible) either that God hath want of theſe goods; or we muſt conclude vpon this argument, that what ſoeuer God wanteth, is not good. Furthermore, there are many things that would be thought to be goods, which are more aptly imployed on beaſts then on men. They eat with more greater appetite, they are not ſo ſoone wearied in the act of generation, their forces are more great and laſting, whereby it followeth, that they are more happie then man: for they liue without wickedneſſe or deceit, they enioy their pleaſures which they enioy, more fully, and more eaſily, without any feare of ſhame or repentance. Conſider thou therefore,

fore, whether that is to be called good, wherein God is ouercome by man. Let vs lodge the ſouereigne good in our minds. He loſeth all his grace and dignitie, if from the better part, which is in vs, it ſhould be tranſlated to the worſe, and ſhould bee transferred to the ſenſes, which are more actiue in brute beaſts. Our chiefeſt felicitie is not to be planted in the fleſh. Thoſe are true goods which reaſon giueth, they are ſolide and euerlaſting; which cannot fall, neither be decreaſed nor diminiſhed. The reſt are goods in opinion, they haue onely a common name with the true, but they haue no propertie or effects of vertue in them. Let them then be called commodities, or according to our phraſe, profits and reuenues. But let vs know that they are but as our ſlaues, and not any part of vs; let them be in ſuch ſort with vs, that we remember our ſelues that they are without vs; and if they be with vs, we muſt put them in the number of thoſe things which are moſt baſe and abiect, and for which no man ought to wax proud. For what is more fooliſh then for a man to pleaſe himſelfe in that, which himſelfe hath not done? Let all theſe things approach vs, but not cleaue vnto vs, and if they muſt be drawne from vs, let them be ſo ſeuered, that we be not diſtracted and torne therby. Let vs vſe them, and not glory in them, and let vs vſe them ſparingly, as ſuch things as are lent vs, and are not to remaine with vs. Whoſoeuer vſeth them contrary to reaſon, he hath not long time enioyed them. For felicitie it ſelfe hurteth vs, except it be well tempered and gouerned; is ouer preſſed: if ſhe truſt her ſelfe to tranſitorie goods, ſhe ſeeth her ſelfe ſodainely naked and deſpoyled, and if this come not to paſſe, ſuch goods procure her many euils. There are few men who haue had the fortune to lay by their felicity contentedly. The reſt of men, with thoſe goods that made them eſteemed aboue others, are dejected, and that which for a time exalted them, finally humbleth them. Much wiſdome therefore muſt be made vſe of, which may diſpoſe them with meaſure and parſimonie. For a diſordinate libertie ouer-beareth and deſtroyeth his proper riches in ſuch ſort, that immeaſurable expence hath neuer continued long, if reaſon by her moderation had not reſtrained the ſame. The miſerable end of diuers cities wil make thee know this, whoſe luxurious empires in their firſt flower and pride haue decayed, and whatſoeuer hath beene gotten by vertue, is ruinated by ſuperfluitie. Againſt theſe caſualties are we to arme our ſelues. There is not any wall that can reſiſt the batteries of fortune: and it is within vs, that wee ought to arme our ſelues. If that noble Fortreſſe be aſſured, a man may be aſſailed, but he cannot be ſurpriſed. Wilt thou know what fortification it is? That hee trouble not himſelfe with any thing that may happen, that hee beleeue that whatſoeuer, yea euen that which ſeemeth to offend him, dependeth on the conſeruation of the whole World, and that it is a part of that which finiſheth the courſe and office of the ſame. A man ought to take pleaſure in all that which God taketh pleaſure in, he ought to admire himſelfe, and all that which is in him, for this onely conſideration, that he cannot be vanquiſhed, that he holdeth his euill vnder his feet, and that with reaſon, (then which nothing is more powerfull) he ſurmounteth Fortune, griefe and iniurie. Loue reaſon then, for the loue thereof will arme thee againſt all the greateſt misfortunes that may be. The loue of their young ones, cauſeth wilde Beaſtes to fall into Snares, who otherwiſe by their fierceneſſe and violence were vntameable. Sometimes the deſire of glorie hath drawne ſome yong and generous mindes into contempt, both of ſword and fire: the opinion and ſhadow of vertue hath egged ſome on to ſeeke out a voluntarie death. But the ſtronger and conſtanter

ter reaſon is againſt all this, the more vehement and violent becommeth ſhe againſt all feare and danger. You doe nothing, will ſome man ſay, becauſe you deny that there is any other good but honeſtie. This defence of yours ſhall not make you ſtrong and impregnable againſt Fortune. For you ſay that amongſt theſe goods, a man ought to include obedient children, cities well gouerned, and parents that are honeſt. And yet if theſe be in any danger, you cannot ſee it without aſtoniſhment. For a ſiege of thy citie, the death of thy children, and the bondage of thy parents will trouble thee. But I will ſet thee downe what it is, that is accuſtomably anſwered for vs in this caſe, and then againe will I adde what beſides that may be anſwered in my iudgement. There is another condition in thoſe things which being taken from vs, ſubſtitute ſome other incommoditie in their place, as health being impaired changeth it ſelfe into ſickneſſe; the ſight of the eye extinguiſhed, affecteth vs with blindneſſe; and when the hammes are cut, not onely ſinewes periſh, but debilitie followeth in ſtead thereof. And yet the danger is not in thoſe things, which we haue ſpoken of a little before: Why? Becauſe that if I haue loſt a good friend, I muſt not therefore be perfidious for him, neither if I haue buried good children; there is no reaſon that impietie ſhould ſupply their place, to endanger and hurt me. Moreouer, by this death, friends and children are not loſt, it is but the bodie. But good cannot be loſt, but by one onely meane, that is, if it ſhould change it ſelfe into euill, which Nature permitteth not; for all vertues and all their actions remaine incorruptible. Againe, although that friends, although that well approued children, who haue in nothing contradicted their fathers commands, be dead, yet notwithſtanding, there is ſomething that may ſupply their place. Askeſt thou me what it may be? It is that vertue that hath made them good men. She ſuffereth not at any time, that there ſhould be any place void. She intirely taketh ſeiſure of our ſoules, ſhe exterminateth the ſorrow of all things, and contenteth her ſelfe to be alone. For the power and originall of all goods is in her. What skilleth it if the water that floweth be ſtolne, or fleet away, if the fountaine from whence it iſſueth be liuing and repleniſhed? Thou wilt not ſay, that a man is more iuſt, becauſe his children are yet aliue, or for that they are dead, nor more moderate, more honeſt, more wiſe, more better; conſequently a great number of friends make not a man more wiſe, neither the diminution, or want of them, maketh him not more fooliſh, and conſequently alſo, neither more happie, nor more miſerable. As long as thy vertue ſhall remaine entire, thou ſhalt neuer feele any loſſe that thou haſt made. What then? Is not he who is enuironed with a goodly troupe of friends and children more happie? Why ſhould he not be? Becauſe the ſoueraigne good cannot be diminiſhed or augmented. He alwaies remaineth after the ſame faſhion. Howſoeuer, Fortune carrie her ſelfe, although the yeares be old, or that he die before he be aged, it is one and the ſame meaſure of the ſoueraigne good, although it be different in age. Whether thou make a circle greater or leſſer, it is but in reſpect of the ſpace, but not of the figure: and although the one hath remained a long time painted, and that thou haſt incontinently defaced the other, and couered it with duſt in the place where thou haſt caſt it; yet both the one and the other were the ſame figure. That which is right and iuſt is not eſteemed by the greatneſſe, nor by the number, nor by the time; it can neither bee lengthened nor ſtrengthened. Abridge as much as thou wilt an honeſt life that endured an hundred yeares, and reduce and determine it in one onely day, the one is as honeſt as the other. Vertue extendeth it ſelfe more at large: ſhe gouerneth Kingdomes

domes, Cities, and whole Prouinces; ſhe maketh lawes, ſhe priſeth and honoureth friendſhips, ſhe diſtributeth offices and duties betweene the neereſt parents and their children; and preſently ſhee circumſcribeth her ſelfe in a ſtraiter ſcope of pouertie, baniſhment, and loſſe of children. Yet is ſhee not leſſened, although that from a great and high eſtate ſhe is fallen into a priuate and particular, and from a royall throne, to an abiect and baſe place. And if from a publique and ample power, ſhe reſtraine her ſelfe in an homely cottage or in ſome corner, ſhe is alwaies as great, if after ſhee hath beene driuen from all places, ſhe ſolely retire her ſelfe into her ſelfe. For this notwithſtanding, ſhe hath a courage great and inuincible, a prudence that is perfect, a iuſtice immutable, and conſequently, ſhee is alwaies happy. For this bleſſednеſſe, and this good, is lodged in one onely place, that is to ſay, in the minde. It is euerlaſting, and ful of tranquility, which cannot be without the knowledge of diuine and humane things. It followeth now, that which I ſaid I would anſwer. A wiſe-man tormenteth not himſelfe for the loſſe of his children, nor his friends, for he endureth their death with as equal conſtancie and courage, as he expecteth his owne. He feareth the one as little as he grieueth for the other, becauſe vertue conſiſteth in conueniencie, all her works are agreeable with her ſelfe, and anſwer one another. This concord would be loſt, if the mind which ſhould be aſſured & conſtant, ſhould ſuffer it ſelfe to be ouercome with ſorrow and ſadneſſe. All ſorts of aſtoniſhment, all feare, all idleneſſe and ſlackneſſe in any act whatſoeuer, is diſhoneſt. For all that which is honeſt is ful of aſſurance, and diligence; it is neuer aſtoniſhed, but alwaies prepared. What then? Shall he not feele ſome paſſion like vnto trouble? Shall he not change his colour? Shall not his countenance diſcouer ſome perturbation? Shall not his members wax chill? and all other things which a man doth not by the command of the mind, but by a ſudden and inconſiderate heate of nature? I confeſſe he ſhall. But he ſhall alwaies be thus perſwaded, that none of all this is euill, nor worthy that a good vnderſtanding ſhould be aſtoniſhed at. All that which he ought to doe, he will doe boldly and readily: for who is he that will not ſay that it is the proper nature of folly, to performe that cowardly and againſt his heart which he doth; and to driue the bodie into one place, and the mind into another; and to ſuffer himſelfe to be drawne by ſo many contrary motions? Moreouer, euery thing for which ſhe eſteemeth her ſelfe ſo much, and for which ſhe entreth into admiration of her ſelfe, maketh her contemptible; and beſides, that which is worſe, ſhe performeth not that with a good will, from whence ſhe taketh her glorie. But if ſhe feareth that any euill ſhould befall her, ſhe perplexeth her ſelfe in expectation thereof: ſhe tormenteth her ſelfe as if the euill had already attainted her; and all that which ſhe feareth ſhe may ſuffer hereafter, ſhe preſently ſuffereth by the meanes of her feare. Euen as there are certaine ſignes that appeare in the bodie before the feuer commeth (for a man feeleth a dulneſſe in the ſinewes, a laſſitude, a gaping or yawning, and a horrour which paſſeth thorow all the members.) In like ſort a ſicke mind feeleth ſome ſhakings and aſſaults, which enfeeble him before the euill touch him: he enters into ſorrows, and loſeth his heart before the time. But what more greater folly may a man ſee, then for a man to diſmay his mind for ſuch things as are yet to come? and not to be able to reſerue himſelfe to ſuffer the torment when it ſhall come, but to ſummon miſeries from a farre off, and to approach them, before they preſſe him; which he were better to delay, if he might not auoid? Wilt thou know that no man ought to be tormented for that which is to come?

Who-

Whoſoeuer ſhall heare it ſaid, that ſome fiftie yeares hence he muſt be led to execution, he will not torment himſelfe, becauſe he hath paſt the halfe of this time, & that he is not plunged in this diſquiet of mind, which ſhould not come but in an age after. The like befalleth thoſe ſpirits that are voluntarily ſicke, and do nothing but ſeeke occaſion of ſorrow, who are ſad for things long ſince forepaſſed & forgotten. All that which is paſt, and which is to come, is abſent. We neither feele the one nor the other. But there is no griefe but of the preſent, that which thou feeleſt.

EPIST. LXXV.

That Philoſophie affecteth not words, and yet neither renounceth wit nor good diſcourſe. The chiefeſt matter is, that the life be correſpondent to the words. Furthermore, let vs endeuour to proceed, becauſe we are to aſcend by degrees, and they are three. The degrees of thoſe that are proficient.

THou complaineſt that the Letters which I ſend thee, are not written ouer-curiouſly; but who is he that writeth in ſo an affected Style, but he that would write to inſinuate? Such as my ſpeech ſhould be if we were ſitting together, or if men walked out together, eaſie and without Art: ſuch will I that my Epiſtles be, that they neither be extrauagant nor affected. If it were poſſible that a man might vnderſtand that which I thinke, I had rather expreſſe it by ſignes, then by words. And if I ſhould diſpute likewiſe, I would not ſtampe vpon the ground, nor caſt my hands abroad, nor lift vp my voice: I would leaue that to Orators, and content my ſelfe to haue made thee vnderſtand my conceit, without inriching my ſpeech, nor neglecting it alſo. I would plainely perſwade thee this one point, that I firmely beleeue that which I ſay, and that I not onely beleeue the ſame, but loue it alſo. Men kiſſe their Miſtreſſe in one ſort, and their children in another; and notwithſtanding in this embracement ſo holy and ſo chaſte, the affection ſufficiently diſcouereth it ſelfe. Truely, I would not that my diſcourſes which men hold of ſo great matters, ſhould be dull and drie: for Philoſophie renounceth not a happie and gentle ſpirit, yet will ſhe not likewiſe that we imploy ouer-much affectation in our diſcourſe. In briefe, ſee here what is the ſumme of our intention. Let vs ſpeake what we thinke, and thinke what we ſpeake; let our ſpeech be anſwerable to our life: he hath fulfilled his promiſe who is the ſame when thou ſeeſt him, and when thou heareſt him: we ſhall ſee what he is, and how great he is; but he muſt alwaies be one. It is not neceſſarie that our words be pleaſing, but that they profit. But if eloquence may befall any man, without much labour and affectation, if it be alreadie acquired, or hath coſt him little, let him boldly make vſe thereof, and imploy it in worthie ſubiects. Let it be ſuch, that it rather expreſſe the matter, then it ſelfe. All other Arts appertaine onely to the wit, but nothing is intreated of here. but the affaires of the mind. The ſicke-man ſeeketh not out an eloquent Phyſitian, but ſuch a one as knoweth how to cure well: yet if ſo be it ſo fall out, that he who knoweth how to heale well, diſcourſeth eloquently of that which he ought to performe, he ought not to be diſpleaſed thereat. Neither alſo ought he to reioyce, becauſe he is falne into the hands of a Phyſitian that can ſpeak wel: for it is as much as if a skilful maſter of a ſhip were a goodly man

alſo. Why ſcratcheſt thou mine eares? Why delighteſt thou me? There is another thing now in hand, thou muſt miniſter me an actuall cauterie, I muſt be lanced, I muſt haue a Dyet preſcribed me: for this cauſe art thou called. Thy duetie is to heale an olde ſickneſſe that is dangerous and publique. Thou haſt as much to doe as the Phyſitian in the plague time. Wilt thou ſpend the time about words? If thou finiſh the cure, then mayeſt thou reioyce. When wilt thou learne many things? When ſhall it be that thou wilt lodge that which thou haſt learned ſo inwardly in thy ſelfe, that it may neuer more depart from thee? When wilt thou make triall thereof? for it ſufficeth not to commit them to memorie, as thou doeſt other ſciences: Thou muſt aſſay to put them in execution. He that knoweth all this is not happie, but he that doth it. What then, are there no degrees vnder him? May a man vpon the ſudden attaine vnto wiſedome? I cannot beleeue it: for he that profiteth is counted amongſt the number of fooles, yet is he eſtranged from them by a great diſtance, & amongſt thoſe that are proficient alſo there are great differences: they are diuided, as ſome ſay into three rankes; The firſt are they that haue not yet attained wiſedome, but are alreadie ſetled neere vnto it, although that which is neere is as yet without. Thou wilt aske me who theſe are? They are thoſe who haue alreadie laid aſide all their affections and vices, & that haue learned that which they ought to imbrace, but their aſſurance is not as yet experimented. They haue not as yet the vſe of their good; yet can they not fall againe any more on that which they haue alreadie fled. They are ſo farre forward that they cannot retire backe, but they know it not as yet. And as I remember I haue written in a certaine Epiſtle, they know not that they doe know it. They can alreadie make vſe of their good, but their confidence is yet vnaſſured. Some there are that ſpeake thus of this ſort of men; Proficient men (of whom I ſpake heretofore,) and ſay, that they haue alreadie eſcaped the ſickneſſes of the mind, but not the paſſions; and that they are as yet afraid to fall, becauſe no man is out of the danger of vice, but he that hath wholly driuen it from him; but no one drieueth it away but he that hath aſſumed wiſedome in his place. I haue oftentimes told what differences there are betwixt the ſickneſſes of the ſoule, and the paſſions of the mind. Yet will I refreſh the memorie thereof vnto thee. The ſickneſſes thereof are inueterate and obdurate vices, ſuch as are auarice, and ouer great ambition, at ſuch time as they haue intangled the mind, and haue beg[illegible] to be a perpetuall ſickeneſſe. And to be ſhort, the ſickneſſe is an obſtinate iudgement in wicked things, as if a man ſhould greatly deſire that which he ought not to deſire but ſlightly; or if thou like it better, we may define it thus: To deſire that ouer-vehemently which we ought to wiſh for ſlightly, or which a man ſhould not any waies wiſh or deſire; or elſe to priſe that ouer-much which a man ſhould priſe verie little or nothing at all. Affections are improbable, ſudden and violent motions of the mind, which being frequent and neglected, haue cauſed a ſickneſſe, as a deſcent and diſtillation of rheume doth; which being as yet vnformed, engendreth a cough: but if it continue and waxeth old, it becommeth a Ptiſicke. Euen ſo, they who haue already profited much, are out of ſickneſſe, yet feele they as yet ſome paſſions, yet are they neere vnto perfection. The ſecond ſort is of thoſe who haue eſcaped the greateſt paſſions and ſickneſſes of the ſoule, but it is in ſuch a ſort that they are not certain in the poſſeſſion of their ſecuritie; for they may fall againe into their infirmities. This other third ſort is exempt from a number of the greater vices, but not out of all. Such an one hath fled from auarice, but is as

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yet ſenſible of wrath: he is no more ſubiect to pleaſures and voluptuouſneſſe, but he is full of ambition: he is not couetous, but hee is as yet fearefull and timorous; but in this feare he is ſufficiently aſſured in ſome things, and ſheweth himſelfe remiſſe in ſome other things: he contemneth death, but hee feareth dolour. Let vs thinke a little vpon this place: it will be well with vs, if wee bee admitted vnto this third number. It is with a great felicity of nature, and with a ſtudy accompanied with a great and induſtrious diligence, that a man entreth into the ſecond ranke; yet we muſt not deſpiſe thoſe of the third order. Thinke with thy ſelfe how many euils thou ſeeſt about thee; behold how there is not any offence how deteſtable ſoeuer it be, of which we cannot ſhew ſome examples. See how wickedneſſe increaſeth daily, and ſee what faults are committed both in publike and priuate; and thou ſhalt vnderſtand that wee haue profited enough, if we be not ranked amongſt the worſt. But I hope, ſayeſt thou, that I may be made one of the honourable order. I ſhould rather wiſh vs this good fortune, then promiſe it. We are alreadie ſeized and arreſted: wee runne after Vertue, but we are entangled and ſnared in vices. I am aſhamed to ſpeake it; we follow not honeſt things, but then when we can doe nothing elſe. But how great a reward attendeth vs, if wee would wholly breake off our occupations, and ſhake off thoſe euils which hold vs captiue? Neyther deſire, neither feare ſhould compell vs, but being freed from all terrors, intyre and incorrupted againſt all pleaſures, we ſhould no more be afraid of death or of the Gods: We ſhould vnderſtand that neither death is euill, and that the Gods are good. As infirme and feeble is that which hurteth, as that which is hurt. There are excellent and perdurable goods prepared for euery one of vs, if once wee raiſe our ſelfe from the dirt of this World aboue the Heauens; there is the tranquillity of the ſoule, and a perfect liberty diſclothed of all errors. Askeſt thou what it is? Not to feare men or Gods, neither to will that which is diſhoneſt, nor deſire ouer-much, and to haue the greateſt power ouer himſelfe. It is an ineſtimable good for a man to become his owne.

EPIST. LXXVI.

That he heareth Philoſophie, and goeth to the Schooles. Hee complayneth of the negligence and ſloth of men, which learne other things, and neglect Philoſophy. Doe not thou ſo, my LVCILIVS, *make haſte and learne goodneſſe. What good? That onely which is honeſt. And againe he approoueth by Arguments that it is ſo, and that other things are not. A laudable and wiſe Epiſtle.*

THou threatneſt me that thou wilt bee mine enemie, if ſo be I conceale ought from thee of thoſe things which I daily doe. Behold how freely and ſimply I liue with thee: for this alſo will I impart vnto thee. I heare a Philoſopher, and for theſe fiue daies paſt alreadie haue I haunted the Schoole, and haue heard him diſpute from eight of the clocke. I am olde enough, wilt thou ſay, to goe thither: and why ſhould not this age be good? What greater folly may there bee, then becauſe of long time thou haſt not learned, not to learne at all? What then, ſhall I doe nothing elſe but that which thoſe Horſeriders and young men doe? I ſhould thinke my ſelfe happy, if there were nothing ill beſeeming mine age but that. This Schoole admitteth men of all ages. Let vs waxe old in this Schoole, wee

muſt follow it, as if as yet we were young. Shall I goe vnto the Theater as old as I am? ſhall I cauſe my ſelfe to be carryed to the ſports and publique ſpectacles? ſhall not one couple of Combatants be ſingled out to fight, except I be a looker on? and ſhall I bee aſhamed to goe and ſee a Philoſopher? So long art thou to learne as long as thou art ignorant; and if wee giue credit to the Prouerbe, ſo long as thou liueſt: neither can this more fitly be applyed to any thing then to this, ſo long art thou to learne in what manner thou ſhouldeſt liue, as long as thou liueſt. Yet teach I alſo ſomething in this Schoole. Askeſt thou me what I teach? Forſooth this, that how old ſo euer a man bee, hee ought alwayes to learne. Vndoubtedly I am aſhamed to ſee how men liue. As often as I enter into the Schoole, I muſt of neceſſitie, as thou well knoweſt, paſſe by the Neapolitane Theater: it is their way that goe to *Metronactes* houſe. This Theater before I come is repleniſhed with people, although the greateſt ſtudy that they vſe, is but to iudge who it is that playeth beſt vpon the Flute. A great number of men flocke thither to heare the Fifes and the Grecians Trumpets ſound; but in that place where a man learneth to be a good man, few men ſtay there. And theſe alſo in diuers mens iudgement ſeeme to haue no good buſineſſe in hand, they call them men of little ſpirit and Loyterers. I ſhould be glad to ſee my ſelfe mocked in this kind. A man ought to endure patiently the iniuries of the ignorant. It becommeth him that followeth honeſt things to contemne this contempt. Courage, my *Lucilius*, goe forward, and make haſte, leſt that befall thee which is falne vpon me, that is, to learne in thine olde age: but haſte thy ſelfe, ſince for the preſent thou haſt vndertaken that which thou canſt hardly compleately learne, although thou ſhouldeſt attaine the fulneſſe of thine Age. How much, ſayeſt thou, ſhall I profit? As much as thou wouldeſt aſſay. What expecteſt thou then? No man hath euer beene wiſe by caſualtie. Riches will come of it ſelfe, Honour ſhall be offered, Grace and Dignity haply ſhall bee thruſt vpon thee: but Vertue will not befall thee, when thou little thinkeſt of it, neither alſo with ſlight trauell, and little paine. He muſt not be weary of the trauell which he taketh, who ſhould at one time gaine all the goods of this World. For there is but one only good, that is to ſay, that which is honeſt. In thoſe things that are plauſible to fame, thou ſhalt find nothing true, nothing certaine. I will tell thee why that is onely good which is honeſt, becauſe thou ſuppoſeſt, that in my former Epiſtle I haue not ſufficiently expreſſed vnto thee the reaſon, and for that thou thinkeſt then, I haue better prayſed, then proued this propoſition; and I will ſuccinctly, and in few words, ſignifie and abridge all that which I haue ſpoken. All things haue their proper good. The Vine is commended for his fruitfulnes, the Wine for his taſte, and the Hart for his ſwift footing. Thou askeſt me, wherefore Horſes haue ſtrong backes? Becauſe their onely vſe is this, to beare burthens. The firſt thing that is commendable in a Dogge is his quick ſent when he is to wind his Game, his ſwiftneſſe if hee bee to chace; his courage, if hee bee to byte and inuade. In all things, that whereunto a man is borne, and for which hee is prized and eſteemed, is alwayes the beſt. What is the beſt thing in a man? It is his reaſon. By it he ſurpaſſeth beaſts, and followeth the Gods very neere. So then perfect reaſon is a mans proper good, all other things are ſuch, as brute beaſts partake them in common as well as he. If he be mighty, ſo are Lions; if he be faire, ſo is the Peacock; if he be ſwift, ſo is the Horſe: I will not ſay that he is ouercome and ſurpaſſed in all theſe things. I diſpute not what that is, which is moſt excellent in him, but what it is that is moſt proper vnto him. He hath a

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bodie, ſo haue the trees; he hath vehemencie and voluntarie motion, both beaſts and wormes haue no leſſe. He hath a voice; but how farre more clearer haue dogges? more ſhriller haue Eagles, more ſtrong haue Bulls, more ſweete and delicate haue Nightingales? What then is it that is proper and beſt in a man? Reaſon. This it is, that being compleat & perfect, accompliſheth a mans felicitie. If therefore euerie thing that hath perfected his owne good is praiſe-worthie, and hath attained the end of his nature; and mans particular good is reaſon; if he hath perfected the ſame, he is worthie of praiſe, and hath attained the end whereunto his nature directed him. This perfect reaſon is called Vertue, and is no other thing then that which is honeſt. That therefore is the onely good in a man, which is the onely marke of a man. For now we enquire not what God is, but what mans good is; but man hath no other good but reaſon: this therefore is his onely good, which is the moſt precious and priſeable of all others. If any man be a wicked man, he in my opinion will be miſliked of. If a good man, he will as I ſuppoſe, be allowed of. That therfore is proper and particularly a mans, whereby he is praiſed or improued. Thou doubteſt not whether this be good, but whether it be his onely good. If any man ſhould enioy all other things; health, riches, many images of his predeceſſors, adorning his fore-court, a multitude of attendants at his Palace doore, and yet in all the worlds iudgement he were wicked, thou wouldeſt diſallow him. If likewiſe there were a man that hath none of all theſe things which I haue related, neither money, nor attendants of courtiers, neither nobilitie, nor any images of his grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers are arranged by order: but that were an honeſt man, in all mens opinion, thou wouldeſt praiſe him. There is then one only good in a man, whereof if any man findeth himſelfe poſſeſſed, although he be deſtitute of all others, yet is he to be praiſed; & if he hath it not, although he haue all other things in abundance, yet is he deſpiſed & reiected. Such as the condition of all things is, ſuch is the condition of men. That ſhip is called good, not that which is painted with precious colors, or that hath a ſiluer or golden beake, nor whoſe tutelar ſigne is enriched with Iuorie, or that is laden with goods and royall riches: but that which is ſtrong and firme, that is ſo well timbered and calked on euerie ſide, that it admitteth no leake, that can ſuſtaine the breaking of the ſea, that is light of ſteerage, and is good of ſaile, howſoeuer the winde driue it. Thou wilt ſay, a ſword is good, not for that it hath a golden belt, or a ſheath couered with precious ſtones, but that which hath an excellent edge, and a ſtrong point, able to pierce an armour of ſteele. Wee enquire not how faire the rule be, but how ſtraight. Euery thing ought to be praiſed, when it is ſorted and purueyed of that which is proper vnto it. Therefore in a man alſo it is nothing to the purpoſe, how many acres of land he plow vp, how much money he lend to vſe, by how many he be ſaluted; how rich and precious the bed be whereon he reſteth, how goodly a cup he drinke in, but how good a man he is; and a good man is he, if his reaſon be perfect and vpright, and accommodated to the will of Nature. This is called Vertue, this is honeſt, and the onely good of a man. For ſince that only reaſon maketh a man perfect, only perfect reaſon maketh him likewiſe happy. But that only good of a man, is that which may only make him happy. We ſay likewiſe, that thoſe things which proceed and are engendered by vertue, that is to ſay, all her actions are goods; but vertue is the ſole and onely good, becauſe there is not any good without her. If all good remaine in the ſoule, all that which maketh the ſame firme and conſtant, all that which raiſeth and ennobleth it is good. But it is ver-

tue that maketh the ſoule more ſtrong, more excellent, and more couragious: for all other paſſions that animate and incite our pleaſures, doe deiect and ruinate the ſoule likewiſe, and when they ſeeme to raiſe the ſame, they doe but puffe her vp with pride, and deceiue her with their vanities. There is then but one only good, whereby the minde is bettered. All the actions of the whole life are meaſured, either in that they are honeſt, or in that they are villanous. Thereby it is that reaſon is gouerned, either to doe, or not to doe any thing: I will tell thee what this meaneth. A good man will doe that which in his thought may be honeſtly done, although it be accompanied with much trauell, and attended with loſſe and danger. Contrariwiſe he will do nothing that is diſhoneſt, although thereby he reaped riches, pleaſures, and authorities. Nothing ſhall withdraw him from doing a good thing, nothing ſhall inuite him to doe that which is villanous. Vndoubtedly then, if he muſt follow that which is vertuous, he wil likewiſe flie all that which is villanous; and in all the actions of his life he will regard theſe two things, that there is no other good but that which is honeſt, nor any other euill but that which is vicious. Now if there be but one onely vertue that remaineth vncorrupted, if ſhe onely remaine alwaies in her entire, ſhe is the onely good, to which nothing may happen that may hinder her from being good. For wiſdome is out of the danger of all change, wiſedome cannot be rauiſhed, ſhee cannot fall into folly. I haue told thee, if haply thou remẽber the ſame, that diuers thorow an inconſiderat heat, haue contemned and troden vnder feet that which the common ſort either deſired or feared. Some haue there beene, that haue thruſt their hands into the flame, whoſe ſmiles the Tormentour could not interrupt; that in the buriall of their children haue not ſhed one teare, and that haue preſented themſelues to death without feare. Loue, wrath, couetouſneſſe, hath oftentimes made them ſeeke out perils. If therefore a ſhort reſolution of the ſoule pricked forward by ſome pregnant occaſion, may doe this, with what more greater reſolution ſhall vertue doe it, that gathereth her forces, not from raſhneſſe or any ſudden motion, but a conſtancie and perpetuall power? It followeth then, that thoſe things which are often contemned by the inconſiderate, and by wiſe men alwaies, that they are neither good nor euill. Vertue then is the onely good, that marcheth proudly betweene both the one and the other fortune, and deſpiſeth them both. And if thou enter into this opinion, that there is any other good, but that which is honeſt, all vertues ſhalbe in trouble. For no man might attaine any of them, if ſhe deſired any thing that were out of her ſelfe; and if this were, it ſhould be contrarie to reaſon, from whence vertues proceed; and to truth, which is alwaies accompanied with reaſon. But all opinion which is contrarie to truth, is falſe. Thou muſt needes confeſſe, that a good man carrieth great pietie and reuerence towards the gods, and for this cauſe he will patiently endure all that which may befall him. For he well knoweth that all this is befalne him by the will of the gods, by whom all things are conducted. And if it be thus, he will thinke that to be the onely good, which is honeſt. For in honeſtie conſiſteth the obedience to the gods, the patient ſufferance of thoſe accidents which may follow, the conſtant entertainment of fortunes, and the willing acceptance of that the gods will, and the performance of their commandements. If there were any other good, but that which is honeſt, wee ſhould be attended with an inſatiable deſire of life, and an affection to all that which entertayneth life: a thing intollerable, infinite, and that which extendeth it ſelfe ouer farre. The onely good then is that which is honeſt, that hath

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a certayne meaſure. We haue ſaid that the life of man ſhould be more happy then that of the gods, if that whereof the gods make no vſe were goods, of which kinde are riches and eſtates. Furthermore, if the ſoules ſuruiue the bodies after they are departed from them, a more happy eſtate attendeth them, then that which they then poſſeſſed, when they were impriſoned in the body. And yet if thoſe things which wee vſe by the meanes of the body were goods, they ſhould be more vnfortunate after they were departed from the ſame; but no man can any wayes beleeue, that being incloſed and impriſoned, they ſhould be more happie, then when they are releaſed and ſet at libertie through the whole World. I haue moreouer ſaid this, that if it bee a good that equally befalleth both man and brute beaſts, that beaſts likewiſe ſhould enioy a happy life, which cannot be true in any manner. We muſt ſuffer all things for honeſty ſake, which we ſhould not doe, if there were any other good but that which is honeſt. All this, although I haue more amply debated vpon in my former Epiſtle, I haue thought good to abbreuiate in theſe few words. Yet neuer will this opinion ſeeme true vnto thee, except thou rowſe thy minde, and queſtion with thy ſelfe, whether, if need required, thou wouldeſt dye for thy Country, and to ſaue the life of all other thy fellow Citizens, thou wouldeſt loſe thine owne, and yeeld thy necke, not onely with patience, but with a free will? If thou canſt doe this, there is no other good. Thou leaueſt all things, that thou mayeſt haue this. See how great the force of honeſtie is. And although thou ſhouldeſt not doe it preſently, yet ſhould it be at leaſt, as ſoone as thou oughteſt to doe it. Sometimes in a very ſhort ſpace of time a man receiueth a great ioy of a very faire thing. And although ſome fruit of a Worke alreadie performed, can doe little profit to the dead, when he ſhall bee out of this Word, yet the only thought of that which he would doe, reioyceth and comforteth him; and a iuſt and conſtant man, when hee ſetteth before his eyes the price of his death, which is the liberty of his Countrey, and the life of all thoſe for whom he employeth his life, hee feeleth a great pleaſure, and alreadie partaketh the fruit of his perill. But he alſo who is depriued of this pleaſure, which the execution of this Worke would yeeld him, as the greateſt and laſt pleaſure of his life, without any more delay will encounter his death, and content himſelfe that he hath done iuſtly and piouſly. Contrariwiſe, ſet thou now before his eyes diuers reaſons that may diſſwade him. Tell him, that this worthy act which thou haſt done, ſhall be ſuddenly forgotten, the Citizens will not bee ſo thankfull as thou deſerueſt; he will anſwere thee: All this is out of the action I haue done, I contemplate and conſider it in it ſelfe, I know it is honeſt. Therefore it is, that into what place ſoeuer I am led, into what place ſoeuer I am called, I am there. It is then the only good which a perfect ſoule, not only feeleth, but a generous man, and ſuch a one as is of a good nature. All other things are of little eſteeme, and ſubiect to change. And therefore it is that a man cannot poſſeſſe them without much care and trouble of minde, although the fauour of Fortune had aſſembled them all together into one mans poſſeſſion, yet are they for no other vſe, but a burthen to their Maſter; they preſſe him alwayes, and ſometimes ouer-whelme him. There is not any one of thoſe, whom thou haſt clothed in Purple, that is happy, no more then are they that beare a Royall Scepter in their hands, and a Mantle on their backes vpon a Stage in acting a Play. For after they haue marched in their proud array and Buskins before the people, as ſoone as they depart from them they are diſapparelled, and returne to their former eſtate. There is not one of thoſe, whome riches and

and honours haue rayſed to the higheſt places, that is great. Why then ſeemeth hee to bee great? Thou meaſureſt him by his ſhew. A Dwarfe will bee alwayes little, although hee bee ſet vpon a Mountayne; an huge Statue will retayne his greatneſſe, though it ſtand in a Ditch. Wee are blinded with this errour, and thus are we deceiued, becauſe we eſteeme no man by that which is in him, but we adde vnto him his ornaments. But when thou wilt haue a true eſtimate of a man, and know what a one he is, behold him naked: let him lay aſide his Patrimonie, his honours, and thoſe other flattering and falſe goods of Fortune. Let him diſpoſſeſſe himſelfe of his bodie, behold his mind, what and how great it is, whether of his owne good, or by anothers: if he dare looke on a drawne Sword with a manly eye, if he know that there is no great matter whether his ſoule depart, by his mouth, or by his throat; call him happy. That at ſuch time when he ſhall heare that hee muſt endure bodily torments, or ſuch euils as happen by caſualtie, or by the plot of great men, that if hee muſt ſuffer bonds and exile, and the vaine feares of humane minds, ſecurely heareth them and ſaith:

Not any new ſuſpition of miſhap,
O Virgin, ſhall my ſetled mind intrap:
All theſe haue I fore-thought long time agoe,
My dangers are fore-caſt in weale and woe.

Thou telleſt mee all this to day, I haue alwayes denounced it to my ſelfe. I haue diſpoſed man vnto all humane things. The ſtroke of miſchiefe which a man foreſeeth, is leſſe troubleſome and more light. But to fooles, and ſuch as credit Fortune, the face and appearance of things ſeemeth new and vnexpected, and noueltie for the moſt part is the greateſt cauſe of euill to the ignorant. That thou mayeſt know this, they ſuffer patiently thoſe things that they thought difficult, when they are accuſtomed thereunto. Therefore it is, that a Wiſeman inureth himſelfe to euils that may befall him, and that which others by a long patience make light and eaſie, the wiſeman doth it after he hath long time thought. We heare oftimes the Diſcourſes of theſe ignorants, which ſay, I had not thought that this would as yet befall me; but the Wiſeman knoweth that all things are incident to him, and confeſſeth, that he knoweth very well all that which may happen.

Epist. LXXVII.

And this alſo, is to bee numbred amongſt thoſe that are good and profitable. He intreateth by the way of the Alexandrian Fleet, how whilſt other ranne out to ſee them, he neglected them. For what auaile theſe? or how long? I am old, I am going hence and at length I muſt willingly depart as Marcellinvs *did. Then againſt the feare of death, & that the reaſons thereof are to be contemned.*

THis day vpon the ſudden the *Alexandrian* Ships appeared vnto vs, which are vſually ſent before the Fleet, to giue tydings of the fortunate approch of the Nauy, which men call Friggats or Ships of Meſſage. The view of theſe was gratefull and welcome to all *Campania*. All the people of *Pozzolo* climed vp vpon the Piles to behold them, amd by the manner of their Sayles knew them from the

the reſt, notwithſtanding that they were intermingled with a great bulke of other ſhipping: for they onely haue libertie to ſpread their top-ſayle, which the others hoyſe not, but when they are at Sea. For there is nothing that helpeth them ſo much as that vpper part of the Saile: for by it the ſhips courſe is moſt of all furthered; and therefore as often as the winde encreaſeth, and is more violent then it ought to be, the top-yard is ſtriken by that meanes; for, the winde hath leſſe force ouer the bodie of the ſhip. But when they haue entered *Capreas* and the Promontory, from whence,

PALLAS *from height of ſtormie Mountaine ſpies:*

All other ſhips are commanded to content themſelues with their maine ſaile; the top-ſaile is the marke to know the *Alexandrians*. Amidſt the courſe of all theſe people that ran thus haſtily to the Sea-ſhore, I felt a very great pleaſure in my ſloth, becauſe that thinking to receiue Letters from mine Agents, I made no haſte to know in what eſtate my affaires ſtood, or what they had brought me. For long agoe nothing hath beene gotten or loſt by me. This opinion ſhould I maintaine, although I were not olde: but now the rather, becauſe how little ſoeuer I haue, I haue more to make vſe of then I haue time to liue, eſpecially ſince we are entred into that way, which we need not to accompliſh. The iourney will bee imperfect, if thou ſtay either in the mid-way, or ſtand on this ſide the prefixed place: the life is not imperfect, if it bee honeſt. Whereſoeuer thou endeſt, if the end bee good it is entyre. wee ought likewiſe often and couragiouſly to end, and not for great cauſes, for theſe are not the mightieſt that hold vs. *Tullius Marcellinus* (whom thou knoweſt very familiarly) who was temperate in his youth, and quickly an old man, being ſurprized by a ſicknes which was not incurable, yet long & tedious, & ſuch as commanded him to ſuffer much, beganne to deliberate and conclude vpon his death. To this intent he called together diuers of his friends. Euery on of theſe being naturally timerous, gaue him that counſel they would haue entertained themſelues; or if there were a flatterer, or any one that ſtudyed to pleaſe him, hee gaue him that aduice, that he thought would be beſt pleaſing to him that demanded the queſtion. Our friend and a Stoick, a worthy man, and (that I may dignifie him with thoſe titles, wherein he worthily deſerueth praiſe,) a man couragious & valiant, counſelled him in my opinion very nobly: for he began thus; *Torment not thy ſelf, friend* MARCELLINE, *as if thou deliberateſt on any important affair. It is no great matter to liue as all thy ſlaues liue, and all other beaſts alſo. It is a great matter to dye honeſtly, prudently, and valiantly. Bethinke thy ſelfe for how long time together thou haſt done the ſame thing. Meate, ſleepe, luſt, by this circle all the World commeth. Not only a valiant man, a ſtrong man, a miſerable man can haue a will to dye, but he alſo that diſdayneth life.* He needed no man to counſell him hereunto, but ſome aſſiſtant; for his ſlaues would not obey him. Firſt of all he tooke from them all feare, and taught them that ſlaues were in great danger, when as it was incertaine whether the death of the Lord were voluntary or no. For otherwiſe it ſhould be as dangerous an example to hinder a Maſter to dye, as to kill him. Afterwards hee admoniſhed *Marcellinus* himſelfe, that euen as when Supper is ended, the remainder is deuided on thoſe that attend; ſo when life is ended, ſomewhat is bequeathed to thoſe who had been attendants during the whole life time. *Marcellinus* was a man of a gentle and facile diſpoſition, and liberall euen in thoſe things which were his proper goods: he there-

therefore diſtributed ſome ſmall ſummes amongſt his weeping Seruants, and comforted them himſelfe. He needed not eyther ſword or ſhedding of bloud, for three dayes he abſtayned, and in his very Chamber he cauſed his Pauilion to bee rayſed; afterwards his Bath was brought thither, in which hee lay long time, and cauſed water to bee oftentimes caſt vpon him; ſo by little and little fainted and fayled he, not without a certaine pleaſure, as he ſaid (which a ſlight fainting is woont to bring) not vnapproued vnto vs, who are ſometimes ſubiect to ſwoundings. I haue made relation of this Storie vnto thee, which I know will not be diſtaſtefull to thee, becauſe thereby thou ſhalt vnderſtand the manner of thy friends death, which was neither difficult nor miſerable: for although he procured his owne death, yet departed he and eſcaped moſt ſweetly out of life. Neyther will this Storie be vnprofitable to thee; for neceſſitie oftentimes exacteth ſuch examples. We oft-times muſt dye, yet we will not. There is no man ſo ignorant, but that he knoweth that one day hee muſt dye, but when the time approcheth neere, hee playes the coward, hee trembleth and weepeth. Wouldeſt thou not eſteeme him the fooliſheſt of all men, that ſhould weepe becauſe he liued not a thouſand yeares agoe? As fooliſh is hee that weepeth becauſe he ſhall not liue a thouſand yeares after. Theſe are equall; thou ſhalt not bee, neither wert thou: both theſe two times are not our owne. Thou art caſt vpon this point, which although thou mighteſt prolong, how long wouldeſt thou prolong it? Why weepeſt thou? What wiſheſt thou? Thou loſeſt thy labour;

Ceaſſe thou to hope that Prayers ſo powerfull bee,
That they can change the Deſtinies Decree.

They are firme and fixed, they are led by an eternall and powerfull neceſſitie. Thou ſhalt goe thither whither all things goe. Why thinkeſt thou this a new matter? Thou art borne vnder this condition, thy Father hath had the like hap, this hath thy Mother met withall, this haue thy Predeceſſors known, this ſhall befall all men after thee. It is an inuincible ſucceſſe and order that no force can change, and that tyeth and trayneth all things with it. O how great number of people ſhall follow thee when thou art dead? How many are they that ſhall accompany thee? Thou wouldeſt in my opinion bee more conſtant, if diuers thouſands of men ſhould dye with thee. And yet many thouſands of men and beaſts ſhall loſe their liues by diuers ſorts of death, at that very inſtant when thou makeſt it a difficultie to dye. But diddeſt thou not thinke that one day thou ſhouldeſt attayne thither whither thy iourney was alwayes intended? There is no iourney without end. Thinkeſt thou that I will recount vnto thee at this preſent examples of diuers great Perſonages? No, I will but tell thee ſome of young Lads: The memorie of that yong *Lacedemonian* will neuer bee loſt, who hauing ſcarcely a haire vpon his chin, and being taken Priſoner, cryed out in that his Dorique tongue, I will not ſerue, and confirmed his wordes by effect; for as ſoone as hee was commanded to doe ſome ſeruile and baſe office (for ſome commanded him to empty the cloſe ſtoole) hee did beate out his braines againſt the wall. Our liberty being ſo neere, is there any man will ſerue? Hadſt thou not rather thy ſonne ſhould dye thus, then waxe olde in idleneſſe? What is there therefore why thou ſhouldeſt be perplexed, if to dye couragiouſly be but a Childes play? Thinkeſt thou that thou wilt not follow? thou ſhalt bee enforced. Make that to bee in thy power which is in another mans.

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Wilt thou not take vpon thee this yong mans courage, and ſay, I will not ſerue? O miſerable wretch! thou art a Slaue to thy life: for life if it want the courage to dye, is a true ſeruitude. Haſt thou any thing for which thou ſhouldeſt expect? Thou haſt ſpent thoſe pleaſures that attended and retayned thee. There is not any that is new vnto thee, not any but is now odious vnto thee, becauſe thou haſt ſurfeited therewith. Thou knoweſt what the taſte of Wine is, and what is the taſte of Metheglin: it skils not whether a hundreth or a thouſand Veſſels of Wine paſſe by thy Bladder: thou art a Sacke: thou haſt often learned what the Oyſter is, what the Mullet ſauoureth, thou knoweſt well; thy fooliſh expence hath reſerued nothing for time to come, which thou haſt not alreadie deuoured. Now theſe are they from which thou art drawn ſo vnwillingly. What other thing beſides this is there which ſhould yeeld thee diſcontent, if it were taken from thee? Are they thy friends and thy Countrey? Haſt thou ſo much euer honored the Sunne, that for him thou wouldſt haue deferred thy Supper? Thou wouldeſt ſooner choke vp the brightneſſe of the Sunne if thou couldeſt. For what hath beene euer done by thee that is worthy the light? Confeſſe, I pray thee, that there is not any amitie that thou beareſt to the Senate or Palace, or to the nature of things which withdraweth thee from dying. It is in ſpite of thy teeth that thou leaueſt the Shambles, in which thou haſt left nothing. Thou feareſt death: but how wouldeſt thou contemne it in the middeſt of thy pleaſures? Thou deſireſt but to liue; for thou knoweſt well what it is, and haſt feare of death: but what is this life, is it not death? *Caligula* paſſing thorow the Latin way, when as one of thoſe that were led Priſoners, that had a long Beard and hoary haires, beſought him to giue him leaue to die: What ſaid he, liueſt thou yet? The ſame anſwere muſt be made vnto thoſe to whom death might bring any comfort. Haſt thou feare to dye, and why liueſt thou yet? But I, ſaith he, will liue; for I employ my ſelfe in many honeſt affaires. I leaue thoſe offices and functions of life vnwillingly, which I diſcharge both faithfully and induſtriouſly. What, knoweſt thou not that it is one of the Offices of life to dye? Thou leaueſt no office, for the number of the duties which thou art to accompliſh being vncertayne, are determined. There is no life that is not long enough: For if thou haſt reſpect to the nature of things, both *Neſtors*, and *Statilias* life is ſhort, which ordayned that this ſhould bee ingrauen on her Tombe, that ſhee had liued ninetie nine yeares. Seeſt thou how this poore woman vaunteth her ſelfe of her long life? but who could haue ſupported her glorie, if it had beene her fortune to haue liued out full one hundred yeares? It fareth with our life as with a Stage-play, it skilleth not how long, but how well it hath beene acted. It importeth nothing in what place thou makeſt an end of life: dye where thou wilt, thinke onely to make a good concluſion.

EPIST. LXXVIII.

Of his ſickneſſes, yea, euen in his young yeares, and what reliefe he found for them. Honeſt ſtudies (ſaith he) and friends alſo, but the remedy of remedies contempt of death. Thither calleth he LVCILIVS, *and diſputeth many things deep, manly, and true againſt griefe.*

HE more impatiently ſuffered I to ſee thee vexed often with Rheumes & Feuers, which follow long defluxions, and ſuch as are already brought into cuſtome, becauſe I my ſelfe haue had experience of this ſickneſſe, whereof at the beginning I made little reckoning. My youth could as yet ſupport this violence, and defend it ſelfe confidently againſt infirmities, but at length I ſunke vnder the burthen, and was brought to that eſtate, that I my ſelfe fel into a mortall diſtillation. Afterwards I became by little and little ſo extenuate and leane, that a ſudden deſire ſurprized me to procure mine owne death, yet my fathers old yeares which I dearely tendred, reſtrayned me therein. For I imagined not how conſtantly I might dye, but how patiently he might endure my loſſe; for which cauſe I commanded my ſelfe to liue as yet: for ſometimes to liue is a manly deſigne. I will tell thee what recomforted me moſt at that time, but ſo as thou be before hand aduertized, that thoſe things wherein I tooke moſt repoſe, ſerued me for a Medicine. Honeſt pleaſures are to vs in ſtead of remedies, and all that which may reioyce the ſpirit, profiteth the body in like ſort. My ſtudies gaue mee my health. I muſt confeſſe that I am indebted to Philoſophie for my recouerie and health, to her I owe my life, and leſſe then that I cannot owe her. I haue beene furthered in recouerie of my health by the meanes of my friends, by their exhortations and watchings, and by thoſe Diſcourſes they entertayned me with, I was very much comforted. There is nothing (my *Lucilius*, the beſt of men) that more recreateth and comforteth a ſicke man, then the affection of his friends. There is nothing that ſo much ſtealeth away the thought and feare of death: I thought not on death when I ſaw them ſuruiue mee: mee thought, I ſay, that I ſhould liue yet, not with them, but by their meanes: me ſeemed that I loſt not my ſpirit, but that I rendred it into their hands. All theſe incouraged me to aſſiſt my ſelfe, and to ſuffer all ſorts of torments: otherwiſe it is a miſerable matter, when as thou haſt loſt thy deſire to dye, not to haue an affection to liue. Retyre thy ſelfe therefore vnto theſe remedies. The Phyſician will ſhew thee how long thou ſhouldeſt walke, and how much thou ſhouldeſt exerciſe: he will teach thee not to follow a repoſe whereunto an idle ſickneſſe is addicted; to reade aloude, to exerciſe and ſtrengthen thy breath, when the receptacles of the ſame, and the paſſages of the Lungs are ſtopped; to ſayle, and make thy ſtomake to diſgeſt by gentle motion and exerciſe; what meats thou ſhouldeſt vſe when thou ſhalt call for Wine to ſtrengthen and comfort thee, & when thou ſhouldeſt intermit the ſame, leſt it ſhould prouoke and exaſperate thy cough. But I teach thee that which is not only a remedie for this infirmitie, but of the whole life: Contemne death. There is nothing diſtaſtefull when we flye the feares hereof. Theſe three things in euery ſickneſſe are very tedious; the feare of death, the paine of the bodie, and the intermiſſion of pleaſures. Of death there is enough ſpoken, I will only ſay this, that this feare proceedeth not from infirmities, but from nature. Sickneſſes haue delayed the death of many

many men, and to them it hath proued ſecuritie to ſeeme to periſh. Thou ſhalt die, not becauſe thou art ſicke, but becauſe thou liueſt. This death will attend thee when thou art recouered: when thou art freed from ſickneſſe thou ſhalt eſcape, not thy death, but thy infirmitie. Let vs now returne to that incommoditie that is proper to ſickneſſe: It is accompanied with great and intollerable torments, but the intermiſſions make them tollerable; for when the griefe is moſt intended, it ſuddenly groweth to an end. No man can ſuffer an exceſſiue paine a long time; for Nature that loueth vs as much as is poſſible, hath ſo prouidently prouided, that ſhe maketh our paines either tollerable or verie ſhort. The greateſt paines are felt moſt in thoſe parts that are moſt leane; the nerues, the ioynts, and all other parts that are thinneſt, are cruelly tormented, when as corrupted humors are encloſed in theſe narrow paſſages; but theſe parts are quickly nummed, and loſe the ſenſe of paine, by reaſon of the paine it ſelfe: either becauſe the ſpirits being hindred, to performe their naturall courſe, and changed to the worſt, loſe the force which maketh them vigorous, and inciteth vs; or becauſe the corrupt humour, when it wanteth force to flow thither, whither it ſhould paſſe, choaketh them, and depriueth thoſe parts of ſenſe which are ouermuch choaked. So the gowt in feete and hands, and the paines that are felt in our ioynts and nerues, are appeaſed when they haue ſtopped and ſtupified the parts they haue tormented. It is the firſt aſſault, ſharpneſſe & pricking that tormenteth, but this violence is extinguiſhed in time, and the end of the paine is to be wholly ſtupified. The payne of the teeth, eyes, and eares, is the moſt violent, becauſe it is bred in the narroweſt and ſtraiteſt parts of the bodie, and no leſſe, vndoubtedly, is that of the head. But the more violent that is, the ſooner it is changed into madneſſe or ſtupiditie. This therefore is the comfort in intended griefe, that thou muſt of neceſſitie ceaſſe to feele the ſame, if thou feele it ouer much. But that which moſt of all afflicteth ignorant men, during the torment which they feele in their bodies, proceedeth hence, becauſe they are not accuſtomed to content themſelues with the goods of the minde, and for that they entertaine too much friendſhip with their bodies. And therefore a great and prudent man retireth his minde from his bodie, and is for the moſt part conuerſant with the better and diuiner part, and but onely for neceſſitie ſake with the other, which is frayle and ſtill plaining. But thou wilt ſay, it is a tedious thing for a man to want his accuſtomed pleaſures, to abſtayne from meates, to ſuffer thirſt and hunger. I confeſſe that vpon the firſt abſtinence it is a tedious thing, but by little and little this deſire is diminiſhed, when as the things which we deſire are gouerned, and reſtraine themſelues of themſelues. Thence commeth it to paſſe, that the ſtomack is more tempered, and they that fed with moſt rauenous appetite, grow in hatred thereof. Deſires and appetites die of themſelues. It is no grieuous thing to want that, that thou haſt deſiſted to long after. Moreouer, there is not any griefe, but hath ſome intermiſſion and remiſſion. Furthermore, a man can warrantize himſelfe from euills that are to come, and preuent thoſe by remedies, which threaten and menace him. For there is not any ſickneſſe, but hath ſome precedent ſigne, yea euen that which returneth by cuſtome. Thou mayeſt beare an infirmitie patiently, if thou contemneſt the extremitie where. with it threatneth thee. Make not thine euils greater then they be, and charge not thy ſelfe with complaints, the paine is light, if opinion aggrauateth it not; contrariwiſe, if thou begin to exhort thy ſelfe, and to ſay, *It is nothing, or in effect verie little, let vs endure the ſame, and it will ſuddenly haue an end.*

Thou ſhalt make it light whileſt thou thinkeſt it ſo. All things depend vpon opinion; not only Ambition, but expence and Auarice are meaſured by it; our paine is but opinion. A man is no more miſerable, then he ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be. I thinke that the complaints of fore-paſſed paines ought to bee forgotten, and ſuch words as theſe: *There was neuer any man more miſerable. What torments, what euils haue I ſuffered? No man thought that I ſhould euer riſe againe. How often haue my friends bewayled me? How often haue I beene giuen ouer by my Phyſicians? Such as haue beene tortured on the Racke, are not ſo much ſtretched.* Although all this bee true, yet it is already paſſed. What pleaſure takeſt thou in the remembrance of fore-paſſed paines, and to refreſh thy miſerie that is already paſt: conſidering likewiſe, that there is not any one that will adde to his euill, and that lyeth not to himſelfe? Againe, it is a thing very agreeable to recount the euill that is paſt. It is alſo a thing naturall to reioyce vpon the end of his miſerie. We muſt therefore driue out of vs two things, the one is the feare of future euill, and the other the remembrance of that which is paſt: this for the preſent appertayneth not vnto mee, that not as yet; when he ſhall find himſelfe in theſe difficulties, he may ſay,

And theſe perhaps heareafter call'd to mind
Will moone vs to reioyce.

Let him fight againſt the ſame with all his forces, if he yeeld, he ſhall be ouercome, if hee enforce himſelfe againſt his griefe, hee ſhall ouercome. There are many in theſe dayes that doe this, they draw vpon themſelues the ruine which they ſhould reſiſt. If thou retyreſt thy ſelfe from vnder that which preſſeth and oppreſſeth thee, that hangeth ouer thy head and menaceth thee, it followeth thee, and falleth vpon thee with a great weight; but if thou makeſt head againſt it, if thou wilt reſiſt it, thou ſhalt repulſe it. How many ſtrokes and wounds doe the Wreſtlers receiue vpon their faces, & their whole bodies? yet ſuffer they all theſe torments for the ambition of glorie; & endure the ſame, not only becauſe they fight, but to the end they may know how to fight well; the exerciſe it ſelfe is a very torment. Let vs then likewiſe endeauour to ſurmount all trauels, the price and reward whereof, is not a ſimple Crowne, a Palme, or a Trumpet, which commandeth ſilence, to the end that the prayſe of our name might be publiſhed, but the vertue and conſtancie of the mind, and a tranquillity of the ſpirit which we obtayne for euer, if in any Combate wee could ſurmount Fortune. I feele a cruell paine, but how ſhouldeſt thou otherwiſe doe but feele it, if thou endure it in no other ſort, then women doe. Euen as the enemie chargeth thoſe moſt ſtrongly, who flye moſt ſpeedily: in like ſort, all the euils that Fortune ſendeth vs, charge him moſt violently that loſeth his courage and playeth the Coward. But this griefe is euer violent. And why? Are we not conſtant but to ſuffer light things? Whether haddeſt thou rather, eyther that thy ſickneſſe ſhould be long, or that it ſhould be violent and ſhort? If it be long, it hath intermiſſions, and giueth place to refection, it giueth much time, it muſt in the end forſake thee and depart. A ſhort and violent ſickneſſe will eyther doe the one or the other, it will eyther ſuddenly end, or ſuddenly mend thee. But what skilleth it, whether it be not, or I be not. Since both in the one and the other, the paine hath an end? It may alſo profit thee much, to diuert thy thoughts to ſome other thing, and not to dreame at all of thy paine. Set before thine eyes that which thou haſt ſometimes vertuouſly

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and honorably done: diſcourſe with thy ſelfe on the nobleſt Stratagems: caſt thy remembrance vpon that which thou haſt greatly admired, and at that time let the moſt conſtant, and they that haue ouercome griefe, preſent themſelues vnto thy thought; bethinke thy ſelfe of him that ſtretcheth out his legge to ſuffer his *Varices* to be cut, and perſeuered in reading his Booke. Remember him likewiſe that neuer ceaſed to laugh, whileſt his wrathfull Torturers wondering thereat, wrought vpon him with all the tooles and inſtruments of cruelti e. Shall not that paine be ouercome by reaſon, which hath beene ouercome by laughter? Tell me now whatſoeuer thou wilt, both of the deſcent of Rheumes, and of the violence of a continuall Cough, that maketh a man yeeld vp a part of his Bowels, and of a Feuer that ſcorcheth the Intrailes, and of thirſt, and of the ioynts of feet and hands, which griefe and paine hath contracted, and diſlocated. The flame, the racke, the burning and glowing plates, and that which is layd vpon the ſwollen wounds, to renue their paine, and to make it pierce more deepe, is yet more cruell. And yet there haue beene ſome, that haue ſuffered all this without complayning. It is a ſmall matter. And hath not once beſought them to giue ouer. It is a toy. And that hath neuer anſwered. It is a trifle. That hath laughed out-right with all his heart. After all this, wilt thou not laugh at paine? But ſickneſſe, thou wilt ſay, ſuffereth mee to doe nothing. It hinders me in all my functions. Sickneſſe attainteth the bodie, but not the mind. Therefore it is that ſhe ſtayeth the feet of him that runneth, and tieth the Shoomakers hands, & hindereth the Smiths Hammer. But if thou haſt well learned to make vſe of thy ſoule, thou ſhalt admoniſh, thou ſhalt teach, thou ſhalt heare, thou ſhalt learne, thou ſhalt demand, thou ſhalt remember thy ſelfe. What then? beleeueſt thou that thou doeſt nothing, if thou bee temperate in thy ſickneſſe? Thou ſhalt ſhew that the ſickneſſe may be ouercome, at leaſtwiſe that it may bee endured. Truſt mee, Vertue findeth place euen in the Bed it ſelfe. Armes, and following the Warre, doe not onely teſtifie a valiant heart, and ſuch a one as may not be daunted with feare, but a man may approue his valour and courage euen in his Couerlets and ſleeping clothes. Thou haſt enough to employ thy ſelfe in. Fight valiantly againſt thy ſickneſſe, if it conſtrayne thee to doe nothing, if it get no maſtery ouer thee, thou ſhalt ſerue for a worthy example. O how great were the matter of our glory, if a man ſhould come and ſee vs when we were ſicke? But caſt thou thine eyes vpon thy ſelfe, and prayſe thy ſelfe. Beſide, there are two ſorts of pleaſures, ſickneſſe hindreth the corporall, yet taketh them not away wholly; but rather if thou wilt iudge according to the truth, it inciteth them. There is more pleaſure in drinking when a man hath thirſt, and the meate is moſt taſteſull to him that is moſt an hungered. All that which a man findeth after a long abſtinence, he eateth with a greater appetite. But as touching thoſe other pleaſures of the minde, which are both greater and more aſſured: there is not any Phyſician forbiddeth them his patients; thoſe whoſoeuer followeth and vnderſtandeth them well, contemneth all the blandiſhments of the ſenſes. O vnfortunate ſick man! And why? Becauſe he mixeth not his Wine with Snow, becauſe hee renueth not the cold that he drinketh mixed in a great cup, by theſe morſels of Ice which hee breaketh thereinto, becauſe thoſe Oyſters which are fiſhed in the Lake Lucern, are not opened for him at his table, becauſe he heareth not round about his bal the rumour of his Cookes, that bring and ſerue in his meat, together with the fire to keepe them warme. For prodigality and fooliſh expence hath already found out this inuention, to the intent that no meate ſhould bee cooled, and leſt

the pallet of the mouth, already hardened, ſhould find nothing that were not very hot; the Cooke attendeth the Supper. O vnhappy ſicke man? hee ſhall eat but what he can diſgeſt: he ſhall not haue a whole Bore meſſed into his ſeruice, to be ſent away as courſe Commons. Hee ſhall not bee ſerued with the Pulpes of Fowles (for men now adayes diſdayne to ſee them entyre) aſſembled in Diſhes apart. What wrong haſt thou receiued hereby? Thou ſhalt ſup like a ſick man; yea, hereafter like a whole man. But all thoſe things ſhall wee eaſily ſuffer, both Broths, warme water, and other things whatſoeuer ſeemeth intollerable to delicate and voluptuous men, and ſuch as are more ſick in mind then in body. Let vs onely forget the horrour and feare of death. But that ſhall we not forget, if we cannot diſtinguiſh the ends of euill and good. And by this meanes finally we ſhall not feele any diſguſt of our life, nor any feare of death: for a man can neuer be weary, or diſliking of life, when it is occupyed after things ſo diuers, ſo high, and ſo diuine. There is nothing but idle and lazie repoſe that cauſeth vs to hate the ſame. Truth will neuer bee tedious vnto him that trauelleth in the ſecrets of Nature, there is nothing but falſhood that glutteth vs. Againe, if death come and call vs, although it be before our time, although it abridge vs of the moytie of our liues, yet long before that time the fruit hath beene gathered. All Nature for the moſt part is knowne vnto him, hee knoweth that honeſt things encreaſe not by their durance or continuance. They of neceſſity muſt ſuppoſe their liues ſhort, who meaſure the ſame by vaine, and therefore infinite pleaſures. Recreate thy ſelfe with theſe thoughts, and in the interim caſting thine eyes vpon our Epiſtles, a time will come that ſhall re-vnite vs, and re-aſſemble vs; how little ſo euer it bee, the knowledge how to vſe it well, will make it long enough. For, as *Poſſidonius* ſaith, *One day amongſt learned men dureth longer, then the longeſt age of an ignorant & vnlearned man.* In the meane time hold this opinion conſtantly, that thou muſt not ſuffer thy ſelfe to be ouercome by aduerſities; nor truſt too much in proſperitie, to haue the power of Fortune alwayes before our eyes, as if ſhe ſhould doe all whatſoeuer ſhee can doe. Whatſoeuer is long looked for, is leſſe tedious when it happeneth.

Epist. LXXIX.

Somewhat of Charybdis, Scylla, and Ætna. Then, that Wiſemen are equall amongſt themſelues: and he exhorteth vnto Wiſdome, although glory accompany it not. But it will accompany the ſame, though after death. Good.

I Expect thy Letters, by which thou ſhouldeſt certifie me what noueltie hath encountered the in all that Voyage thou haſt made about Sicily, and what thou haſt learned of certaintie, as touching *Charybdis*. For I know that *Scylla* is a rock which is not dreadfull to thoſe that ſayle by it. But I haue a great deſire to vnderſtand, if all thoſe Fables which haue bin reported by *Charybdis* be true, and if haply thou haſt obſerued any thing (for it is a thing worthy to bee marked. Reſolue me whether it bee one wind that cauſeth ſo many Whirle-pooles, or whether euery tempeſt alike doth exaſperate that Sea; and whether it bee true likewiſe, that all that which is deuoured in this tempeſt and ſtorme of Sea, by the waues, is carried away ſecretly vnder them for many miles, and afterwards

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appeareth neere the ſhore in the bankes of the gulfe of *Tauromenitan.* When thou haſt wholly ſatisfied me herein, then dare I command thee alſo to do me that honour, to aſcend the Mount *Ætna*, (which ſome men ſuppoſe and conclude to be conſumed and decayed by little and little, becauſe in times paſt men were woont to ſhew it more farther off to Paſſengers.) This may happen, not for that the height of the Mountayne is diminiſhed, but becauſe the fire is weakened, and blaſeth out with leſſe vehemencie and abundantly; and by the ſame reaſon that the ſmoke by day time is more little. But neyther the one or the other is incredible: eyther that the Mountaine which the fire deuoureth continually, is diminiſhed; either that the fire continueth alwayes in one and the ſame greatneſſe. For it is not of it ſelfe, but ingendred in ſome Gulfe vnder Earth: it is ſtirred, and is kindled and nouriſhed by a forreine meanes, hauing but one only paſſage and iſſue by this Mountayne, and not his nouriſhment thereby. There is in *Licia* a Territorie of Land, very well knowne vnto all men, the Inhabitants thereabouts call it *Epheſtion*, or the Land which is pierced in diuers places. This Countrey is enuironed with a fire, that no wayes hurteth whatſoeuer Plant it is that groweth thereupon: the Region therefore is fruitfull and full of graſſe, which the flames doe neuer burne, but make ſhine with a faint and forceleſſe brightneſſe. But let vs reſerue theſe to queſtion vpon, then when thou haſt written mee how farre diſtant the Snowes are from the mouth of the Mountayne, which the Summer thaweth not, ſo ſecure are they from the fire. Thou muſt not ſay that I am the cauſe to make thee vndertake this labour, for thou wouldeſt ſatisfie this Poeticall infirmitie of thine, though no man vrged thee therunto, vntill thou hadſt deſcribed *Ætna* in thy Verſe, and diſcouered this place, ſo renowned by all the Poets: for although *Virgil* alreadie excellently deſcribed it, yet was not *Ouid* deterred from handling the ſame ſubiect, and that which theſe two had plentifully written did not reſtrain *Cornelius Seuerus*. Beſides, this place moſt happily offred it ſelfe for a ſubiect to all, & they which wrote before, ſeeme not in my iudgment to haue preuented thoſe things which might be ſpoken, but to haue explayned them. But there is a great difference, whether thou addreſſe thy ſelfe to a matter throughly wrought vpon, or ſuch an one as is well prepared. This groweth daily, and thoſe things that are alreadie found and inuented, cannot hurt thoſe that ſhould inuent hereafter. Moreouer, the condition of the laſt commer is the beſt: he findeth words alreadie prepared, which addreſſed after another manner, haue a new appearance; neither layeth he hold on them, as if appertayning to others, for they are publike. The Lawyers ſay that there is no preſcription againſt the publike: eyther I know thee not, or thy teeth water at *Ætna*. Thou now deſireſt to write ſome great thing that in perfection might equall the writings of the Ancients; for more thy modeſtie permitteth thee not to hope, which is ſo great in thee, that I ſuppoſe thou wouldeſt reſtraine the forces of thy ſpirit, if there were any likelihood thou ſhouldeſt conquer: ſo greatly reuerenceſt thou antiquitie. Amongſt the reſt Wiſdome hath this goodneſſe in it, no man can bee ouercome by another: but in mounting when they ſhall come to the height, all is equall. The place giueth not increaſe, the eſtate is all one. Doth the Sunne adde any thing to his greatneſſe, doth the Moone become more great then ſhee was wont? The Seas increaſe not, the World obſerueth one and the ſame habit and manner. Thoſe things which haue attayned to their iuſt greatneſſe, cannot augment themſelues more: All wiſemen ſhall be euen and equall. Each of them ſhall be endowed with his proper Vertue, the one ſhall bee more milde and affable,

fable, the other more readie; the one more prompt in declayming, the other more eloquent; but as touching that which is in queſtion, which maketh a man bleſſed, it ſhall bee equall to all. I know not whether thine *Ætna* may ſinke and be ruinated in it ſelfe, whether the continuall force of fire impayre and conſume this high and conſpicuous topped hill, which is ſeene ſo farre at Sea. But neither fire nor raine can bring Vertue vnder. This Maieſty ſole cannot bee depreſſed, ſhe cannot be extended further, nor withdrawne backward, her greatnes is ſetled as that of the celeſtiall bodies. Let vs endeuor to preſent our ſelues vnto her, already haue we performed much, and yet not very much if I ſhould ſpeake the truth: for it is not goodneſſe to bee better then the baddeſt. Who would glory in his eyes for beholding the day? for only ſeeing the Sunne thorow a Cloud? although in the interim hee be contented to haue fled the darkenes, yet as yet he enioyeth not the good of the light. Then ſhall our mind haue wherewithall to gratulate himſelfe, when as diſcharged of this darkeneſſe in which hee is plunged, the true light ſhall appeare vnto him to the end hee may behold the ſame with full and open eyes; hee ſhall haue no more night but a continuall day ſhall ſhine vpon him, and returning to his owne Heauen he ſhal be reſtored to the place which he firſt left when he came into the World. His firſt originall ſummoneth him vpward. And in that place ſhall he be, (yea, euen before hee bee deliuered out of this Priſon,) when hauing deſpoyled himſelfe and ſhaken off his eyes he ſhall purely and readily employ and enrich himſelfe with diuine thoughts. This muſt wee doe, my deare *Lucilius*, hither muſt wee bend all our forces, although few men know it, although no man ſee it. Glory is the ſhaddow of Vertue, and will accompany vs againſt our wils: but euen as the ſhadow ſometime goes before, and ſometimes followeth; ſo Glory is ſometimes before vs, and offereth her ſelfe to be ſeene, ſometimes ſhee is behind vs, and becommeth more great, becauſe ſhee commeth ſomewhat later, when as Enuie is wholly retyred. How long time ſeemed *Democritus* to bee mad? *Socrates* had ſcarcely any reputation? How long was it ere *Rome* knew what *Cato* was? How long contemned ſhee him, and neuer thorowly knew him, till ſhee had wholly loſt him? *Rutilius* innocency and Vertue had lyen hid, except he had receiued iniurie: whilſt he is wronged his worthineſſe appeared. Did hee not thanke his fortune, and embrace his exile? I ſpeak of thoſe whom fortune made glorious, when ſhee grieued them; how many mens deſerts and worth grew to light after them? How many hath Fame neglected in life, and eternized in the Graue? Thou ſeeſt how much *Epicurus* is not onely admired amongſt the learned, but alſo amongſt the ignorant; and this man was vnknowne to the *Athenians* themſelues, where he liued alwayes obſcured. Out-liuing therefore *Metrodorus* by many yeares, when in a certaine Epiſtle of his with gratefull commemoration he had notified the friendſhip betwixt *Metrodorus* and him, in the concluſion he added this; *That amidſt ſo many goods which* METRODORVS *and he had partaken in their life, it little harmed them, that ſo renowned Greece was not onely ignorant of them, but ſcarcely had heard of them.* Was hee not therfore found when as he ceaſſed to be? Did not his opinion grow famous? The like alſo doth *Metrodorus* confeſſe in a certayne Epiſtle, *That hee and* EPICVRVS *were not in ſufficient reputation, but that afterwards both he and* EPICVRVS *ſhould haue a great and addreſſed fame at their hands who would follow the way that they had held.* No Vertue is obſcured, neither is it any indignity or damage to it, to haue bin hidden: the day will come which will bring it to light, though hidden and reſtrayned through the Worlds wickedneſſe. Hee is borne

for

for the profit of few men, that thinketh onely on the people of his age. Many thouſands of yeares & Nations ſhall ſucceed vs; look thou on them, although Enuie hath enioyned ſilence to all thoſe that liue with thee, there ſhall others ſucceed, who ſhall iudge without hatred or fauour: and if Vertue ought to receiue any recompence by glorie, ſhe ſhall not loſe it. Wee ſhall not vnderſtand what words Poſterity ſpeaketh of vs; yet ſhall they honour vs, and frequent vs, though wee perceiue it not. There is not any whom Vertue hath not dignified both in life and after death: if ſo bee hee hath followed her wholly, and with a good faith, if he haue not decked and diſguized himſelfe, if he continued one, whether it ſeemed vpon warning, or vnprepared and ſuddenly. Diſſembling profiteth nothing; a fayned countenance, and ſlightly forged externally, deceiueth but very few. Vertue which way ſoeuer you turne her is all one. Things deceiueable are of no ſtability. A Lye is thin, thou ſhalt eaſily ſee thorow it, if thou diligently looke vpon it.

Epist. LXXX.

That the common ſort went to the Shewes and Games, hee to his ſtudie and contemplation. That the minde is to be beautified and not the bodie, and how eaſie a thing it is if you deſire good things. That we are to ſearch out libertie, which is performed by deſpiſing and ſpurning at deſires. That true felicitie is therein, and not in externall ſplendor. Good.

THis day I am wholly mine owne, not onely by mine owne means, but for that the Foot-ball play hath withdrawne all thoſe that were troubleſome vnto mee, and came to importune mee. There is not one that thruſteth in vpon mee, no man diſtracteth my thoughts, my doore creaked not ſo often as it was accuſtomed, my hanging was not lifted vp, I haue freedome to be ſolitary, which is moſt neceſſary for him that walketh alone, and followeth his owne way. Doe I not therefore follow the Ancient? I doe. Yet ſuffer I my ſelfe to inuent ſomewhat, and to leaue. I ſeruilely tye me not to their opinions, but aſſent vnto them; yet haue I ſpoken a great word, who promiſed my ſelfe ſilence and ſecreſie if I were not interrupted. Behold a huge cry is rayſed in the Theater, where men exerciſe their running, which cannot draw my ſelfe from my ſelfe, but rather tranſporteth me to contemplate on the Combats that are in hand. I thinke with my ſelfe, how many exerciſe their bodies, how few their minds; how many men throng to a vaine and trifling ſpectacle, and what deſolation there is about good arts, how weakly minded they are, whoſe armes and ſhoulders wee wonder at? But aboue all I meditate vpon this: If a man may by exerciſe bring his bodie to this patience whereby he may ſuſtayne not only the ſtrokes and ſpurnes of many men, whereby ſoyled with his owne bloud, hee may endure the ſcorching Sunne, and hotteſt ſand all the day long: how much more eaſily may the mind be ſtrengthned, inuincibly to entertayne the ſhocke of Fortune, to the end that being caſt to ground, and trod vnder foot, he may yet rayſe himſelfe? for the body hath need of many things to ſtrengthen the ſame, but the minde increaſeth by it ſelfe, is nouriſhed by it ſelfe, exerciſeth it ſelfe. The bodie hath need of much meat, of much drinke, and much Oyle, and much exerciſe; but Vertue will come vnto thee without any furniſhing, without any expence. Whatſoeuer may make thee good is with thee; what needeſt thou to make thee good? Thy will. But what better mayeſt thou will, then to deliuer thy ſelfe out of

of this ſeruitude, which tyrannizeth ouer the World, and from which the Slaues themſelues of how ſeruile condition whatſoeuer, and borne euen in the ordures thereof, ſtriue by all meanes to caſt off? That ſtocke of Cattell they haue bought by pinching their owne bellies, they pay for their liberty; wilt not thou endeuour at what charge ſoeuer, to obtayne this libertie, who thinkeſt thy ſelfe a free borne man? Why caſteſt thou thine eye vpon thy Coffers? It cannot bee bought. It is a vaine thing therefore to caſt the name of libertie into the Tables of Manumiſſion, which neither they that bought, nor thoſe that ſell the ſame may haue. It is thou that muſt giue thy ſelfe this good, thou muſt demand it of thy ſelfe: firſt of all diſcharge thy ſelfe of the feare of death; for that is it which firſt of all bringeth vs in ſubiection; and afterwards from the feare of pouertie. If thou wilt know how little euill there is therein, make a compariſon betwixt the lookes of ſuch as are poore, and thoſe that are rich: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily: no penſiueneſſe deeply groundeth it ſelfe in his breaſt, although ſome trifling affliction befall him, it paſſeth away like a light Cloude. The ioy of thoſe who are called rich is fayned, or their ſorrow is ripe and grieuous, and rotten; and ſo much the more grieuous, becauſe they dare not diſcouer their miſeries, but amidſt the ſorrowes that gnaw their very hearts, they are enforced to ſet a face of felicity vpon their diſcontent. I muſt oftentimes make vſe of this example, for by no other may this Mimick of mans life (which aſſigneth vs theſe parts which wee act very aukwardly) bee expreſſed. Hee that in the Scene ſtaulketh proudly vp and downe, and looking vpward, vttereth theſe words;

Behold I gouerne Greece, PELOPS *my Sire*
Hath left me Kingdomes, and the Lands which lye
From Helleſpont vnto the Seas that tyre
Th' Ionian ſhores———

Is but a Slaue, hee gaineth fiue buſhels of Corne and fiue Pence. That proud fellow, who full of oſtentation and puffed vp with confidence of his owne ſtrength, ſaith,

Except proud MENELAVS, *thou be ſtill,*
And ſhun debate, this right hand ſhall thee kill.

Hath but his dayes allowances, and ſleepes in a poore ordinary Chamber. Thou mayeſt ſay as much of all theſe wanton Minions, who are hanged in the Ayre, in a Litter carryed more high then the heads of men, & aboue the troop of common people. The felicitie of all theſe is but masked. Thou wilt contemne them if thou deſpoyle them. When thou wouldeſt buy a Horſe, thou cauſeſt his Saddle to bee taken off of his backe. Thou cauſeſt the Slaue thou wouldeſt buy, to be turned naked, for feare leſt any infirmities of his bodie ſhould be hidden. Wilt thou eſtimate a man when hee is wrapped vp? Theſe Regrators ſhaddow and couer by ſome ſlight that which might hinder the Merchandize of their ware. And therefore it is that a faire garment and ornament maketh them oftentimes ſuſpicious that intend to buy. If thou ſhouldeſt ſee an arme or knee bound vp, thou wouldeſt command to haue it vnſwathed and laid open, and all the bodie to be diſcouered. Seeſt thou that King of Scythia or Sarmatia adorned with a rich attyre vpon his head? if thou wilt eſtimate him, and know him wholly what he is, take from him his royall ornament;

ment; much miſchiefe lyes hidden thereunder. Why ſpeake I of others? If thou wilt eſtimate thy ſelfe, lay apart thy money, thy houſe, and thy dignitie, and conſider well with thy ſelfe what thou art inwardly. For now thou truſteſt other men to ſhew thee what thou art.

EPIST. LXXXI.

The beginning concerneth an vngratefull man: and then followeth a queſtion, Whether we ought to be thankefull vnto him who formerly helped vs, and afterwards hurt vs. He diſputeth this matter, both ſubtilly, and diffuſedly, and diſtinguiſheth diuerſly.

THou complayneſt that thou art fallen into an vngratefull mans hands: if this be the firſt time, eyther thanke thy fortune, or thy diligence. Although diligence in this place can make thee no thing, except it make thee wicked. For if thou wouldeſt auoyd this perill, thou ſhalt neuer doe any man a courteſie: thus leſt thy benefits ſhould periſh in another mans hands, they ſhall periſh in thine owne. It were better they were neuer recompenced, then neuer giuen: yea, euen after a bad harueſt we returne to tillage. Oftentimes whatſoeuer hath bin loſt by the vſuall ſterilitie of a barren ground, hath been redeemed by the plenty of one good yeare. So great a matter it is to find out one gratefull man, that it importeth thee greatly to make tryall of many vngratefull. No man hath ſo certaine a hand in giuing benefits, but that he is oftentimes deceiued; let them fayle ſometimes once to be aſſured. The Seas are ſailed on when the ſhipwrack is paſt. The Vſurer forbeareth not to lend becauſe he hath met with a Banckrupt. Our minde will quickly bee benummed with fruitleſſe idleneſſe, if it ſhould incontinently forſake whatſoeuer is diſtaſtefull vnto it. But let this very thing make thee more bountifull. For if thou wilt that a thing (whoſe euent is vncertaine) ſhould haue a happy iſſue, it behoueth thee to aſſay it oftentimes. But hereof haue we ſufficiently ſpoken in our Bookes which wee haue written of Benefits. Better it were to diſpute of another point, (which in my iudgement, is not ſufficiently expreſſed and decided) whether hee that befriendeth vs, and afterwards hurteth vs, hath equalled his benefit, and whether wee are acquit from him. Adde if thou wilt hereunto this alſo, that afterwards he had hurt vs more, then before time he profited vs. If thou expect a ſeuere ſentence of a Iudge, that would follow the rigour of Law, hee will releaſe them reſpectiuely, and will ſay, Although the iniury bee more great, yet let that which remayneth of the iniury be giuen to the benefits. He hath hurt more. But firſt of all he hath profited, and therefore wee muſt haue ſome regard of time. Now thoſe things are more manifeſt then that they need an admonition, that it is neceſſary to know how willingly he hath profited, how vnwillingly harmed: Becauſe both benefits and iniuries are meaſured by the minde. I would not giue a benefit, but I was ouercome with ſhame, or by the pertinacie of his inſtant ſuite, or by hope. Whatſoeuer is owing, is examined by the ſame mind wherewith it is giuen, neither is it weighed by the greatneſſe thereof, but by the will from whence it proceedeth. Let all coniecture be now taken away. Both that was a benefit, and this that exceedde the meaſure of the former benefit, is an iniurie. A good man will in ſuch ſort make his account, that hee himſelfe will de-

deceiue himſelfe. He will adde vnto the benefit, and take from the iniury. But another that would iudge more graciouſly, as I would doe, will forget the offence, & remember the fauour. Aſſuredly it is the act of Iuſtice (ſaith he) to giue each man that which appertayneth thereunto, to the benefit acknowledgement, to the iniurie reuenge, or at leaſt-wiſe an euill acceptance. This ſhall be true, when as one doth an iniury, another giueth a benefit. For if it be the ſame, the force of the iniury is extinguiſhed by the benefit. For to him whom wee ought to pardon, although no deſerts of his were precedent, to him is more then pardon due, if he hurt vs after hee hath done vs kindneſſe; yet take I not them both alike, more prize I the benefit then the iniury. Euery one knoweth not how to owe a benefit gratefully. An imprudent, rude, and baſe conditioned fellow may reſtore a benefit, and recompence the ſame anon after hee hath receiued it, but he knoweth not how much he is obliged. The Wiſe-man onely knoweth at what rate each thing is to be taxed. For that foole, of whom I ſpake of late, although he haue a good will, either reſtoreth leſſe then hee oweth, or doth it not in time and conuenient place, and lauiſheth and caſteth that away, which he ſhould recompence and ſatisfie. There is a wonderfull proprietie of words in ſome things, and the cuſtome of ancient Language deſigneth ſome things vnto vs in effectuall meanes, and dutie teaching Leſſons. Thus truly are we woont to ſay: This man hath referred or requited that mans fauour: to requite, is willingly to returne that which thou oweſt. Wee ſay not, hee hath returned thankes; for both they who are demanded, and are vnwilling, and that in euery place, and thoſe that returne by another mans hand, giue ſatisfaction. We ſay not, he hath remitted the benefit, or hee hath paid it, for thoſe wordes which are proper to acquit a man of money lent, are no wayes pleaſing to me in this ſubiect. Referre, is as much to ſay, as to goe and acknowledge, that is, beare backe, vnto him that which thou haſt receiued. This word ſignifieth voluntarie relation. Hee that hath referred, that is to ſay, reknowledged, hath appealed and ſummoned himſelfe. The Wiſeman will examine all things with himſelfe, how much hee hath receiued, from whom, when, where, and how. Therefore is it, that wee deny that any man knoweth how to reknowledge a benefit, but a Wiſeman; and auerre that no man knoweth how to giue a benefit, except hee be a Wiſeman, and ſuch an one, who is more glad to giue, then another to receiue. This ſome man numbreth amongſt thoſe things which wee ſeeme to name extrauagant and ſtrange vnto all men, the Greekes call them Paradoxes, and ſaith: Is there no man therefore that knoweth how to requite a good turne but a Wiſeman? Therefore no other man but hee knoweth how to pay his Creditour that which hee oweth him, nor when hee buyeth any thing, to pay the price thereof to him that ſelleth the ſame? But leſt this blame ſhould fall vpon me, know this that *Epicurus* ſaith as much. *Metrodorus* aſſuredly ſaith, *That the Wiſeman onely knoweth how to reknowledge a fauor.* Againe, the ſame man admireth, when we ſay, *The Wiſeman only knoweth how to loue, the Wiſeman onely is a friend:* but to requite a fauour, is both the part of Loue and Friendſhip; nay rather this is more vulgar & more caſuall amongſt many then true Friendſhip. Againe, the ſame man wondereth, becauſe we ſay, that there is no faith but in a Wiſeman, as if he himſelfe had not ſaid the ſame. Suppoſeſt thou this, that hee hath any faith, that knoweth not how to acknowledge a benefit? Let them therefore ceaſſe to defame vs, as if wee preferred or maintayned vncredible things, and let them know that true honeſty is lodged only in a Wiſemans breſt, and the only Images and appearance of honeſt things with

with the common ſort. No man knoweth how to requite a courteſie, but a Wiſeman. Let a Foole alſo according to his apprehenſion, and as much as in him lyeth reſtore a benefit, and let his knowledge rather faile him then his will. To will is not learned. A Wiſeman will compare all things to their worth: his worke although it be the ſame, is made eyther greater or leſſer, by time, place, and cauſe. Oft-times riches powred into an houſe, could not doe that that a thouſand pence could, being giuen in ſeaſon. For there is a great difference whether thou gaueſt, or ſuccoureſt. Whether thy liberalitie hath ſaued him, or engreatned him. Oft-times that which is giuen is ſmall, that which followeth thereby is great: but what difference is there, whether any man hath taken backe againe that which hee had giuen, or receiued a benefit, to the end hee might giue? But leſt wee ſhould returne into the examination of thoſe things which he hath ſufficiently debated of, in this compariſon of benefit and iniury, a good man will iudge that which is moſt rightfull, yet will he fauour the benefit, and be moſt addicted to that ſide. But the conſideration of the perſon is of the greateſt moment in theſe affaires. Thou haſt giuen me a benefit in the perſon of my Slaue, but thou haſt done me iniurie in the perſon my father. Thou haſt ſaued me my ſonne, but taken my father from me; conſequently hee will purſue & examine all the circumſtances by which all compariſon hath his proceeding: & if it be but a ſmal matter that cauſeth the difference, he wil diſſemble that. But if it be great, and that he hath the power to pardon it, without iniurying Pietie or Faith, he will remit it, eſpecially, if the whole iniurie appertayne vnto himſelfe. The ſumme of the matter is this, hee ſhall bee facile and gracious in this compenſation, hee ſhall ſuffer himſelfe to bee more charged in the account, and will neuer pay a benefit with an iniurie, except it be by great conſtraint, hee will incline alwayes to this ſide, hee will maintayne this part in deſiring to acknowledge a benefit, and affecting to requite it. For he is deceiued whatſoeuer hee be, that more willingly receiueth a benefit then he reſtoreth it. But euen as he is more ioyfull that payeth a Debt then he that borroweth, by ſo much ought hee to bee more content that diſchargeth himſelfe of a great Debt by reſtoring the benefit which he hath receiued, then the other which obligeth himſelfe by receiuing. For in this alſo vngratefull men are deceiued, in that they pretend to ſatisfie their Creditour with an ouer-plus beſides the principall, and ſuppoſe that the vſe of benefits is gratuitall: but theſe increaſe by delay, and ſo much more is to bee ſatisfied, by how much it is ſlackly ſatisfied. Ingratefull is he that reſtoreth a benefit without Vſury; and therefore we ought to haue a reſpect to this point, when we compare the receits and layings out. We muſt labour as much as in vs lyeth, to be moſt gratefull; for this good is truly ours, not as Iuſtice is, which according to the common opinion appertayneth alſo vnto others, the better part of a benefit returneth to him that is the benefactor. There is no man that hath profited another, that hath not profited himſelfe. I ſpeake it not with the intent wherewith he that hath bin ſuccoured, would ſuccour and he that hath bin defended would defend, becauſe a good example returneth to him that giueth it, as alſo euill examples do finally fall vpon their Author; neither find they any pittie who ſuffer iniuries, and by acting the ſame haue taught others that they may bee done, but becauſe the reward of all Vertue lyeth in them: for they are not put in execution, vnder hope of reward. The reward of a good action is to haue acted the ſame. I am gratefull, not that another ſhould more willingly lend mee, being egged thereunto by the former example, but that I might performe a thing both moſt pleaſing

ſing and agreeable. I am gratefull, not becauſe that ſhall yeeld me profit, but becauſe it contenteth my mind. And to the end thou mayeſt know that which I ſpeake is ſo truly: if I haue not the meanes to expreſſe my gratuitie, except in ſhewing my ſelfe to be vngratefull, if I cannot yeeld ſatisfaction, except it be vnder a pretext of doing iniurie, I ought moſt willingly to follow this counſaile, although I be in danger to be noted of Infamy. There is no man in my iudgement that eſtimates Vertue more, no man is more deuoted thereunto then hee that loſt the reputation of a good man, becauſe hee would not make ſhipwrack of his conſcience. Therefore, as I ſaid, thou art gratefull more for thine owne good then another mans: for to him there happeneth but an ordinary and common thing to recouer that which he had giuen, but to thee a great contentment, and ſuch as proceedeth from the eſtate of an happy ſoule, to haue acknowledged a benefit. For if wickedneſſe maketh men miſerable, and Vertue maketh them bleſſed, and to be gratefull is a Vertue, thou haſt reſtored but an vſuall thing, but attayned an ineſtimable matter, that is to ſay, the conſcience to haue beene gratefull, which ſeizeth not on a minde but ſuch as is diuine and fortunate. But the contrary of this affection is vrged with great infelicitie. There is no man that is not miſerable if he be ingratefull. I dally not with him, he is preſently miſerable. Let vs therefore flye Ingratitude; if for no other cauſe, yet for our owne. The leaſt part of wickedneſſe, and that which is leaſt to be feared, redoundeth vnto others, but that which is the worſt, and (if I may ſo ſpeake it) that which is the thickeſt remayneth with him, and tormenteth his poſſeſſor. As our *Attalus* was accuſtomed to ſay, *Malice and Miſchiefe drinketh the greateſt part of his owne Poyſon.* That venome which the Serpents caſt out of them to deſtroy others, and keepe within themſelues without their owne preiudice, is not like vnto this. For this Poyſon is pernicious to thoſe that nouriſh the ſame. The vngratefull man tormenteth himſelfe, he becommeth leane, he hateth that which hath beene giuen him, becauſe he muſt reſtore the ſame, and extenuateth it: contrariwiſe he dilateth the iniuries and augmenteth them. But what man is there that is more miſerable, then he that forgetteth the benefits he hath receiued, and remembreth him of iniuries? Contrariwiſe, Wiſdome ſpeaketh honourably of all ſorts of benefits, and commendeth them to her ſelfe, and delighteth her ſelfe with the continuall remembrance thereof. The euill ſort haue but one pleaſure, and that very ſhort, and that is whilſt they receiue benefits, whereof the Wiſeman feeleth a long and perdurable ioy: for hee delighteth not in receiuing, but in this, that he hath receiued, whereof he feeleth a continuall and immortall pleaſure. He contemneth things whereby hee is harmed, neyther forgetteth hee negligently but willingly. He turneth not all things to the worſt, neyther ſeeketh he to whom he may impute the fault, and rather layeth the blame of mens errors on fortune then on themſelues. He taketh exceptions neyther to mens words or lookes; whatſoeuer falleth out, he excuſeth it with a gracious interpretation, and remembreth not an iniurie rather then a benefit: He ſetleth his remembrance on that which was both the firſt, and the beſt: he changeth not his mind towards thoſe that haue wel deſerued, except their iniuries ſurpaſſe very much, and the difference be maniſeſt, euen though hee ſhould ſhut his eyes; and then alſo in this onely, that he cõtinueth the ſame man after the greateſt iniurie, as he was before the benefit. For whereas the benefit is equall with the iniurie, there remayneth ſome ſparke of beneuolence in the mind. Euen as a guiltie man is acquit when the opinions of the Iudges are equally diuided, and alwayes in what-

whatſoeuer thing is doubtfull, humanitie inclineth to the better: ſo a Wiſemans minde, whereas the merits equall the miſdeeds, will forbeare to owe, but will not deſiſt to bee willing to bee beholding, and doth this which they are wont to doe, who after a generall acquittance of all debts, will notwithſtanding ſatisfie. But no man can bee gratefull, except hee contemne thoſe things, that mad and beſot the common ſort. If thou wilt be thankfull for a benefit, thou muſt make account to ſuffer baniſhment, to ſhed thy bloud, to fall into pouerty, and to ſee thine owne innocence oft-times ſtayned, and ſubiect to baſe and ſcandalous rumours. It coſteth a man no ſmall matter to approoue himſelfe gratefull. Wee eſteeme nothing more deare then a benefite as long as wee aske it, and nothing more baſely when wee haue receiued it. Askeſt thou mee what that is which maketh vs forget the courteſies receiued? It is the deſire and couetouſneſſe of thoſe things we would receiue hereafter. We thinke not of that which we haue alreadie obtayned, but on that onely which we would obtayne hereafter. Riches, Honour, Power, and all ſuch other things which in our opinion we repute of great eſteeme (but ſuch as are baſe and abiect in their owne value) retyre vs from Vertue. We know not how to eſtimate things, whereof we ought to make our election, not according to the common report, but by the counſell of Nature, the Mother of all things. Theſe haue no magnificence in them, whereby they ſhould draw our mindes vnto them, except this, that we are accuſtomed to admire them. For therefore are they prayſed, not becauſe they are to be coueted, but therefore are they to be coueted, becauſe they are prayſed; and when as euery particular mans errour hath made them publike, the publike ſhall make them to be the errour of euery one. But euen as wee haue beleeued thoſe things, let vs alſo beleeue the common ſort in this, that there is nothing more honeſt then a gratefull minde. All Cities, all Nations, yea, thoſe of the barbarous and ſauage Regions will ſubſcribe hereunto, the good and euill will agree in this point. There will bee ſome that will prayſe pleaſures, there will be ſome that had rather labor. There will be ſome that will ſay that paine is the greateſt euill that may be, ſome that will ſcarely call it euill: Some one ſhall repute riches for the chiefeſt good, another ſhall ſay that they were found out for the ruine and miſhap of humane life, and that there is no one man more rich, then he to whom fortune hath not found out any thing to giue him. In this ſo great diuerſitie of opinions, all the World will maintayne (as it is ſaid) with one voyce, that we ought to be thankfull vnto thoſe who haue deſerued well at our hands. All Nations, though different in many other things, conſent and agree herein, and yet notwithſtanding, in the interim we repay benefits with iniuries: and the chiefeſt cauſe that euery one hath to become vngratefull, is this, becauſe he could not bee ſufficiently gratefull. The furie is growne to that head, that it is a very dangerous thing to giue great benefits to any one: for in that he thinketh it a diſhoneſt part not to requite, he deſireth he ſhould not liue, to whom hee ſhould make reſtitution. Reſerue that to thy ſelfe which thou haſt receiued; I redemand, I exact it not, it contenteth me that I haue pleaſured thee. There is no hatred more pernicious then his, who is aſhamed becauſe he hath violated a benefit.

Epist. LXXXII.

Against delicacie and effeminat life, and sluggish idleneſſe alſo, & that we ought to dedicate the ſame to ſtudie, and in eſpeciall to Philoſophie, which ſhould defend vs againſt feare and all externall euils, yea againſt death it ſelfe. That we are armed all in vaine, with ſubtilties and ſophiſmes againſt the ſame, and by the way, againſt ſuch as vſe it; that death in it ſelfe is indifferent, but ſuch or ſuch honeſt or diſhoneſt. Againe, againſt Cauillers.

NOw haue I giuen ouer the care I haue had of thee. What one (ſaiſt thou) of the gods, haſt thou accepted for my ſuretie? truly euen him that deceiueth no man, a mind that is a louer of right & honeſty. The better part of thee is in ſafetie. Fortune may do thee an iniurie, but that which is moſt pertinent to the matter, I feare not that thou ſhouldeſt iniurie thy ſelfe. Keepe on the courſe thou haſt begun, and compoſe thy ſelfe in this habit of life temperately not effeminately. I had rather thou ſhouldeſt liue ill, then effeminatly. Now ſo interpret thou ill as it is vſually ſpoken amongſt the common ſort, hardly, ſharply, and laborioufly. So are we wont to heare the liues of diuers men prayſed, who are enuied: *He liueth effeminately.* This they ſay, he is euill. For by little and little the minde is made effeminate, and groweth remiſſe and negligent, and vndertaketh the ſimilitude of that idleneſſe and ſloth wherein he is buried. What then? is it not more befitting a man to bee more ſterne and rigid? Againe, ſuch as are delicate feare death, whereunto they haue made their life alike. There is a great difference betwixt idleneſſe and the graue. What therefore ſayeſt thou, were it not better for a man to repoſe himſelfe thus, then to toſſe and tumble himſelfe in theſe gulfes of affaires? Both theſe two things are mortall, the convulſion of the nerues and debilitation of the minde. I thinke him as much dead that lyeth buried in his Perfumes, as him that is drawne with the hooke. Retyrement without ſtudie is a death, and the Sepulcher of a liuing man. Finally, what profiteth it vs to be retired, as if the cauſes of cares and troubles followed vs not beyond the Seas? What hidden place is there, whereinto the feare of death entereth not? What ſo defenced and high rayſed repoſe of life, which ſorrow terrifieth not? Whereſoeuer thou ſhalt hide thy ſelfe, humane miſeries will make a noyſe about thee. There are diuers externall things, which wheele about vs, whereby they eyther may deceiue or vrge vs. Many things internall which incenſe and enflame vs alſo, euen in the middeſt of ſolitude. Wee muſt arme our ſelues with Philoſophie, which will ſerue vs as an impregnable wall, which Fortune with all her Engins cannot pierce. The mind that hath diſclaymed externall things, is reſident in an impregnable place, and defendeth himſelfe in his Fortreſſe, each weapon aymed at him, falleth vnder him. Fortune hath not long hands, as we imagine, ſhe is Miſtris ouer none, but ſuch a one as cleaueth vnto her. Let vs therefore, as much as in vs lyeth, retyre our ſelues from her, which the onely knowledge of our ſelues and of Nature will effect. Let man know whither he is to goe, whence he came, what is his good, what is his euill, what he ſhould deſire, and what he ſhould eſchew; what that reaſon is, which diſcerneth what things are to be deſired and eſteemed, whereby the furie of deſires is meekned, and the cruelties of feares abated. Some there are that thinke that they haue ouercome all this without the aſſiſtance of Phi-

Philoſophie, but when as any misfortune lighteth vpon any of theſe, that pretẽd ſecurity; too late are they enforced to confeſſe the truth. Theſe great words are forgotten, when the Hangman commandeth them to giue him their hand, when death approcheth more nigh them. Thou mayeſt iuſtly ſay vnto him: Thou prouokeſt abſent euils; now ſee heere griefe, which thou ſaidſt was eaſie to ſupport: ſee here death, againſt which thou ſpakeſt ſo much, and ſo audaciouſly: the Whips yerke, the Sword ſhineth;

Now haſt thou need, Æneas, *of a mind*
Arm'd with conſtancie.——

But that will continuall meditation make ſtrong in thee, if thou exerciſe not thy words, but thy minde: if thou prepareſt thy ſelfe againſt death, againſt which hee cannot exhort thee, nor encourage thee, who ſhall attempt by ſome cauils to perſwade thee that death is not euill. In this place my *Lucilius*, the beſt of men, it liketh mee to ieſt at the follies of the *Grecians*, which as yet although thou wondereſt thereat, I haue not as yet ſhaken off. Our *Zeno* vſeth this collection. There is nothing euill which is glorious, but death is glorious, *Ergo*, death is no euill. Thou haſt profited me much, O *Zeno*, thou haſt put me out of feare, hereafter I will not doubt to ſtretch out and offer my head to the blocke. Wilt thou not ſpeake more ſeuerely, wilt thou make him laugh that is ready to die? Vndoubtedly, I can hardly tell thee whether he were more fooliſh, who ſuppoſed by this queſtion to extinguiſh the feare of death, or hee that endeuoured to anſwere the ſame, as if it were a thing pertinent to the matter. For hee himſelfe oppoſed a contrary argument, taken from that, becauſe we place death amongſt things indifferent, which the *Græcians* call *Adiaphora*. Nothing, ſaith hee, that is indifferent, is glorious; but death is glorious; death therefore is not indifferent. Thou ſeeſt plainly whereto this Argument tendeth. Death is not glorious; but to dye conſtantly is glorious. And when, hee ſaith, nothing indifferent is glorious, I grant it thee; yet ſay I this, that there is nothing glorious, but in things indifferent. Theſe things terme I indifferent, which are neither good nor euill, as ſickneſſe, paine, pouertie, exile, death; none of theſe in it ſelfe is glorious, yet nothing without theſe. For pouertie is not prayſed, but he that is neyther humbled, nor deiected by her. Baniſhment is not prayſed, but hee that ſorrowed not for it: griefe is not prayſed, but hee whom griefe hath enforced nothing. No man prayſeth death, but him whom death ſooner ſeparated from life, then aſtoniſhed. All theſe things are not honeſt nor glorious in themſelues, but if Vertue intermixeth her ſelfe amongſt them, if ſhee manage them, ſhee maketh them honourable and full of glorie. For of themſelues they are placed betweene both, and are indifferent; it only concerneth vs to know whether Malice or Vertue hath paſt the ſame thorow their hands. For that death which is glorious in *Cato*, is preſently baſe and ſhamefull in *Brutus*, and to be bluſhed at. For this is that *Brutus*, who when hee ſhould bee ſlayne, ſought to delay death, who went aſide to doe his eaſement, and being called vpon to dye, and commanded to lay downe his neck; I will lay it downe, ſaith he, ſo that I may liue. What madneſſe is it to flie away, ſith that thou art vnable to goe backe? I will lay it downe, ſo that I may liue: almoſt hee added thereunto, euen vnder *Antonius*. O worthy man, to bee reſtored vnto life! But as I began to ſay, Thou ſeeſt that death it ſelfe is neither a bad, nor a good thing; *Cato* moſt honeſtly vſed it; *Brutus* moſt diſhoneſtly.

Euery thing that hath not honour, when as Vertue being added thereunto, is ennobled. We ſay that a Chamber is full of light: yet this ſame is moſt darke by night. The day infuſeth light into it, the night taketh it away. So to theſe things which be by vs called indifferent and middle things, ſuch as are riches, ſtrength, beautie, honours, rule, and contrarily death, baniſhment, bad health, ſorrowes, and what other things we haue feared, eyther leſſe or more; eyther Malice or Vertue giueth them the name of good or bad. A maſſe of Iron of it ſelfe is neyther hot nor cold, but being put into the Furnace it waxeth hote; againe, it being put into the water waxeth cold. Death is honeſt, through that which is an honeſt thing: which is Vertue and a mind contemning all externall things. There is alſo, O *Lucilius*, a great difference of theſe that we call honeſt things. For death is not ſo indifferent, as that whether thou doe weare thine haire euen or not. Death is amongſt thoſe things that bee not bad indeed, but ſuch as haue a ſhew of that which is bad. There is in euery man a certaine loue of himſelfe, and an engrafted will of abiding and of preſeruing himſelfe, and a ſhunning of diſſolution, becauſe it ſeemeth to take away many good things, and to leade vs out of the abundance of this, whereunto wee haue accuſtomed our ſelues. That thing alſo alienateth vs from death, becauſe we haue already knowne theſe things: thoſe things whereunto we are about to goe; wee know not of what ſort they may bee, and we feare things that be vnknowne. Furthermore, there is a naturall feare of darkneſſe, into which it is ſuppoſed that death will conduct vs. Therefore, although death be an indifferent thing, yet for all that it is not amongſt thoſe things, which eaſily may be neglected. With great exerciſe the minde is to be hardned, that it may endure the ſight and the comming thereof. Death ought to be contemned, more then it is accuſtomed to be; for we beleeue many things concerning it. It hath beene the ſtrife of many wits to encreaſe the infamy of it. An infernall Priſon is deſcribed, and a Region oppreſſed with continuall night, wherein is the greater Porter of Hell,

Lying vpon bare bones halfe eaten vp,
In bloudy Den, where he doth dine and ſup,
Eternally with barking doth affright
Each pale and bloudleſſe ghoſt and ſhade-like ſpright.

But alſo when thou ſhalt perſwade thy ſelfe that theſe things be Fables, neither that any other thing remaineth to the dead which any one ought to feare, another feare cõmeth in the place of it. For as much fear they that dye not to be, as to be in Hell. As long as theſe thoughts doe aſſayle vs, which long perſwaſion hath infuſed vnto vs, the valiant enduring of death, what elſe may it be but a glorious thing, and amongſt the greateſt workes of a manly minde? Our ſoule will neuer riſe vp vnto Vertue, if it beleeue death to be an euill thing; it will riſe vp vnto it, if it ſuppoſe it to be a thing indifferent. The nature of things is vncapable of this, that one may come vnto that which he ſuppoſeth to bee an indifferent thing, ſlowly and lingringly will he come. But it is not a glorious thing which is done by an vnwilling and backward man. Vertue doth nothing vpon neceſſitie. Adde now thereunto that nothing is honeſtly done, except the whole minde hath endeauoured and hath beene preſent thereat, and with no part of it ſelfe hath reſiſted it. But when approch is made vnto that which is badde, it eyther commeth to paſſe by feare of worſer things; or by hope of thoſe things that bee good, to come vnto the which it is of ſo great worth,

that

that the enduring of one euill is ſwallowed vp. The iudgements of the doers doe diſagree. Hence it is, that hee commandeth to accompliſh things purpoſed: thence that he draweth backe and flyeth from a ſuſpected and perillous thing. Therefore is he diſtracted into diuers parts. If this bee; glory periſheth. For Vertue accompliſheth Decrees with an agreeing minde: it feareth not that which it doth.

See thou, that thou to euils giue no place,
But goe against them with a bolder face
Then thy fortune will permit thee.

Thou ſhalt not the more boldly goe, if thou ſhalt ſuppoſe that they bee euill things. This is to be taken out of the breſt: otherwiſe ſuſpition will trauerſe and ſtay thy courſe. It ſhall be thruſt vpon that, which it was to ſet vpon. The Stoicks would haue the interrogation of our *Zeno* to be ſuppoſed to bee true, but that other to be deceitfull and falſe, which is oppoſed vnto it. I reduce not theſe things to a Logicall Law, and to thoſe knots of moſt ſluggiſh workmanſhip: I iudge that all that kind is to bee thruſt away, whereby hee who is asked, ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be circumuented, and whereby he being brought to confeſſe, anſwereth one thing, but thinketh another. Wee muſt deale more plainly for the truth, and more ſtrongly againſt feare. Theſe things which are toſſed vp and down by them, I had rather to looſen, and to ponder vpon, to the end that I may perſwade, and not deceiue. He that will leade an Armie into the field readie to dye for their Wiues and Children, how will he exhort? I ſhew to thee the *Fabij*, tranſlating the whole Warre of the Common-wealth into one houſe. I ſhew thee the *Lacedæmonians* placed in the very ſtraites of *Thermopylæ*, hoping neyther for Victory, nor for returne. That place was to bee graue vnto them. How wilt thou perſwade them to receiue the ruine of a whole Nation with offering their bodies vnto it? and rather to depart from their life, then from their place? Thou wilt ſay, that which is euill, is not glorious: death is glorious, therefore death is no euill thing. O effectuall ſpeech! who after this doubteth to offer himſelfe to the deadly weapons points, and to dye conſtantly? But that *Leonidas* how valiantly did hee ſpeake vnto them? *So dine O fellow Souldiers,* ſaith he, *as if ye ſhould ſup amongſt the dead.* The meate encreaſed not in their mouthes, it did not ſticke in their chaps, it did not fall out of their hands. They went cheerfully to Dinner and to Supper both. What that Roman Captaine, who ſpake thus vnto Souldiers, which were ſent to take a place, and were to goe through a great Armie of the enemies: *It is needfull, O fellow-ſouldiers, to goe thither from whence it is not needfull to returne backe.* Thou ſeeſt how plaine, and how imperious Vertue is. What man can our beguilings make more valiant? Whom can they make more courageous? They breake the minde, which is neuer leſſe to be contracted, and to be compelled with petty and thorny things, then when ſome great matter is framed. The feare of death ought not to be taken from three hundred alone, but from all mortall men. How wilt thou teach them, that it is not an euill thing? How wilt thou ouercome the opinions of all Ages, wherewith preſently Infancy is ſeaſoned? What helpe wilt thou find? What wilt thou ſay to the weakneſſe of man? What wilt thou ſay wherewith they being inflamed, may ruſh into the middeſt of danger? With what ſpeech wilt thou turne away this conſent of fearing; with what ſpeech wilt thou auert the obnoxious perſwaſion

ſwaſion of mankind, which is againſt thee? Thou compoſeſt captious words, and knitteſt pettie queſtions for me. Great Monſters are ſtricken with great weapons. In vaine with Arrowes and Slings did they ſhoot at that great cruell Serpent in *Africa*, and more terrible to the Legions of *Rome* then Warre it ſelfe. Not *Python* indeed was to bee wounded, ſith huge greatneſſe according to the ſolide vaſtneſſe of his body, caſt backe againe Weapons, and whatſoeuer the hands of men had darted againſt him; at length was hee broken with Milſtones. And againſt death doſt thou dart ſo petty things? With a Bodkin encountreſt thou a Lyon? Theſe things are ſharpe which thou ſpeakeſt of. Nothing is more ſharpe then the Beard of the Eare of Corne. Smalneſſe it ſelfe maketh ſomethings vnprofitable and without effect.

Epist. LXXXIII.

We muſt liue as before God our beholder and Iudge. Then adioyneth hee ſomewhat concerning his owne life, temperance and watchfulneſſe. Againe (as in the former Epiſtle) againſt baſe talkers; who abaſe Wiſdome with their meane ſpeech and cauils. He teacheth according to Zeno's *rule, and diſcourſeth againſt Drunkenneſſe. But we muſt doe more valiantly and famouſly: and giuing an example thereof, he condemneth that vice. Good.*

THou deſireſt that I ſhould diſcouer vnto thee the courſe of my life, and what I doe euery day. Well iudgeſt thou of mee, if thou ſuppoſeſt nothing to be therein which I ſhould hide. So truly ought wee to liue as if all men lookt vpon vs, and ſo to thinke, as if one were able, and could looke into our innermoſt breſt. For what profiteth it, that any thing ſhould bee ſecret from man? Nothing is cloſed from God. He is within our ſoules, and hee commeth into the middeſt of our thoughts. So I ſay, hee commeth amongſt them, what as if ſometime he ſhould depart from vs? Therefore I will doe that which thou commandeſt; and what I doe, and in what order, I will willingly write vnto thee. I will forthwith obſerue my ſelfe: and (that which is a moſt profitable thing) I will examine euery day. This maketh vs to bee very bad, becauſe no man looketh backe vpon his life. What things we are about to doe, we thinke vpon, and but ſeldome that: what we haue done, we doe not thinke vpon. But from that which is paſt, commeth counſell for that which is to come. This day is ſolid. No man hath taken any of it from me: it is all of it diuided betwixt the Booke and the Bed. The leaſt part is giuen vnto exerciſe of the bodie; and for this cauſe I giue thankes to old age. It coſteth mee not much. When I haue ſtirred, I am wearyed. But this is the end of exerciſe, euen to thoſe that are moſt ſtrong. Seekeſt thou with whom I exerciſe my ſelfe? One ſufficeth me, *Earinus* (as thou knoweſt) a louely Boy: but he ſhall be changed. Now I ſeek for one that is more tender. He indeed ſaith, that we haue the ſame *Criſis*, becauſe that the teeth of vs both fall out: but now I ſcarce ouer-take him when he doth runne, and within a very few dayes I ſhall be vnable to doe it. See what continuall exerciſe can profit. Speedily there is made a great diſtance betwixt two that goe in a contrary iourney: at the ſame time hee aſcendeth, I deſcend: neyther art thou ignorant how much the one of theſe is the more ſpeedily done. I lyed: for now our age deſcendeth not, but falleth. Notwithſtanding

doeſt

doeſt thou ſeeke how this dayes ſtrife ſucceeded vnto vs? As ſeldome it falleth forth to Runners: neyther of vs both did ouercome. From this wearineſſe, rather then exerciſe, I deſcended into cold water. This is called by me water ſcarce warme. I that ſo great a waſher in cold water, who in the Calends of *Ianuary* leaped into a Pond; who in the new yeare, as I beganne to reade, to write, to ſpeake ſomewhat, ſo began I to leape downe into cleare water, firſt tranſlating my Tent to Tyber: then to this Bathing Tub, which becauſe I am moſt ſtrong, and all things are done in good earneſt, the Sunne moderateth for mee. Not much time after doe I tarry at the Bath. Then I eate dry Bread, and a Dinner without a Boord: after which I am not to waſh mine hands. I ſleepe very little. Thou haſt knowne my cuſtome: and I vſe a moſt ſhort ſleepe, and as it were by ſeuerall naps. It is ſufficient that I haue ceaſed to watch. Sometimes I know, ſometimes I ſuſpect that I haue ſlept. Behold the cry of the *Circenſians* maketh a noyſe in mine eares: mine eares are ſtricken with ſome ſudden and vniuerſall voyce. Neyther doe they put forth, neyther indeed doe they interrupt my thought: moſt patiently I beare their clamorous noyſes, many voyces and confuſed in one, are to mee in ſtead of a waue, or of a winde beating vpon a Wood, and ſuch other confuſed ſounds. O what therefore is it? I will tell thee, whereon now I haue ſet my minde. A thought abideth with me ſtill ſince yeſterday, namely, what moſt Wiſemen haue meant, who haue made moſt light and perplexed prooſes of thoſe things that are moſt ſerious, which although they be true, are notwithſtanding like to a Lye. *Zeno* would deterre vs from Drunkenneſſe, an exceeding great man the founder of this moſt valiant and moſt holy Sect. Heare now how he gathereth, that a good man will not be drunke. No man committeth ſecret ſpeech to a drunken man: but hee committeth it to a good man; therefore a good man will not be drunke. Marke how he may be derided with the like oppoſite Interrogation. For it ſufficeth of many to ſet downe one. No man committeth ſecret ſpeech to one that is aſleepe, but he committeth it to a good man; therefore a good man doth not ſleepe. *Poſidonius* as farre as in him lyeth pleadeth the cauſe of our *Zeno*: but very furiouſly as I ſuppoſe. For he ſaith that a drunken man is ſo ſaid to bee two manner of wayes: the one, when hee is loaden with Wine, and not maſter of himſelfe; the other, if he be accuſtomed to be made drunk, and be ſubiect vnto this vice. He is ſpoken of by *Zeno*, who is accuſtomed to be made drunk, not he that may be drunk. But no man will cõmit ſecrets to him, which through Wine he may publiſh abroad; which is falſe. For that firſt interrogation comprehendeth him that is drunke, not him who will ſo be. For thou wilt grant that there is great difference betwixt him that is drunke, and a Drunkard. For a man may be drunk at one time, and yet be no Drunkard: and, he that is giuen to drink, oftentimes on the other ſide may be without drunkennes. Therfore I vnderſtand that, which is wont to be ſignified in this word: eſpecially ſith it is ſet down by a man profeſſing diligence, & examining words. Adde now, that if *Zeno* vnderſtood, & would haue vs to vnderſtand this, by doubtfulnes of the word, he hath ſought place for deceit: which thing is not to be done, when verity is ſought for. But certes, although hee hath thought thus: yet that which followeth is falſe; namely, that to him who is accuſtomed to be made drunk, a ſecret ſpeech is not to be committed. For think to how many Souldiers not alwaies ſober, both the Emperor, & Tribune, & Centurion hath committed ſilent things. Concerning that ſlaughter of *C. Cæſar*, (of him do I ſpeak, who hauing ouercome *Pompeius*, poſſeſſed the Common-wealth:) the ſecret thereof was as well committed

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to *Tillius Cimber*, as to *C. Caßius*. *Caßius* dranke water all his life long. *Tillius Cimber* was both too much giuen to wine, and was lauiſh of his tongue: he ieſted at this thing himſelfe. Can I beare any one, ſaith he, who cannot beare wine? Let euery one now name thoſe vnto himſelfe, to whom he knoweth that wine is badly, and that ſpeech is well committed. Notwithſtanding I will relate one example that commeth to my minde; leſt it be forgot. For life is to be inſtructed by famous examples. Let vs not alwaies flie to thoſe that be old. *Lucius Piſo* the Warden of the Citie, after that he was once made drunke, ſpent the greater part of the night in the Feaſt: and did for the moſt part ſleepe almoſt vntill noone; this was his morning time. Notwithſtanding, moſt diligently he adminiſtred his office, wherein the ſafetie of the Citie was contained. To him both *Auguſtus* gaue ſecret commands, when he gaue him the gouernment of Thracia, which he did ſubdue; and *Tiberius* going into Campania, when he left many things in the Citie both ſuſpected and hatefull, I thinke, becauſe the drunkenneſſe of *Piſo* had well fallen forth vnto him, afterwards made *Coſſus* Gouernor of the Citie, a graue and moderate man, but drowned and floating in wine, ſo that ſometimes being oppreſſed with a ſound ſleepe, he was carried out of the Senate, into which he had come from a feaſt. To him notwithſtanding *Tiberius* wrote many things with his owne hand, which as he iudged ought not to be committed to his owne ſeruants. No priuate nor publique ſecret eſcaped from *Coſſus*. Therefore let vs remoue from amongſt vs theſe declamations: The minde hath not power ouer it ſelfe, being bound about with drunkenneſſe. As barrels themſelues are broken with new wine: and all that is in the bottome, is by force of the heat caſt vp into the vpper part: ſo when the wine boileth vpwards, and tempteth the brain, whatſoeuer lieth hid in the heart, is diſcouered and commeth abroad. As they who are loaden with wine, containe not their meat through abundance of the ſame, ſo indeed doe they keepe no ſecret thing; that which is their owne and other mens, alike doe they ſpread abroad. But although this is wont to fall forth, ſo alſo is that, that with theſe whom we know ſomewhat freely to drink, we deliberate of neceſſarie things. There is therefore no foundation in this pretended Maxime, that a ſecret is not to be committed to him, who is accuſtomed to be made drunke. How much better were it openly to accuſe drunkenneſſe, and to lay open the vices thereof? which euen a tollerable man hath auoyded, much more a perfect and a wiſe man: to whom it is ſufficient to quench thirſt: who alſo, if at any time mirth doth ariſe, and is continued ſomewhat long vpon ſome other cauſe, yet notwithſtanding reſiſteth without being drunke. We will diſpute hereafter, whether the minde of a wiſe man may be troubled with too much wine, and may doe that which is accuſtomable to drunken men. In the meane ſpace, if thou wilt conclude this, that a good man ought not to be drunke, why proceedeſt thou with ſyllogiſmes? Shew how diſhoneſt a thing it is, to powre in more then one can containe, and not to know the meaſure of ones ſtomacke: How many things drunken men doe, which ſober men be aſhamed of: that drunkenneſſe is nothing elſe, then a voluntarie madneſſe. Extend that drunken habit into many daies, doubteſt thou but it will be madneſſe? Now alſo it is not leſſer, but ſhorter. Relate the example of *Alexander*, the Macedonian, who in the middeſt of a banquet ſtabbed *Clytus*, one moſt deare and moſt faithfull vnto him, and vnderſtanding that heinous deed, he would haue dyed; certainly he deſerued to die. Drunkenneſſe augmenteth and diſcouereth euery vice; it remoueth modeſtie, which hinde-

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reth from bad Enterprizes. For more abſtayne from forbidden things, through ſhame to offend, then through good will. When too much Wine poſſeſſeth the minde, what euill ſoeuer did lye hid, commeth forth. Drunkenneſſe cauſeth not vices, but betrayeth them; then the leacherous perſon tarryeth not indeed for a Chamber, but without delay permitteth to his deſires ſo much as they ſhall require: then the ſhameleſſe man profeſſeth and publiſheth his diſeaſe: then the wanton contayneth not his tongue nor hand. Pride encreaſeth to the haughty, rage to the cruell, malice to the enuious; euery vice is diſcouered, and commeth forth. Furthermore a man that is drunke knoweth neither where nor what he is; he ſtammereth and liſpeth in his ſpeeches, his eyes are inconſtant, his feet ſtumble, his head turneth, he ſuppoſeth that the Tyles and couerings of the Houſe remoue themſelues, and that the whole Houſe is ſhaken, and when the Wine beginneth to boyle, it tormenteth his ſtomacke, and diſtendeth his bowels. Yet then howſoeuer tollerable it bee as long as his forces are entyre; what will it then be when it is corrupted with ſleepe, and that which was Drunkenneſſe is made Cruditie? Thinke what ſlaughters publike Drunkenneſſe hath committed. This hath deliuered moſt fierce and warlike Nations to their enemies: this hath layd open walls, defended againſt the reſolute Warre of many yeares: this hath enforced the moſt reſolued, and the refuſers of ſubiection, to the command of other men: this hath conquered thoſe who haue beene vnconquered in Warre. So many iournies, ſo many battels, ſo many Winters, through which *Alexander* had paſſed, in which hee ouercame the difficulty of times and places; ſo many floods whoſe ſources were vnknowne, ſo many Seas diſmiſſed him ſafe; but the diſtemper of drinking, and that *Herculean* and fatall Cup buried him. What glorie is it to contayne much? When the Victory ſhall be atchieued by thee, when men lying ſcattered aſleepe, and caſting ſhall refuſe thy drunken Carowſes, when thou alone ſhalt remayne of the whole Banquet, when thou ſhalt ouercome all men in magnificall valour, and no man ſhall be ſo capable of Wine as thy ſelfe, yet art thou ouercome by a Tunne: what other thing ſaue Drunkenneſſe, and the loue of *Cleopatra* no leſſe dangerous then Wine, deſtroyed *M. Antonius*, a great man and of a noble wit, and transferred him into externall faſhions, and into vices which were not Roman-like? This thing made him an enemy to the Commonwealth, this made him vnequall to his enemies, this made him cruell; when the heads of the Princes of the City were ſet before him as he did ſup, when amongſt moſt exquiſite Feaſts and Kingly ryot, hee tooke pleaſure to behold the heads and hands of the proſcribed; when being loded with Wine, hee notwithſtanding thirſted for bloud. It was intollerable in him to bee drunke, but how much more intollerable were thoſe things which he did in Drunkenneſſe it ſelfe? Crueltie for the moſt part accompanyeth Drunkenneſſe; for the health of the mind is violated and exaſperated by ſuch exceſſe. Euen as long Diſeaſes cauſe tender eyes, that they are offended with the leaſt glimpſe of the Sunne: ſo continuall Drunkenneſſe enrageth mends minds. Becauſe Drunkards are almoſt ordinarily tranſported with Wine, their vices endurate by accuſtoming this beaſtlineſſe, and conceiued by lauiſh drinking. Finally, maintayne themſelues in force, although the vicious drink not any Wine. Tell therefore why a Wiſeman ought not to be made drunke. Shew the deformitie and the importunitie of the thing with deeds, not with words, which will be moſt eaſie to do. Proue theſe ſame pleaſures (as they are called, when they haue paſſed a meane) to be puniſhments. For if thou ſhalt argue after this manner, that a Wiſeman can be

be drunke with much Wine, and retayne a right tenor although he be ouerturned: thou mayeſt as well conclude, that hee may drinke Poyſon and not dye; that hee may take the iuyce of blacke Poppy and not ſleepe; that hee may take Ellebore, and not caſt vpward or ſcoure downward that whatſoeuer ſticketh in the bowels. But if his feet bee aſſaulted, if his tongue bee not his owne, why thinkeſt thou him to be partly ſober, and partly drunke?

Epist. LXXXIII.

Writing and reading are to bee changed. Things read are to bee turned into one nouriſhing ſubſtance, and are to be made ours. Laſtly, there is an exhortation to Wiſdome. Good and profitable admonitions.

I iudge theſe iourneyes which ſhake off ſlothfulneſſe from mee, to profit my ſtudies and health. Thou ſeeſt why they helpe mine health: ſith the loue of Learning maketh me ſlow and negligent of my bodie, I am exerciſed by others helpe. I will ſhew thee why they profit my ſtudies. I haue not giuen ouer reading. For as I ſuppoſe theſe iourneyes are neceſſary, firſt, that I may not be content with my ſelfe alone; then, that when I ſhall know things ſought forth by other men, I may ſettle my iudgment vpon their inuentions, and bethink my ſelfe of thoſe that be to be found our. Reading nouriſheth the wit; and when it is wearied with ſtudie, it refreſheth it, yet not without ſtudie. Neyther onely ought wee to write, or onely to reade; the one of theſe things will wearie and conſume the ſtrength; I ſpeake of writing: the other will diſſolue and diſſipate it. Interchangeably this is to be exchanged with that, and the one is to bee moderated with the other; ſo that whatſoeuer is gathered together by reading, the Pen may reduce into a bodie. Wee ought (as they ſay) to imitate Bees, which wander vp and downe, and picke fit Flowres to make Honey: then whatſoeuer they haue brought they diſpoſe and place through their Combes, and as our *Virgil* ſayth;

Moyſt Honey to make thicke they much doe ſtriue,
Spreading the ſame with ſweet dew through their Hiue.

Concerning them it is not apparent enough, whether they draw a moyſt ſubſtance from the Flowers, which is preſently Honey; or whether that they change thoſe things which they haue gathered with a certain mixture and proprietie of their breath, into this taſte. For ſome thinke, that not the knowledge of making Honey, but of gathering it, is vnto them. They ſay that amongſt the *Indians* Honey is found vpon the Leaues of Reedes, which eyther the dew of that Skie, or the pleaſant and more fat moyſture of the very Reed may beget. Vpon our Herbes alſo the ſame force, but leſſe maniſeſt and notable is found, which a Creature borne for this end may follow after, and gather together. Some thinke that thoſe things which they haue picked from the tender of that which is greene and flouriſhing, are not without a certaine Leauen, as I may ſo call it, whereby diuers things doe knit together into one. But that I be not led away to any other thing, then to that which is in hand, wee alſo ought to imitate Bees, and to ſeparate what things ſoeuer wee haue heaped together from diuers

diuers readings; for diſtinct things are the better remembred. And afterwards, hauing diſgeſted the whole by our ſelues, according to the care and abilitie of our vnderſtanding, to make a good broth of theſe diuers ſauces in ſuch ſort: that although it ſhall appeare whence it was taken, yet it may appeare to bee ſome other thing, then that whence it was taken: which thing we ſee Nature doth in our bodie, without any helpe of ours. The meat which we haue taken, ſo long as it abideth in qualitie, and ſwimmeth ſollid in the ſtomacke, is a burthen; but when it is changed from that which it was, then at length it paſſeth into ſtrength and bloud. The ſame let vs doe in thoſe things wherewith our wits are nouriſhed: Let vs not ſuffer thoſe things to remaine intire which we haue gathered from other Authors, for they will not be ours. Let vs concoct them, otherwiſe they will onely fill the memorie, and leaue the vnderſtanding void. Let vs faithfully aſſent vnto them, and make them ours, that one certaine thing may be made of many: as one number is made of ſeuerall ones, when one computation comprehendeth leſſer and diſagreeing ſummes. This let our minde doe: all things whereby it is holpen, let it hide: onely let it ſhew that which it hath done. Although in thee the likeneſſe of ſome one ſhall appeare, whom admiration hath more deepely faſtned in thee: I would that thou ſhoudeſt be like to him, not as an Image, but as a ſonne. An Image is a thing that is dead. What therefore? Is it not vnderſtood whoſe ſpeech thou doeſt imitate? whoſe reaſoning? whoſe ſentences? I thinke at length it cannot be vnderſtood indeed, if they be of a great man; for not in all things, which he hath drawne as examples from euerie one, hath he ſo imprinted his ſhape, that they may agree into that one thing alone. Seeſt thou not how the Quire conſiſteth of many voyces? Notwithſtanding one ſound is made of them all. One of theſe ſingeth the treble, another the baſe, and another the meane. Womens voyces are ioyned with mens, Recorders and Flutes are added vnto them: there the voyces of euerie one in ſeuerall lye hid, of all appeare. I ſpeake of muſicke as the ancient Philoſophers did. In our feaſts there are more Singers, then once were of ſpectatours vpon the Theatres. When the order of thoſe that ſing hath filled all wayes, and the Theatre is compaſſed with Trumpeters, and all kinde of Pipes and Organs ſound from a gallerie aboue, a conſonance is made of diſcords. Such would I haue our minde to be, that there be many arts therein, many precepts, examples of many ages; but conſpiring in one. How ſaiſt thou, may this be done? By continuall taking of heed; if that wee doe nothing but by the perſwaſion of reaſon: hir if thou wilt heare, ſhe will ſay vnto thee: Leaue theſe things forthwith, whereunto men doe runne; leaue riches, which are either the danger or burden of thoſe that poſſeſſe them; leaue the pleaſures of the bodie and of the mind, they mollifie and make weake; leaue ſuing for offices, it is a ſwelling, vaine, and windie thing, it hath no bound: as well carefull is it, not to ſee any body before it ſelfe, as not to ſee it ſelfe after another manner: it laboureth with enuie, and indeed with two ſorts thereof. But thou ſeeſt how wretched he is, who is enuied at, if he himſelfe enuie alſo. Beholdeſt thou thoſe houſes of mightie men, thoſe tumultuous doores with the brawling of them that doe ſalute? Much reproach muſt thou endure, that thou maieſt enter in, more when thou haſt entred in. Paſſe by theſe ſtaires of the rich, and entries hanged with heapes of ancient ſpoyles. Not onely in a craggie, but alſo in a ſlipperie place ſhalt thou there ſtand. Hither rather vnto wiſdome direct thy courſe, and ſeeke to attaine the moſt quiet, and therewithall the moſt ample thing. What things ſoeuer ſeeme

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to excell in humane affaires, although they be ſmall, and ſtand aboue in compariſon of the baſeſt things, are notwithſtanding by difficult and hard wayes gone vnto. Vnto the height of dignitie there is a broken way. But if thou wilt climbe vnto this top, whereunto fortune ſubmitteth it ſelfe, thou ſhalt behold indeed all things vnder thee, which are accounted exceeding high; but notwithſtanding thou ſhalt come vnto higheſt things by that which is plaine.

EPIST. LXXXV.

He diſalloweth Sophiſmes, and driueth them from ſerious ſtudies. He giueth certaine examples, but leadeth to profitable things; against the Ariſtotelians, that a wiſe man ought to want affections. Then, that bleſſed life ſufficeth of it ſelfe; it is one and equall, whether it be long or ſhort. Alſo, it is not leſſened by outward things, although euils and loſſes fall forth, yet a wiſe man vſeth all well. A good and wiſe Epiſtle.

I Had ſpared thee, and had ouerpaſſed whatſoeuer ſcruple as yet remained, contenting my ſelfe to giue thee ſome taſte of thoſe things which are alledged by our Stoicks, to proue that vertue alone is ſufficiently effectuall to liue well and happily. Thou willeſt mee to collect all their arguments, or that which hath bin inuented to confirme their opinion; which if I ſhould doe, in ſtead of a Letter I ſhould ſend thee a Booke. I am conſtrayned to proteſt once againe, that ſuch a manner of diſcourſe diſpleaſeth me: I am aſhamed, being armed with a bodkin, to vndertake the quarrell both of Gods and men. He that is wiſe, is temperate. He that is temperate is a conſtant man. He that is conſtant, is a true tempered man. He that is without griefe, is a bleſſed man. Therefore, he that is prudent is a bleſſed man, and prudence is ſufficient for a bleſſed life. To this collection, ſome of the Ariſtotelians anſwer after this ſort, That they may conceiue a man of true temper, and conſtant, and without griefe; who rarely and ſmally is diſturbed, not he who neuer is. They likewiſe ſay, that he is iuſtly ſaid to be without ſadneſſe, who is not ſubiect thereunto, nor is too frequent, nor too much in this fault. For that were, in their opinion, to denie the nature of man, for any one to maintaine, that the minde of ſome man ſhould be free from griefe: They grant, that a wiſe man is not ouercome with ſorrow; but ſay, he is touched therewith: Such are their allegations, and others conformable to the opinion of their Sect. They take not away the affections, but moderate them. But how little doe wee giue to a wiſe man, if he be ſtronger then the weakeſt, and merrier then the ſaddeſt, and more moderate, then the moſt vnbridled, and greater then the baſeſt be? What if *Ladas* admire her owne ſwiftneſſe, looking backe vnto thoſe that be lame and weake?

On tops of Graſſe, not preſſing them, ſhe ran,
Nor tops of ſtanding Corne, her courſe hurt can;
In midſts of Sea on waters higheſt tip,
Her running feet in water doe not dip.

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This is that ſwiftneſſe which is eſteemed of by it ſelfe, not that which is praiſed in compariſon of thoſe that be moſt ſlow. What if thou cal him, who is ſlightly ſick of an ague, a ſound man? A moderate ſicknes is not perfect health. In that ſence is a Wiſeman ſaid to be without perturbation, as we terme theſe fruits to be kernelleſt, not in which there is no hardnes of the kernels, but in which leſſe hardnes is. It is falſe: for I do not vnderſtand a diminution of euils but an exẽption in a good man: there ought to be none, not thoſe that are ſmall in him. For if there be any, they will encreaſe, and ſometimes will hinder him. As a greater and confirmed Web in the Eye cauſeth blindnes, ſo a ſmall one troubleth the ſight. If thou attribute any affections to a Wiſeman, reaſon ſhall bee vnable to maſter them, he ſhall be tranſported like a torrent: eſpecially when thou leaueſt him not one, but a whole troope of affections wherwithall he may ſtriue. A band of men that are of leſſe ſtrength can doe more then the violence of a Great. He hath couetouſneſſe, but it is meane; he hath ambition, but it is not eager; he hath anger, but it is to be appeaſed; he hath inconſtancie, but not very wandering and ſubiect to motion: he hath luſt, but not madnes. Better is it with him who hath one whole vice, then with him who hath lighter vices indeed, but yet hath all vice. Again, it importeth not, how main the affection be, how great ſoeuer it is; it knoweth not to obey, it admitteth no coũſel. As no liuing creature obeyeth reaſon, eyther wild, tame, or gentle; becauſe their nature admitteth not, is deafe to him that doth perſwade: ſo affections do not follow, they do not heare, how ſmall ſoeuer they be. Tigers and Lions neuer but ſhake off their fierceneſſe, there ſometimes they ſubmit it; and when thou ſhal leaſt expect, their mitigated frowardnes is exaſperated. Vices neuer in good earneſt doe waxe tame. But if reaſon preuaile, the affections will not inſult: if they ſhall begin againſt reaſons will, they will perſeuer againſt the will of it. For it is more eaſie to forbid the beginnings of them, then to rule their force. Therefore this mediocritie is falſe, and vnprofitable, and is to be eſteemed of in the ſame nature, as if one ſhould ſay, a man might be indifferently mad, or indifferently ſick. Vertue alone hath it; the euils of the minde doe not receiue moderation, more eaſily ſhalt thou take them away, then gouerne them. Is there any doubt, but that the inueterate and incurable vices of the ſoule, which we call diſeaſes, be without moderation; as couetouſnes, as crueltie, as vnrulineſſe, as impiety? Therefore alſo the affections are without moderation: for we paſſe from theſe into thoſe. Furthermore, if thou giue any power to ſadneſſe, to feare, to couetouſneſſe and to other bad motions, they will not be ruled by vs. Why? becauſe thoſe things be out of our power whereby they be ſtirred vp. Therefore they encreaſe, as they haue greater or leſſer cauſes, whereby they be prouoked. Greater ſhall the feare be, if there be more wherewithall it may be affrighted, or if one ſhall looke nearer thereunto; couetouſneſſe ſhall bee more cruell, when hope of a larger eſtate ſhal call it forth. If it be not in our power, to know whether affections may bee or not, neyther will it bee in our power to know, how many they may be: if thou ſuffereſt them to begin, they wil encreaſe with their cauſes, and they ſhall be as great, as they are made by thee. Adde now, that theſe, although they be but little things, grow to bee greater. Neuer doe hurtfull things keepe a meane. Although the beginnings of diſeaſes bee light, yet doe they re-enforce themſelues, and ſometimes the leaſt acceſſion drowneth a body that is already ſick. But what folly is it, to thinke that wee haue the ends of thoſe things in our power whoſe beginnings wee are incertaine of? How am I ſufficiently able to put an end vnto that, which I was vnable to hin-

der? Sith it is more eaſie to exclude, then to ſuppreſſe things admitted in. Some haue diſtinguiſhed after this manner, and ſaid: A temperate and a prudent man in the frame and habit of the mind is calme, but not in the euent thereof: for in regard of the habit of the mind he is not troubled, neither feareth, nor is ſad: but many cauſes doe outwardly fall forth, which may bring perturbation vnto him. This is as much as if they ſaid, that hee is not indeed a cholerick man, yet that he is angry at ſometime. And that he is not a fearefull man, yet that he feareth at ſome time: that is to ſay, he wanteth the vice, but not the paſſion of feare. But if we allow of this feare, with frequent vſe it becommeth a vice: and anger being admitted into the minde will diſcouer that habit of the mind that wanted anger. Furthermore, if he contemneth not thoſe cauſes which outwardly come, and feareth any thing, when that valiantly hee ought to goe againſt weapons, and fires, for his Countrey, Lawes and libertie, he wil faintly ſet forward, & cowardiſe is in his thoughts. But this diuerſitie of mind falleth not vpon a Wiſeman. That furthermore doe I iudge to be obſerued, leſt we confound two things which are ſeuerally to be proued. For by it ſelfe it is gathered, that there is one only good, namely, that which is honeſt. that by it ſelfe againe vertue is ſufficient for a happy life. If there bee but one good, namely, that which is honeſt; all then grant that vertue is ſufficient to liue well: contrarily it ſhall not be reiected, if vertue alone doe make a bleſſed man, that there is one good, that is, that which is honeſt. *Xenocrates* and *Speuſippus* doe ſuppoſe, that a man may be made happy by vertue only; and deny that that is the one only good, which is honeſt. *Epicurus* alſo iudgeth, that when one hath vertue, that he is bleſſed, yet that vertue it ſelfe is not ſufficient to a bleſſed life: becauſe that pleaſure may make a man bleſſed, which is from vertue, and is not vertue it ſelfe. A fooliſh diſtinction. For the ſame man denyeth, that vertue is at any time without pleaſure: thus if it alwayes be ioyned vnto it, and be inſeparable, it alſo is ſufficient alone. But impertinently is this ſaid, that one ſhall become happy euen by vertue alone: but ſhall not become perfectly happy thereby: which thing how it may come to paſſe, I doe not find. For a bleſſed life hath in it ſelf a perfect & incomprehenſible good: which thing if it be thus, it is perfectly a bleſſed life. If the life of the gods hath in it no more nor better thing, and a bleſſed life is a diuine life; there is nothing aboue which ſhe may be mounted higher. Furthermore, if a bleſſed life needeth not any thing, euery bleſſed life is perfect, and conſequently happie, yea moſt happie. Knoweſt thou not that a bleſſed life is the chiefeſt good? If it bee the chiefeſt good, it is exceedingly happie. As that which is the chiefeſt receiueth no augmentation (for what is aboue that which ſhall be the chiefe?) ſo is a bleſſed life defectiue in nothing which is not without the ſouereigne good. But if thou ſhalt propoſe any one who is more bleſſed, then ſhalt thou make a great many more innumerable differences of the chiefeſt good: when I vnderſtand the chiefeſt good, I ſpeake of that which hath not any degree aboue it ſelfe. If any bee leſſe bleſſed then another: it followeth, that hee will more deſire the life of that other more bleſſed, rather then his owne life: but the bleſſed man preferreth nothing before his owne life. Both theſe are incredible, eyther that there remayneth ſomething, I know not what, for a Wiſeman, which hee had rather bee, then that which is: or that rather hee ſhould not deſire that, which is better then himſelfe. Certainely, the more wiſe that a man is, the more extendeth hee himſelfe towardes that which is good, and deſireth to attayne that euerie way. But

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how is hee bleſſed, who can ſtill, yea, who ought to deſire? I will ſay what it is, from whence this errour proceedeth. They know not that bleſſed life is one. The qualitie thereof, and not the greatneſſe, placeth it in the beſt eſtate. Therefore whether ſhe be long or ſhort, broad or narrow, diſtributed into many places and parts, or gathered into one, ſhe is equall and alike. He that eſteemeth it by number, and meaſure, and parts, taketh that therefrom, which is the moſt excellent therein. But what is that which is excellent in a bleſſed life? That it is full; The end of eating and drinking, in my iudgement, is ſacietie: this man eateth more, that man leſſe. What of all this? both of them are ſatisfied. This man drinketh more, he leſſe: what difference? neither of them is athirſt. He hath liued more, he fewer yeares. There is no difference: if many yeares haue made him as wel a bleſſed man as a few yeares this man. He whom thou calleſt leſſe bleſſed, is not bleſſed: the name cannot be leſſened. He that is valiant, is without feare: he that is without feare, is without ſadneſſe: he that is without ſadneſſe is bleſſed. This is an Argument of the Stoicks. Hereunto ſome there are that endeuour to anſwere thus; that wee bring in a falſe and a controuerted, for a true thing, namely, that he who is valiant is without feare. What therefore? ſhall not a valiant man, ſaith he, feare euils hanging ouer him? This were the part of a mad man, and of one out of his wits, and not of a valiant man. He indeed, ſaith he, feareth moſt moderately, but is not altogether without feare. They who ſpeak theſe things fall againe into this abſurdity, that ſmaller vices be vnto them in the place of vertues. For he who feareth, but more ſeldome and leſſe, wanteth not folly, but his folly is the leſſe. One may reply that he cannot be ſuppoſed wiſe, who feareth not euils hanging ouer him. True it is which he ſaith, if they be euils; but if he know that they be not euils, and iudgeth diſhonеſty alone to be that which is euil, he ought ſecurely to look vpon dangers, and to contemne thoſe things which other men feare: or if it be the part of a Foole or of a mad man, to contemne dangers; by how much any one is the more wiſe, by ſo much ſhall hee feare the more. As it ſeemeth to you, ſaith he, a valiant man ſhall thruſt himſelfe into dangers. No, he ſhall not feare them, but ſhall auoyd them. Warineſſe, not feare becommeth him. What therefore? Doeſt thou ſay, that he ſhall not feare death, bands, fire, and other weapons of Fortune? No; for hee knoweth that thoſe things bee not ill, but ſeeme ſo to be: he thinketh that all theſe things bee the Bug-beares of humane life. Deſcribe captiuitie, beating, chaines, pouertie, tearing aſunder of the members, either by ſickneſſe or by iniurie: and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bring hereunto, number them amongſt imaginary feares. Theſe things are to be feared by thoſe that be feareſull. Suppoſeſt thou that to be bad, whereunto ſometimes of our owne accord we muſt come? Deſireſt thou to know what euill is? To giue place to theſe things which are called euill, and to engage our owne liberty vnto them, for which we ought to endure all ſorts of miſeries. And liberty is loſt, except we contemne thoſe things, which lay a yoke vpon vs. They would not doubt what would become a valiant man, if they knew what valour were. For it is not vnaduiſed raſhnes, nor loue of dangers, nor a deſire of fearefull things. It is a ſcience that diſtinguiſheth good from euill, it is this valor is moſt diligent in defending of it ſelfe, and endureth patiently thoſe euils which are but apparently euill. What therfore if a Sword be thruſt into the throat of a valiant man, if firſt one part and then another be pierced thorow, if he ſee his owne bowels in his owne armes, if after a ſpace (to the end that hee may feele torments the more,) hee be ſet vpon againe, and freſh bloud trickleth downe by his dryed

bowels? wilt thou ſay, that ſuch a one doth neither feare nor feele griefe? Certainly he feeleth paine, for no vertue taketh away a mans ſence; but he is not affrighted, hee beholdeth from on high, and with an inuincible heart the ſtrokes which hee receiueth. Askeſt thou me what courage hee hath at that time? The ſame which they haue who exhort their ſick friend. That which is euil hurteth, that which hurteth maketh worſe. Dolour and pouertie make not worſe, therefore they are not bad. Falſe is it, ſaith he, which is propounded; for if any thing hurt, it doth not alſo make worſe. A tempeſt and ſtorme do hurt a Pilot, but notwithſtanding they make him not worſe. Certaine Stoicks doe thus anſwer againſt this, That a Pilot is made worſe by a tempeſt and by a ſtorme, becauſe that thing which hee had purpoſed hee cannot effect, nor keepe on his courſe. Worſe is he made, not in his skill, but in his work. To whom the *Ariſtotelian:* Therefore, ſaith he, pouertie and dolour, and whatſoeuer ſuch like thing there ſhall be, ſhall not take vertue from him, but ſhall hinder his performance. This were rightly ſaid, except the condition of a Pilot & of a Wiſeman were vnlike. For the purpoſe of him is in leading his life, not to effect that infallibly which he aſſayeth to do, but to do all things aright. The purpoſe of the Pilot is, to bring his ſhip into the Hauen. Arts are but Miniſters, they ought to performe that which they promiſe. Wiſdome is a Miſtris and Gouerneſſe. Arts attend life, Wiſdome gouerneth it. For mine owne part, I would anſwer otherwiſe, namely, that neither the skill of the Gouernour is made worſe by any tempeſt, nor yet the very adminiſtration of Art. The Gouernour hath not promiſed proſperous ſucceſſe vnto thee, but his profitable endeuour, and skill to gouerne the ſhip. This appeareth the more, by how much the more ſome force of fortune hath hindred him. He that hath beene able to ſay this, O *Neptune*, this ſhip was neuer but right, hath ſatisfied skill. A tempeſt hindereth not the worke of a Pilot, but the ſucceſſe. What therefore ſayeſt thou? Doth not that thing hurt a Pilot, which hindereth him from entring the Port? which cauſeth his endeuours to be vaine? which either beareth him backe, or detaineth and diſarmeth him? It hurteth him not as Pilot, but as one that doth ſayle. Otherwiſe it doth not ſo much hinder, as ſhew the Pilots skill. For euery one can, as they ſay, be a Pilot in the calme. Theſe things hinder the ſhip; not a Pilot, as he is a Pilot. Two perſons a Pilot hath; the one common with all who haue gone aboard the ſame ſhip, wherein he himſelfe alſo is a paſſenger; the other proper, as hee is a Gouernour. The tempeſt hurteth him as hee is a paſſenger, not as a Pilot. Furthermore the art of a Pilot is anothers good, it appertayneth to thoſe whom he carryeth: as the art of a Phyſitian appertayneth to thoſe whom he doth cure. Wiſdome is a common good, and is proper to it ſelfe, and thoſe with whom the Wiſeman liueth. Therefore peraduenture a Pilot is hurt, whoſe promiſed ſeruice to others is let by a tempeſt. A Wiſeman is not hurt by pouertie, nor by dolour, nor by other tempeſts of life. For no man can hinder any one of theſe actions which are proper vnto him; he is alwayes himſelfe indeed, and then greateſt of all, when Fortune hath oppoſed her ſelfe vnto him, then manageth he the buſineſſe of Wiſdome it ſelfe: which Wiſdome we haue ſaid to be both anothers and his owne good. Furthermore, he is not then hindered to profit other men, when ſome neceſſities doe preſſe him. Through pouertie he is hindred to teach how a Commonwealth may be managed: but he teacheth other men this thing, how pouertie is to be managed. His work is extended al his life long. Thus no incõmodity or thing whatſoeuer excludeth the acts of a wiſeman. For he doth not that very thing, wherby he is forbiddẽ to do

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other things. He is fit for both chances: a Gouernor of the bad, an ouercõmer of the good. So I ſay, hath he exerciſed himſelfe, that he ſheweth vertue as well in proſperous as in aduerſe affaires, neither looketh hee vpon the matter thereof, but vpon it ſelfe. Therefore neither pouertie, nor dolour, nor any other thing, which turneth backe the vnskilfull, and driueth them head-long, hindereth them. Haſt thou rather he ſhould be preſſed? He maketh vſe of it. Not only of Iuorie did *Phidias* know how to make Images: he made them of Braſſe. If marble were vnto him, if thou hadſt offered baſer matter, he would haue made ſuch an one thereof, as could bee made of that which was the beſt: So a Wiſeman will ſhew vertue, if he may, in wealth; if not, in pouertie: if hee ſhall bee able, in his Countrey; if not, in Baniſhment: if he can, being a Commander; if not, being a Souldier: if hee can, being ſound; if not, beeing weake: what fortune ſoeuer hee ſhall entertaine, hee will performe ſome memorable thing thereby. Certaine tamers there be of wild beaſts, who teach the fierceſt creatures, (and which terrifie a man when they meet him,) to ſuffer the yoke: and not contenting themſelues to haue deſpoyled them of their naturall crueltie, they ſo tame them that they make them ſociable. The Maſter vſeth often to thruſt out his hand to Lions; they kiſſe it. The Keeper commandeth his Tiger; the *Æthiopian* Player commandeth his Elephant to fall vpon their knees, and to walke vpon a Rope: ſo a Wiſeman is skilfull to ſubdue euill things. Dolour, Pouerty, Ignominy, Priſon, Baniſhment, when they come vnto him, are made tame.

Epist. LXXXVI.

Of the Countrey-houſe of Africanvs, *of his Building and Bath, which was neyther garniſhed nor neat. Againſt the Ryot of his time. Laſt of all, of ſetting Oliues, through occaſion of a Countrey-houſe.*

LYing in the very Towne of *Scipio Africanus*, I write theſe things vnto thee, hauing adored the ſpirit of him, and the Altar, which I ſuppoſe to be the Sepulcher of ſo great a man: his ſoule I perſwade my ſelfe that it returned into Heauen, whence it was: not becauſe he ledde great Armies (for this alſo furious *Cambyſes* did, and proſperouſly vſed furie) but for his great moderation and pietie, more admirable in him when hee left his Countrey, then when hee defended it. Eyther *Scipio* muſt be depriued of *Rome*, or *Rome* of libertie. *Nothing*, ſayth hee, *will I derogate from Lawes, nothing from Decrees. Amongſt all Citizens let there be an equall right. O my Countrey, vſe the benefit of me without mee. I haue bin the cauſe, I will alſo be an argument of libertie vnto thee: I depart, if I haue increaſed more then is expedient for me.* How can I chuſe but admire this greatneſſe of mind? He departed into voluntary Baniſhment, and diſburthened the Citie. The matter was brought vnto that paſſe, that either libertie ſhould doe iniurie to *Scipio*, or *Scipio* to libertie. Neither was lawfull to bee done. Therefore he gaue place to the Lawes, and betooke himſelfe to Liternum, as willing to impute the Baniſhment of himſelfe as of *Hannibal*, to the Common-wealth. I ſaw that Towne builded of foure-ſquare ſtone, a Wall compaſſing about a Wood, Towers alſo ſet vnder both ſides of the Towne for a defence: A Ciſtern layd vnder the Buildings and greene places, which was able to ſerue euen an Armie of men: A little narrow Bath, ſome-what darke, as the old faſhion was.

It ſeemed none was warmed for our Anceſtors, except it were obſcure. Great pleaſure entred into me, beholding the manners of *Scipio*, and of vs. In this corner, that horrour of *Carthage*, to whom *Rome* is obliged, that it was taken but once, waſhed his body, wearied with the labours of the Countrey: for hee exerciſed himſelfe in worke, and he himſelfe tilled the Earth, as the faſhion of the Ancients was. Hee ſtood vnder this ſo baſe a roofe, this ſo meane a floore ſuſtayned him. But what man is he in theſe dayes that can endure to be bathed thus? Poore and baſe ſeemeth hee to himſelfe, except the walles haue ſhined with great and precious rounds, except *Alexandrian* Marbles be diſtinguiſhed with *Numidian* Roofe-caſt; except all about vpon them, a curious varied Playſtering be layed like a Picture that is drawne, except the Chamber be couered ouer with Glaſſe, except ſtone of the Ile *Thaſſus*, once a rare gazing ſtocke in ſome Temple, haue compaſſed about our Ponds, where we goe and bathe our bodies enfeebled with too much ſwet; except the water of our Fountaines run thorow Pipes of ſiluer. I ſpeake as yet but of the common ſtoues, but what ſhal I ſay, when I ſhall come to the Bathes of free men? how great Pictures, how great Pillars holding nothing vp, but placed for ornament ſake and oſtentation of expence, how many Fountaines whoſe waters fall & flow by degrees to the end to make the noiſe more pleaſant? So farre are we drowned in delights, that we will not tread but vpon precious Stones. In this Bathe of *Scipio*, there bee verie ſmall chinkes, rather then windowes, cut out in the ſtone wall, that without hurt of the fence, they ſhould let the light in. But now are they called the Bathes of Gnats, if any bee not framed ſo, as to receiue with moſt large windowes the Sunne all the day long; except they bee bathed and perfumed both at one time, except from their Bed they diſcouer both Land and Sea. Thoſe therefore which had concourſe to them, and admiration at them when they were firſt dedicated, theſe are reiected into the number of the old, becauſe diſſolution hath deuiſed ſome new thing, wherewithal it might ouerthrow it ſelfe. But in old time there were few Bathes, neither were they adorned with any ornament. For why ſhould a place whereinto a man might enter for a farthing be embeliſhed, which was made for a man to bathe himſelfe in, and not to giue him pleaſure? Water was not ſtill powred in, neither alwayes as from a warme fountaine did it runne freſh: neither beleeued they that it any wayes concerned them how cleare the Veſſels were in which they clenſed them. But, O the good gods, how delighted it to enter into Bathes ſomewhat darke, and couered with ſeeling of the common ſort, which thou diddeſt know, that *Cato*, when he was ouer-ſeer of the buildings, or elſe *Fabius Maximus*, or ſome of the *Cornelij* had tempered with their owne hand? For theſe magnificent *Ædiles* vouchſafed to take the pain to enter into theſe places, which were haunted by the people, to ſee they ſhould be clenly, that they ſhould be proper and wel ayred; not after the preſent faſhion, where a ſtone is changed into a burning furnace, ſo that to puniſh a ſlaue which is conuicted of any hainous crime, it ſufficeth to bathe him naked in ſuch Stoues. At this day there is no difference, as I deeme, betwixt a hot and a burning Bath. How many are they at this day that condemne *Scipio*, and repute him ouer-ruſtick, becauſe hee had not made the windowes of his Stoue large enough to admit the day, becauſe hee ſod not himſelfe in open ſight, and expected to make his concoction in his Bath? Behold, ſay they, a miſerable man! he knoweth not how to liue; he was not waſhed in faire, but oftentimes in troubled water, and almoſt muddie, when more vehemently it did raine. Neither much cared he, whether hee were waſhed

ſhed ſo, for he came to waſh away ſweat, and not to waſh away oyntment therewith. What thinkeſt thou will ſome of the wantons of this time ſay? I ennie not *Scipio*, he truely liued in baniſhment, who was waſhed thus; yea if thou wilt know it, he was not waſhed euerie day. For, as they ſay, who haue written of the ancient cuſtomes of the Cittie men in times paſt, they waſhed armes and legges euerie day, to cleanſe away that filth they had gathered by trauaile. Then waſhed they their whole bodie euerie nine daies. In this place, ſome one will ſay, that it is apparent, that in thoſe dayes they were verie ſlouens; Now, ſince theſe neat and new bathes are found out, are they any whit the purer? What thinkeſt thou they ſmelled of? Of warre, of labour, of playing the men. What ſaith *Horatius Flaccus*, intending to deſcribe an infamous man, and one notorious for too many delights?

Of Pomander doth RVFILLVS *ſmell*——

As if he would ſay, *Rufillus* is a ſtinking fellow, he ſmelleth like a Goat, as *Gorgonius* doth, who is coupled with him in theſe Verſes. It is a ſmall matter at this day to be perfumed, except it be renewed twice or thrice in the day, leſt it vaniſh in the bodie. And that which is more, ſome glorie in their ſauours, as if they came from themſelues. If this diſcourſe ſeeme diſpleaſing vnto thee, thou ſhalt impute it to *Scipio's* Country-houſe; wherein I learned from *Ægialus*, a moſt diligent Huſband (for he now is the poſſeſſor of this ground) that a ſhrubbe, although it be old, may be tranſlated into another place. This is neceſſarie for vs to learne, who are old men, ſince there are none of vs but planteth an Orchard of Oliues for another man. That which I haue ſeene, I ſpeake; namely, that a yong plant of three or foure yeares old hath beene remoued to another ſoyle in Autumne, becauſe his fruits were diſpleaſing. This ſlow Tree which ſhall giue ſhadow to the children of thy children, ſhall bring forth ſufficient leaues to couer thee: which

Hath beene ſlow to make a ſhade before,
To young nephewes and thoſe that were vnbore:

As our *Virgil* ſaith, who reſpected not what might be ſpoken moſt truely, but moſt ſeemely: neither deſired he to teach Huſbandmen, but to delight thoſe that reade. For (to paſſe by other things) I will adde hereunto that, which is needfull to reprehend at this day:

In Spring, be Beanes and dunged Lymons ſet,
And Millet doth a new yeares care beget.

Thou maiſt know by that which I intend to ſay, whether we ought to ſow theſe three graines at one and the ſame ſeaſon, or whether in the Spring or no. The preſent letters I now write vnto thee are about the end of *Iune*. In the ſame day I ſaw ſome gathering Beanes, and ſowing Millet. I returne to the Orchard of Oliues, which I ſaw diſpoſed after two ſorts. *Ægialus* hauing digged away the earth from the trunkes of great trees, cutting away the branches a foot diſtant from the trunke, hath tranſplanted them with their remainder, after he had cut off the rootes almoſt neere vnto that head from whence they ſprung. Then encompaſſing this head with good dung, he put it

it into a trench ſufficiently deepe, and contented not himſelfe to fill it vp with earth, but he preſſed and troad it downe with his feete, affirming, that there is nothing more effectuall then this ramming it in, becauſe it excludeth both the cold and winde. Furthermore, the rootes are no waies ſhaken, and for that cauſe ſuffereth the growing roots to burgen and faſten in the earth, which would be looſened and rooted vp by a ſlight agitation, becauſe as yet they are tender, and haue but ſlight hold. But before he couereth the trunke, he ſcrapeth it round about; and his reaſon is, becauſe that from euerie trench which is laied bare and ſcraped, the new rootes doe ſprout out more eaſily. The ſtocke of the Tree ought not bee out of the earth more then three or foure foote high, for incontinently it will be garniſhed from below, neyther ſhall the moſt part thereof be dryed and burned, as it falleth out in thoſe Orchards where Oliues grow. Moreouer, he vſeth another kind of planting, in taking ſufficiently bigge branches, and ſuch as had a tender barke, and thoſe of the younger trees, and huſbanded them after the former manner. Theſe plants encreaſe not ſo quickly, but when they are a little forward, and haue taken roote, they are faire and pleaſant. I haue likewiſe now ſeene this, an old Vine tranſplanted from her ſtocke. They bind vp as conueniently as they can, the ſprouts or ſyens of the ſame; then couch they the ſtocke in the earth gently, and at large, to the end it may caſt forth rootes from his bodie. I ſaw them not onely planted in Februarie, but in the moneth of March which is paſt, which began to ſpread their branches, and to twiſt themſelues about the neighbouring trees. But all theſe trees (as he ſaith) which are of great couert, ſhould be watered with Ceſterne water, which being profitable, is eaſie to be recouered by the meanes of raines. I thinke it not meete to teach thee any further, leſt euen as our *Ægialus* hath made me to emulate his induſtrie, ſo likewiſe I ſhould faſhion thee to emulate mee.

Epist. LXXXVII.

The frugalitie of Seneca, *and contempt of externall things: An admonition vnto others, that their wils and deedes might be ſuch. Then follow ſmall diſputations, wherein he approoueth, that caſuall things are not amongſt thoſe that be good: onely that they may be called Commodities.*

I Haue ſuffered ſhipwracke, before I haue gone aboord: I tell not how this came to paſſe, leſt this alſo in thy iudgement ſhould be numbred amongſt the Stoicall paradoxes: of which, I will approue when thou wilt, yea if thou wilt not, that each of them is true, nor ſo wonderfull, as they appeare to be at the firſt ſight. In the meane ſpace, this iourney I haue made, hath inſtructed me, how many ſuperfluous goods we haue, and how eaſily with ſetled iudgement we might contemne them; which if at any time neceſſitie hath taken away, we feele them not to be taken away. With a verie few ſeruants, whom one Chariot could containe, without any ſtuffe, ſaue that which was carried vpon our backes, I and my *Maximus* haue now ledde theſe two dayes a happy life. A mattereſſe lyeth vpon the ground, I vpon the mattereſſe. Of two cloakes, the one is a blanket to lye vpon, the other is made a couer-lid. Concerning my dinner, nothing is ſuperfluous therein, it hath been made readie without cookery;

neuer

neuer without drie figges, neuer without Cakes. If I haue bread, the figges ſerue me for my dinner. If not, I eate them in ſtead of bread; this entertainement maketh me a New yeare of euery day, which I make proſperous and bleſſed by thoughts that be good, and by greatneſſe of the minde: which neuer is greater, then when it hath ſeparated forraine things: and by fearing of nothing, hath got peace vnto it ſelfe; and by coueting of nothing, hath got wealth vnto it ſelfe. The Chariot wherein I ride, is a homely one. The Mules teſtifie that they liue by going onely. The Muleter is vnſhod, but not for heat: I ſcarce obtaine of my ſelfe, that I would haue this Chariot to be ſuppoſed mine. A peruerſe ſhamefaſtneſſe of that which is right abideth as yet: ſo often as we doe fall into ſome brauer company, I bluſh againſt my will; which is an argument, that theſe things which I approue, and praiſe, haue not as yet a certaine and vnmoueable reſidence. He that bluſheth at a baſe Coach, glorieth at a precious one. Little haue I profited as yet, I dare not publiſh frugalitie, yea now doe I care for the opinions of thoſe that paſſe by. But I muſt exclaime againſt the opinions of all mankinde: you play the fooles, you erre, you admire ſuperfluous things, you eſteeme no man according to his worth. When yee come to debate on your patrimonie, yee are moſt diligent reckoners. You conſider exactly to whom you ought to lend, and to whom you ought to giue. For theſe alſo doe ye account amongſt your expences. You will ſay, ſuch an one poſſeſſeth a great deale, but that he oweth much: ſuch another hath a faire houſe, but it is builded with other mens money: no man on the ſudden can ſhew a more gallant Familie then this man, but he payeth not his debts. For if he ſhall pay his creditors, he ſhould haue nothing left him. The ſame ſhould you doe in other things, and examine how much proper goods euerie man hath. Thou ſuppoſeſt ſuch a one to be a rich man, becauſe golden houſhold-ſtuffe followeth him vpon the way, becauſe he tilleth grounds in all Prouinces, becauſe a great booke of his accounts is rolled vp, becauſe he poſſeſſeth ſo much ground in the Suburbes, as with enuie he ſhould poſſeſſe in the deſerts of *Apulia*: and when thou haſt ſaid all, he is a poore man: Wherefore? Becauſe he is in debt. How much, ſaiſt thou? All that he hath, except peraduenture thou thinkeſt that there is a difference, whether that one hath borrowed of a man, or of Fortune. To what end ſerue theſe fatted Mules, all of one colour? Or theſe carued Coaches?

Tapeſtrie, Scarlet, Foot-clothes Horſes bore,
And long Gold poitrels on their breaſts before?
Couered with Gold, they champe a yellow bit,
And with their teeth the Gold they chew of it.

Theſe things can make neither a better Maſter nor Mule. *Marcus Cato* the Cenſor (whoſe birth was as truely profitable to the people of Rome, as *Scipio's* was; for the one made warre with our enemies, the other with the manners of the time) was mounted on a Gelding, and had a cloake-bagge behind him, wherein he carried his neceſſarie ſtuffe. O how willingly would I, that ſome of theſe rich Caualiers might meet with him, hauing foot-men and *Numidians*, and a great deale of duſt before him. Vndoubtedly ſuch a one would ſeeme richer and better attended then *Cato* was: But this braue gallant, who is ſo richly mounted, in the middeſt of his triumphs, ſcarcely knoweth whether he ſhould praiſe himſelfe for a Fencer, or a killer of beaſts. O how great a dignitie was it to that age, that an Emperor, who had triumphed, who had bin Cenſor,

for, and which is aboue all, that *Cato* ſhould be contented with one horſe, nay certainely not with a whole horſe; for his fardell hanging downe on both ſides, poſſeſſed part of him. Wouldeſt thou not preferre this Gelding which *Cato* curryed and rubbed with his owne hands, before all the well-fed ambling nagges, before theſe great and eaſie going horſes? I ſhould neuer ſee an end of this diſcourſe, except I ended it my ſelfe. Here therefore will I hold my peace, as concerning theſe things: which without doubt he fore-ſaw they would be ſuch, as now they be, who firſt called them impediments. Now further will I relate a verie few Interrogations of our men, pertayning to vertue, which we maintaine to be ſufficient for a bleſſed life. That which is good, maketh men to be good. For example ſake, in Muſicke-skill, that which is good, maketh a good Muſitian. Caſuall goods make not a man good, therefore they be not good. Hereunto the Peripatitiques anſwer, in ſuch ſort, as they repute that to be falſe which formerly we haue propoſed: certaine it is, that whatſouer is good, maketh not men alwaies good. In Muſicke, there is ſomething that is good, as a Pipe, an Harpe-ſtring, or ſome inſtrument fitted for the vſe of ſinging: notwithſtanding there is not any of theſe things that maketh a Muſitian. Hereunto will we anſwer them; You vnderſtand not how we conceiue that which is good to a Muſitian: for we doe not ſpeake of that which inſtructeth, but of that which maketh a Muſitian: Thou conſidereſt the inſtruments that belong to that profeſſion, and not the profeſſion or ſcience it ſelfe. But if there be any thing which is good in muſicke skill, that certainely will make a Muſitian ſo to be. I will as yet once more explaine this: That which is good in muſicke-skill, is ſaid ſo to be ſo after two manner of waies; the one, whereby muſicall effects, the other, whereby Art is holpen. The inſtruments of the Pipe, and Organs, and Harpe-ſtrings do appertaine to the effect, but they doe not appertaine to the Art it ſelfe; for he is skilfull without theſe, but cannot peraduenture without them vſe his skill. The good which is in a man, is not conceiued in the ſame manner; for both that good which is in him, and in his life, is the ſame good. That is not good which can befall euery moſt baſe and diſhoneſt man: but riches befall both to the Bawde and Fencer, and therefore they are not good. That which is propounded, ſay they, is falſe; for both in Grammer, and in the Art of Phyſicke and of gouerning, we ſee that goods doe befall euerie one of the baſeſt ſort. But theſe Arts profeſſe not a greatneſſe of the mind, they riſe not aloft, neither diſdaine they ſuch things as come by chance. Vertue extolleth a man, and placeth him aboue thoſe which are deere to mortall wights: neyther doth he too much deſire or feare thoſe things that are called good or bad. *Chelidon*, one of thoſe effeminate Eunuchs which attended *Cleopatra*, poſſeſſed a great Patrimonie. It is not long ſince, that *Natalis*, a man of as wicked and foule language as euer the earth bare, was both the heire of much, and left many heires. What therfore? did mony make him impure, or did not he himſelfe pollute money? which falleth vpon ſome men in ſuch ſort, as a piece of money falleth into the vault. Vertue is ſeated aboue theſe things: ſhe is prized according to her owne worth, ſhe iudgeth none of theſe things to be good, howſoeuer they fall vnto vs. Phyſicke and gouernement neither forbid themſelues, nor any of theirs, to admire ſuch things. He that is not a good man, may neuertheleſſe be a Phyſitian, may be a Gouernour, may be a Grammarian, forſooth, as well as a Cooke. Thou canſt not ſay, that a man is all, who hath not the fortune to haue all. What things euerie one hath, ſuch a manner

of

of man he is. A publique Treaſurer is great, according to the buſineſſe that he hath, and that likewiſe which he hath, is but acceſſorie to him. Who ſetteth any price vpon a full bagge, except the ſumme of the money put therein hath cauſed him? The ſame befalleth the rich, and ſuch as haue great patrimonies; their goods are but acceſſories and additions. Why therefore is a wiſeman great? Becauſe he hath a great minde. True therefore it is, that that is not good, which befalleth vnto euerie moſt baſe man. Therefore will I neuer ſay, that the want of ſorrow is a good thing, a Graſhopper hath that, a Gnat hath that. Nor indeed will I ſay, that quietneſſe, and to want trouble is a good thing. What is more idle then a Worme? Seekeſt thou what maketh a man wiſe, what maketh him a God? It is meet that thou giue him ſome diuine, ſome heauenly, ſome magnificent thing. Good falleth not vpon all, neither endureth it euerie poſſeſſor. See thou,

What euerie Land will beare, or will not haue;
This Corne, that Grapes, more happily doth craue.
Some-where yong trees doe ſprout, and Graſſe amaine:
Of Saffron ſmels, hill Tmolus is the vaine.
Doth not th' Indian clime ſend Iu'ry out;
of Sabais ſoft is not their incenſe bought?
From naked Chalybes is Iron brought.

Theſe commodities haue beene diſtributed into certaine ſeuerall countries, to the end that men ſhould be conſtrayned to traffique together, where the one ſhould haue need of the thing which the other poſſeſſed. That chiefeſt good it ſelfe hath alſo his ſeate: it ſpringeth not where Iuorie or Iron doth. Seekeſt thou what is the place of the chiefeſt good? It is the minde: This except it be pure and holy, entertaineth not God. Good is not made of that which is bad; but riches proceed from couetouſneſſe; therefore they be not good. It is not true, ſaith he, that good ſpringeth of that which is bad. From ſacriledge and from theft doth money come: therefore ſacriledge and theft are bad indeed: but therefore bad, becauſe it doth more euill then good. For it giueth gaine, but with feare, with care, with torments both of bodie and of minde. Whoſoeuer ſpeaketh this, it is needfull that he admit, that as ſacriledge is bad, becauſe it doth many bad things, ſo alſo that it is good in ſome ſort, becauſe it doth ſome good: Can a man inferre an opinion more monſtrous then this is, who placeth ſacriledge, theft, and adulterie, in the ranke of good things? I am aſſured, no. How many bluſh not at theft? how many boaſt of adulterie? for ſmall ſacriledges are puniſhed, great ones are carried in triumph. Adde now that ſacriledge, if altogether it be good in any ſort, ſhall alſo be honeſt, and ſhall be ſaid to be well done: for the action is ours, which thing the thought of no man receiueth; therefore good things cannot come of thoſe that be bad. For if, as yee ſay, for this one thing ſacriledge is bad, becauſe it bringeth much euill: if thou ſhalt remit puniſhments to it, if thou ſhalt promiſe ſecuritie, altogether it ſhall be good. But the greateſt puniſhment of heinous deeds is in themſelues. Thou erreſt, I ſay, if thou put them off to the Hang-man, and to the Iayle: preſently are they puniſhed, when they are done, yea whileſt they are in doing them. Therefore good ſpringeth not from that which is bad, no more then a Figge from an Oliue Tree. Both the Hearbe, the Leafe, and the Fruit, reſemble their Seed. That which is good

good cannot degenerate; euen as, villanie engendreth not puritie, ſo euill likewiſe produceth not good; for that which is pure and good, is one and the ſame thing. Some of the Stoicks anſwer thus hereunto. Suppoſe that mony be good whence ſoeuer it commeth, it followeth not therefore that it hath ſacriledge in it, although it be gotten and taken from ſacriledge. Thus vnderſtand this. In the ſame pitcher there is both Gold and a Viper. If thou ſhalt take the gold out of the pitcher, becauſe there alſo a Viper is, not therefore doth the pitcher giue gold vnto me, becauſe it containeth a Viper, but it giueth Gold, although it haue a Viper. After the ſame ſort, gaine is made from ſacriledge, not as ſacriledge is diſhoneſt and wicked, but as it hath gaine; euen as in that pitcher a Viper is bad, not the gold which lyeth with the Viper: ſo in ſacriledge the heinous deed is bad, but not the gaine. To this, ſome anſwer, that the condition of both theſe things is moſt vnlike: There can I take away Gold without the Viper: Here I cannot make gaine without ſacriledge: This gaine is not added to, but is mingled with a thing, in purchaſe of which we fall into many miſchiefes, the ſacriledge ſhould not be called good: In labouring to gather riches, we fal into diuers euils: whereunto ſome reply, therfore riches are not good: Your propoſition hath two ſignifications, the firſt whereof is this, that whileſt we will obtaine riches, wee fall into many bad things: but into many bad things doe we fall, whilſt alſo we would obtaine vertue. Some one whilſt he hath ſailed to ſtudie, hath ſuffered ſhipwracke; another hath beene taken. The ſecond ſence is, that that thing is not good: but it is badly concluded to ſay, that by riches or pleaſures we fall into euils, or that, if by the meanes of riches wee encounter with many miſeries, that riches are not onely not good, but be bad. But yee onely ſay, that they be not that which is good. Furthermore, ſaith he, ye grant that riches haue ſome vſe, and amongſt commodities doe ye number them. But by the ſame reaſon they ſhal not be a profit indeed: for by them many diſcommodities come to vs. Some men anſwer thus vnto theſe things: Ye erre, who impute diſcommodities vnto riches. They hurt no man, euerie man is preiudiced either by his own folly, or the wickedneſſe of other men: no more then a ſword doth, which killeth no man, yet is the inſtrument of him that doth kill. Riches therefore doe not hurt thee, if for riches there be hurt vnto thee. *Poſidonius* ſpeaketh better, as I ſuppoſe, who ſaith, That riches are the cauſe of euill things, not becauſe themſelues can doe any thing, but becauſe they prouoke thoſe that will doe. For there is no efficient cauſe, which of neceſſitie forthwith muſt hurt: another, is a precedent cauſe, riches haue in them this precedent cauſe. They puffe vp the minde, bring forth pride, procure enuie, and ſo farre forth eſtrange the mind, that the ſame of money, yea that which will hurt, delighteth vs. But good things ought to want all manner of blame: they be pure, they doe not corrupt, nor ſolicite the minde: they lift vp indeed and dilate, but without ſwelling. Thoſe things that be good, cauſe confidence, riches cauſe boldneſſe. Thoſe things that are good, cauſe magnanimitie; riches, inſolencie. But inſolencie is nothing elſe, then a falſe apparence of magnanimitie. After this ſort, ſayeſt thou, riches are not onely not that which is good, but alſo that which is bad. They were a bad thing, if by themſelues they ſhould hurt; if (as I haue ſaid) they had an efficient cauſe: now they haue a precedent cauſe, and indeed not onely ſuch a one that prouoketh, but draweth mens minds thereunto. For they ſhew forth a verie likely ſhape of that which is good, which many men credibly beleeue for to be a thing truly good.

Ver-

Vertue alſo hath a precedent cauſe vnto enuy, for many through wiſdome, many through iuſtice are enuied at: but neither from it ſelfe hath it this cauſe, nor any like vnto it. For contrarily, that more likely ſhape is by vertue ſet before the mindes of men, which may call them vnto loue and admiration thereof. *Poſidonius* ſaith, that we muſt reaſon thus: What things giue neither greatneſſe, nor confidence, nor ſecuritie to the minde, are not good: but riches, and good health, and things like vnto theſe, cauſe none of theſe things; therefore they are not good: He amplifieth this argument once more after this manner. Thoſe things be bad which giue neither greatnes, nor confidence, nor ſecuritie to the mind; but contrarily beget inſolencie, pride, and arrogancie in vs, they are euill: but by caſuall things, we are enforced into theſe vices; therefore they are not good. By this reaſon, ſaith he, they ſhall not be commodities indeed. There is one condition of commodities, another of good things. A commoditie is that which hath more vſe, then trouble: a good thing ought to be ſincere and without hurt on euerie part. That is not good which profiteth more, but that which cannot but profit. Wherefore, commoditie pertaineth both to beaſts, and to vnperfect men, and to fooles. Therefore diſcommodity may be mixed therewith: but it is called commoditie, being eſteemed by the greater part thereof. That which is good, appertaineth to a wiſe-man alone, and ought to be inuiolate. Be of good courage: there remaineth but one difficultie for thee to decide, but ſuch a one as may hardly be determined. Good proceedeth not from bad things, Riches are deriued from many pouerties, therefore are they not good. The *Ariſtotelians*, both forme the Argument, and anſwer the ſame. But *Poſidonius* ſaith, that this Sophiſme is toſſed through all the Logicians Schooles, and by *Antipater* is refelled thus. Pouerty is not called according to a putting to, but according to a taking from, or (as the Ancients haue ſaid) by priuation: the Grecians ſay, κατὰ στέρησιν: not becauſe it hath, is it ſo called, but becauſe it hath not. Therefore by many void things nothing can be filled: many things, and not much want, are the cauſe of riches. Thou vnderſtandeſt pouerty, in an other ſenſe then thou oughteſt to doe. That is not pouertie which poſſeſſeth a little, but that which poſſeſſeth not much. She taketh not therefore her denomination from that which ſhe hath, but from that which ſhe wanteth. More eaſily would I expreſſe that which I meane, if there were a Latine word, whereby ἀπορία is ſignified. *Antipater* aſſigneth this to pouertie. I ſee not what other thing pouertie may be, then poſſeſſion of a ſmal thing. As touching this point, according to our leiſure and opportunitie, wee will conclude together, what the ſubſtance of riches, what the ſubſtance of pouertie may be: but then alſo will we conſider, whether it were better to aſſwage pouertie, to take loftie lookes from riches, then to ſtriue concerning words, as though alreadie we had iudged of the things. Let vs ſuppoſe that we are called to a Parliament. A Law is propounded for the aboliſhing of riches: by theſe reaſons ſhall we perſwade or diſſwade? By theſe, ſhall we cauſe the people of *Rome* to require, and to praiſe pouertie, the foundation and cauſe of their Empire? and to feare their wealth? to think how they haue found theſe amongſt the conquered? that hence ambition, and briberie, and tumults haue broken into a moſt holy and a moſt temperate Citie? That too diſſolutely the ſpoiles of the Nations are ſhewed out? That it is more eaſie for all Nations to take from one people, which one people hath taken from all. It is better to perſwade theſe things, & to fight againſt the affections, not to circumſcribe. If it be poſſible, let vs ſpeake more valiantly; if not, more openly.

Epist. LXXXVIII.

Liberall ſtudies are not amongſt good things, neither doe they of themſelues leade to vertue. Seuerally teacheth he this in Grammer, in Muſicke, in Geometrie, in Aſtronomie. But although they doe not leade, yet they helpe: that is, they further and prepare. Then there is another diuiſion of Arts, into Vulgar, Sporting, Childiſh, Liberall: and amongſt theſe, he maketh Philoſophie to be onely that, which truely maketh free. Yea it alone ſearcheth forth concerning Good and Bad things, it alone knoweth them; it therefore alone, or chiefely is to be embraced: and ſheweth how vnprofitable and ſuperfluous things Great Readers follow after, yea ſome Philoſophers too. O good, O golden things be here! Reade ye both yong and olde.

THou deſireſt to know my opinion as touching the liberal ſtudies. I admire none, I ranke no man amongſt the number of thoſe that be good, whoſe end and aime is for gaine. Theſe are onely Artificers to procure gaine, ſo farre profitable, as they prepare, but detaine not the ſpirit. For ſo long muſt we abide in them, as the mind can performe no greater thing; they be our rudiments, not our actions. Thou ſeeſt wherefore they be called liberall ſtudies, becauſe they be worthie of a free man. But there is one ſtudie which is liberall indeed, which maketh a free man; and this is wiſdome, high, valiant, magnanimous; the other be prettie and childiſh things. Beleeueſt thou that there is any good in thoſe ſciences? the profeſſors wherof thou ſeeſt to be the moſt diſhoneſt, and the moſt wicked of all men? We ought not to learne, but to forget theſe things. Some haue iudged that a queſtion may be made, concerning liberall ſtudies, Whether they could make a man good. They promiſe it not indeed, neither doe they affect the knowledge of ſuch a thing. A Grammarian ſtudieth how to ſpeake well, and if he pretendeth to wade any further, it is about Hiſtories, the largeſt ſcope he hath is poeſie. What is there in all theſe maketh the way to vertue? Is it the vnfolding of Syllables, and diligence of words, and memorie of fables, and the law and ſcanning of Verſes? Which of theſe taketh away feare, tameth our couetouſneſſe, refraineth luſt? Let vs paſſe to Geometrie, and to muſicke. Thou ſhalt find nothing in theſe, which forbideth to feare, forbiddeth to couet: whoſoeuer is ignorant hereof, in vaine he knoweth other things. Let vs ſee whether theſe profeſſors aboue mentioned, teach vertue, or not; if they do not teach, they deliuer it not indeed: if they doe teach, they be Philoſophers. Wilt thou know, how farre their doctrine is from teaching vertue? Conſider how different their ſtudies are the one from the other, but there would be agreement with them, if they taught one and the ſame thing. Except peraduenture they perſwade thee, that *Homer* was a Philoſopher, although they denie the ſame by the verie ſame arguments that they gather to approue it. For ſometimes they make him a Stoicke, allowing of vertue alone, and flying backe from pleaſures, and not retyring backe from that which is honeſt, for the price of immortalitie it ſelfe: Sometime an Epicurean, prayſing the ſtate of a quiet Citie, and amongſt Bankets and Songs ſpending his life: Sometime an Ariſtotelian, bringing in three kindes of good things: Sometime an Academick, teaching all things to be vncertaine. It appeareth that none of theſe things be in him, becauſe that all be: for theſe things diſagree amongſt themſelues. Let vs grant vnto them, that *Homer* was a Philoſopher: certainely he was made wiſe before he knew any verſe: therefore let vs learne

thoſe

thoſe things, which haue made *Homer* to be a wiſe man. For me to ſeeke after this thing indeed, whether *Homer* or *Heſiod* were elder by birth, no more appertaineth to the buſineſſe, then to know, whether *Hecuba* was yonger then *Helen*, and why ſo badly ſhe did beare her age. What, I ſay, ſuppoſeſt thou that it appertaineth to the purpoſe, to enquire for the yeares of *Patroclus* and *Achilles?* Seekeſt thou in what Sea *Vlyſſes* ſayled ſo long? rather take thou order that we proue not extrauagant euerie day. I haue no leiſure to heare, whether that *Vlyſſes* were toſſed betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, or in ſome world vnknowne vnto vs; for he could not make ſo long a voyage in a Sea ſo ſtreight as that is. Tempeſts of the minde doe daily toſſe vs, and wickedneſſe driueth vs vpon euils. *Vlyſſes* miſeries are afoot; there wanteth not beautie to tempt his eyes, neither enemies; on the one ſide are very cruell monſters, delighting in humane bloud; on the other, are deceitful allurements of the eares: both here and there are ſhipwracks and misfortunes of all ſorts. Teach me this thing, how I may loue my Country, how my wife, how my father, how in deſpite of dangers, I may ſaile vnto theſe ſo honeſt things. What enquireſt thou, whether *Penelope* was vnchaſte, whether ſhe deceiued thoſe of her time, whether ſhe ſuſpected him to be *Vlyſſes* whom ſhe ſaw, before that ſhe knew it to be true? Teach me what chaſtitie is, and how great a good there is in it: whether it be placed in the bodie or in the minde. I come now to a Muſitian. Thou teacheſt me how acute and graue ſounds may agree amongſt themſelues, how a concord may be of ſtrings making an vnlike ſound. Make me rather know how my minde may agree with it ſelfe, and how my counſells may not diſagree. Thou ſheweſt me which be the mourning tunes: ſhew me rather how in aduerſitie I may not vtter a mourning voice. The Geometrician teacheth mee to meaſure large pieces of grounds: rather let him teach, how I may meaſure, how much may be ſufficient for a man. Arithmeticke teacheth me to number, and to lend my fingers to couetouſneſſe: rather let it teach me, that theſe computations doe no waies appertaine to mine eſtate. That he is not an happier man, who hath ſo much wealth that his receiuers are wearied to reckon the ſame: but contrariwiſe, that ſuch a one poſſeſſeth infinite ſuperfluities, and could not be but moſt vnhappie, if he were conſtrained himſelfe to keepe account of all that which he hath. What profiteth it me to know, how to diuide a ſmall field into parts, if I know not how to diuide it with my brother? What profiteth it ſubtilly to know how many feet are in an acre of ground, and alſo to comprehend if any thing hath eſcaped the pearch; if a mightie neighbour maketh me ſad, and encroacheth on ſomewhat of that which is mine: Teacheſt thou me, how I may loſe nothing of my bounds? but I am willing to learne how I may loſe them all with mirth. I am expelled, ſaith he, from my fathers and from my grandfathers land. But I aske thee, who poſſeſſed it before them both? Tell if thou canſt; not what mans, but what peoples it was? Therein-to haſt thou entred, not as a Lord, but as a Tenant. Whoſe Tenant art thou? Thine heires, if the inconſtancie of humane affaires permitteth it. Lawyers denie, that any thing can be preſcribed vpon, which is publique: this is publique which thou poſſeſſeſt, and belongeth vnto mankinde. O excellent Art! Thou knowſt how to meaſure round things, thou bringeſt into a ſquare whatſoeuer forme is preſented thee: Thou ſetteſt downe the diſtances of the Starres: nothing there is but falleth within thy meaſure. If thou be able, meaſure the minde of man: Tell how great, tell how little it is. Thou knoweſt moreouer, what is a ſtraight Line: What doth this profit thee,

if thou be ignorant what is straight in life? Now I come to him who boasteth in the knowledge of heauenly things.

Whither colde SATVRNE *doth him selfe betake,*
And what circles CYLLENIVS *star doth make.*

What shall it profit to know this? that I may be carefull when *Saturne* and *Mars* shall be in opposition, or when *Mercurie* shall make his euening set when *Saturne* shall behold him? Rather I had learne this, that whersoeuer these things be, that they be prosperous, that they cannot be changed. A continuall order and an ineuitable course of destinies moueth these: by set courses they doe retire. They either moue or note forth the effects of all things. But suppose them to be the cause, why euery thing falleth forth, what shall the knowledge of an vnchangeable thing profit thee? or be it that they presage and signifie such euents? what skilleth it to prouide for that which thou canst not auoid? Whether thou doe know or not know these things, they shall come to passe.

On the swift Sunne and Starres that follow it,
If that thou looke in order as they sit,
Th'ensuing day will neuer thee deceiue,
Nor cleare nights slights of fore-sight will bereaue.

Sufficiently and abundantly it is prouided, that I should be safe from ambushes. Doth not the time that is to morrow deceiue me? for it deceiueth him that is ignorant hereof. I know not what shal happen, I but know what may come to passe. I despaire nothing of this, I expect the whole. If any thing be remitted, I take it in good part. Time deceiueth, if it spareth me: but neyther so indeed deceiueth it. For as I know that al things may fal forth, so also I know that for certaine they will not fall forth. For certaine I expect prosperous things: I am prepared for those that be bad. Of necessity thou must beare with me in this, that I goe not as some pretend to lead me. For I cannot conceiue that men should ranke eyther Painters or Caruers, or Stone-cutters, nor those other Maisters of dissolution amongst the professors of the liberall sciences. I likewise exclude wrastlers, and all the Science that consisteth in ioynting or poudring the bodie, neither will I admit Perfumers, Cookes, or such other that spend their spirits to feed on voluptuousnesse? For what liberall thing, I pray thee, haue these fasting spewers, whose bodies be fat, whose mindes be leane and asleepe: Doe we beleeue that gormandise and drunkennesse is a liberall Studie for our youth, whom our ancestors taught to stand vpright when they exercised themselues in darting the iauelin, in tossing the pike, in backing their horses, and managing armes? They taught their children nothing that they should learne sitting. But neither these nor those doe teach or nourish vertue. For what profiteth it to gouern a horse, & with a bridle to moderate his course when afterwards he suffereth himself to be transported by vnbridled passions? What profiteth it with buffets to ouercome many men, & to be ouercome by anger? What therefore? Do liberall studies bestow nothing vpon vs? For other things much, for vertue nothing. For these mechanicall Arts, which are wholly manual, confer much to the instruments of life, notwithstanding to vertue they do not belong. Why do we instruct our children in liberal studies? Not because they can giue vertue, but because they prepare the minde to the receiuing of it. For as Grammar, as the Ancients called it, whereby the first principles are deliuered

and bad things. Let vs consider all Vertues in particular. Fortitude is a contemner of things to be feared: it despiseth, prouoketh, and breaketh terrible things, and such as send our libertie vnder the yoke: what therefore doe liberall studies strengthen this? Fidelitie is the most holiest good that may be in a mans breast; by no necessitie is it constrayned to deceiue, it is corrupted by no reward. Burne, saith she, beat, kill, I will not betray; but by how the more paine shall seeke to discouer secret things, by so much will I the more deepely hide them: What, can the liberall Sciences giue any such courage? Temperance ouer-ruleth pleasures; she bateth and driueth away some, she dispenseth with other some, and reduceth them to a sound meane, neyther at any time approcheth them for their owne cause. She knoweth that the best meane of desired things is, not to take how much thou wilt, but how much thou ought-est. Humanitie forbiddeth to be proud ouer thy fellowes, to be couetous: in words, in deedes, in affections she sheweth her selfe gentle and easie vnto all: she iudgeth not sinisterly of any man; she reputeth that to be hir chiefest good, and loueth it which she foreseeth may profit others. What, doe liberall Sciences command these manners? No more then simplicitie, modestie, frugality, and parsimonie; no more then clemencie, which spareth the bloud of another as it were his owne, and knoweth that a man must not prodigally vse a man. When ye say (saith he) that without liberall studies Vertue cannot be attayned vnto: How denie yee that they conferre nothing to vertue? Because neyther without meat can vertue be attained vnto, yet notwithstanding meate appertaineth not to vertue. Wood conferreth nothing vpon a ship, although that a ship cannot be made without wod. There is no cause, saith he, that thou mayst thinke any thing to be made with the helpe of that thing, without which it could not be made. That also may be spoken indeede, that without liberall studies wisdome may be comne by: for although that vertue be to be learned, notwithstanding it is not learned by these Sciences. But what reason is it, wherefore I should esteeme that he shall not become wise who is ignorant of learning, seeing wisdome is not in learning? She teacheth deedes, not words; and I cannot tell whether the memorie may be more sure, which hath no help out of it selfe. Wisdome is a great and spacious thing; it hath need of an emptie place: we must learne diuine & humane things, things past, things to come, things fading, and eternall, and time it selfe: concerning which one thing, see how many things may be questioned; first, whether any thing bee by it selfe, then, whether any thing be before time: if time began with the World, whether because that some thing was before the world, time was so also. There are innumerable questions onely concerning the Soule, whence it is, and what, when it beginneth to be, how long it continueth: whether it may passe from one place to another, and may change her house, and may be cast from one forme of liuing creatures into another: or that it may serue no more then once, and being sent forth may wander in the whole world: whether it be a bodie, or no: what it will doe, when it ceaseth to doe any thing by vs: how she will vse her libertie when she hath escaped out of this Iayle: whether she may forget former things, and there begin to know her selfe, when beeing disburthened of the bodie, she is retyred and raised on high. Whatsoeuer part of diuine and humanes affaires thou shalt comprehend, thou shalt be wearyed with huge abundance of things to be sought for, and to be learned. That these so many, and so great things may haue free place of remaining, superfluous things are to be taken out of the minde. Vertue will not put it selfe into these straites:

a thing

uered to children, teacheth not the liberall Arts, but prepareth a place for the firſt receiuing of them: ſo liberall Arts leade not the minde to vertue, but make it fit. *Poſidonius* ſaith, that there be foure kinds of Arts; the vulgar and baſe, the ſporting, the childiſh, and the liberall Arts. Vulgar be of craftſ-men, which conſiſt of the hand, and be buſied for the furniſhing of life; wherein there is no counterfeiting of comlineſſe, nor of any honeſt thing. Sporting Arts be thoſe which tend to the pleaſure of the eyes and of the eares. To theſe you may number the Inginers, who deuiſe baſes or pedeſtals riſing vp of themſelues, and ſeelings which without noice raiſe and enlarge themſelues, and other varieties ſcarce thought vpon; cauſing eyther thoſe things which did cleaue together to ſeparate themſelues, or thoſe things which ſtood aſunder, to vnite themſelues of their owne accord; or thoſe things which were raiſed vp, to ſettle downe by little and little vpon themſelues. The eyes of the vnskilfull are rauiſhed with theſe things, wondering (becauſe they haue not knowne the cauſes) at all ſudden things. The childiſh haue ſomething which reſembleth the liberall Arts, namely, theſe which the Grecians call, ἐγκυκλίους, and our men call Liberall Arts. But they alone are liberall Art (and as I may more truely ſpeake) be free, which haue a care of vertue. Euen as, ſaith he, ſome part of the minde is for naturall, ſome for morall, ſome for reaſoning Philoſophie; ſo alſo this troupe of Liberall Arts, doth in Philoſophie challenge a place vnto it ſelfe. When we come to Naturall queſtions, we ſtand to the teſtimonie of Geometrie. Doth it therefore follow that it is a part of that ſcience which it aſſiſteth? Many things helpe vs, and yet for all that they are no portions of vs: yea if they were parts, they would not helpe. Meat is an helpe of the bodie, yet is it not a part. The ſeruice of Geometrie performeth ſomewhat vnto vs: ſo is it needfull to Philoſophie, as a Carpenter is vnto it: but neither is he a part of Geometrie, nor that of Philoſophie. Furthermore, both haue their ends: for a wiſe-man both ſeeketh and knoweth the cauſes of naturall things, the numbers and meaſures of which, a Geometrician followeth after and counteth. A wiſe man knoweth after what manner heauenly things conſiſt, what force, or what nature is in them: a Mathematician collecteth the courſes, and returnings backe, and the obſeruations, by which they deſcend and riſe, and ſometimes make a ſhew as though they ſtood ſtill, although that heauenly bodies are in perpetuall motion. A wiſe-man knoweth what the cauſe is that expreſſeth Images in a glaſſe: A Geometrician can tell that vnto thee, how much a bodie ought to be abſent from the Image, and what forme the glaſſe ſhould haue that may repreſent Images. A Philoſopher will proue the Sunne to be great: the Mathematician will ſhew how great it is, who proceedeth by a certaine exerciſe and vſe; but to make proofe thereof, you muſt grant him ſome principles and Maximes: but that ſcience which borroweth her foundation from another is not liberall. Philoſophie borroweth nothing from another Science, it raiſeth vp the whole worke from the foundation. The Mathematicks (as I may ſo ſpeake) is a ſuperficiall Art, it receyueth principles from others, by the benefit of which it may come to farther things: if by it ſelfe it could come to that which is true, if it could comprehend the nature of the whole world, I ſhould ſay that it would animate our vnderſtādings very much, which encreaſe by the handling of heauenly things, and draw the one from the other. The minde is made perfect by one thing, namely, by the vnchangeable knowledge of good and bad things; which agreeth vnto Philoſophie onely. But none other Art enquireth about good

a thing ſo great as ſhe is deſireth a large lodging: let all things be expelled; let the whole breſt be empty for her. But the knowledge of many Arts delighteth. Let vs therefore retayne ſo much of them, as is neceſſarie. If thou ſuppoſeſt him to bee worthy of reproofe, who buyeth many ſuperfluities, and adorneth his Houſe with many precious things: doſt thou not thinke him to be blameworthy, who is occupyed in the ſuperfluous implements of Learning? To be willing to know more then may be ſufficient, is a kind of intemperancie. Furthermore, this affectation to be inſtructed and learned in the Liberall Arts, maketh men troubleſome, full of words, vnſeaſonable louers of themſelues, who learne not that which is neceſſary, becauſe they haue learned ſuperfluous things. *Dydimus* the Grammarian wrote foure thouſand Bookes: wretched were he, if he had read ſo many ſuperfluous things. In theſe Bookes, the queſtion is about *Homers* Countrey; in theſe of the true Mother of *Æneas*: in theſe whether *Anacreon* led a more luſtfull or a more drunken life: whether *Sappho* was a Whore; and other which were to be vnlearned, if thou ſhouldeſt know them. Goe now, and deny life to be long. But when thou ſhalt come to our owne Stoicks likewiſe, I will ſhew thee many things that ſhould be vtterly exterminated and rooted out. This prayſing, O learned man! coſteth great expence of time, great trouble of mens eares. Let vs bee content with this more ruſticke title: O good man. Is it euen ſo? Shall I toſſe ouer the Chronicles of all Nations, and ſhall I ſearch who hath beene the firſt Poet: how much time may bee betwixt *Orpheus* and *Homer*; (although I haue no Records, yet will I not ceaſe to ſearch it out) and ſhall I reuiew the notes of *Ariſtarchus*, wherein he taxed and corrected other mens Verſes, and ſhall I ſpend my time in words and ſillables? What, ſhall I ſo ſticke in the Geometricall duſt? Haue I forgotten that ſo profitable precept, *Spare time?* Shall I know theſe things, and be ignorant of my ſelfe? *Appion* the Grammarian, who vnder *Caius Cæſar* was carryed about in all *Greece*, and by all Cities was adopted into *Homers* name, ſaid, that *Homer* hauing finiſhed the matter both of the *Odyſſes*, and *Iliads*, added a beginning to his Worke, wherein he comprehended the *Troian* Warre. For proofe hereof he alleaged that *Homer* had placed two Letters in the firſt Verſe, contayning the number of his Bookes. It is meet that he know theſe things, who will know many things. Wilt thou not thinke how much time and bad health may take from thee, how much publike and priuate affaires, how much buſineſſe by day, how much ſleepe? meaſure thine age, it is not capable of ſo many things. I ſpeake of Liberall Studies: As touching thoſe that terme themſelues Philoſophers how many ſuperfluities and abuſes haue they? They alſo haue deſcended to the diſtinction of Sillables, and to the proprieties of Coniunctions and Prepoſitions, they haue enuyed the Grammarians, and Geometricians. Whatſoeuer was ſuperfluous in their Arts, they tranſported into their owne Schooles. So that they know more properly how to ſpeake, then how to liue. Heare how great euill too great ſubtiltie can cauſe, and how great an enemy it is to truth. *Protagoras* ſaith, that we may indifferently diſpute of euery thing *pro & contra*, of this queſtion likewiſe, which is, whether euery thing be diſputable on both parts. *Nauſiphanes* ſaith, that of thoſe things that ſeeme to be, that nothing rather is, then is not. *Parmenides* ſaith, that of theſe things that are ſeene, there is nothing at all. *Zeno Eleates* hath caſt all buſineſſe out of buſineſſe; he ſaith, that nothing is. The *Pyrrhonians* are for the moſt part conuerſant about the ſame things, ſo are the *Megarans*, and *Eretrians*, and the *Academicks*, who haue brought in a new know-

knowledge, of knowing nothing. Caſt all theſe things, vpon the ſuperfluous flock of thoſe that are addicted to the Liberal Sciences. Thoſe deliuer a knowledge that will not profit; theſe take away the hope of all knowledge. But ſome will ſay, that it is better to know ſuperfluous things, then nothing at all. Theſe do not cary a light before, wherby the eie may be directed to that which is true: theſe put out mine eyes. If I beleeue *Protagoras*, there is nothing but doubts in the nature of things: if *Nauſiphanes*, this one thing is certaine, that nothing is certaine: if *Parmenides*, there is nothing but one thing: if *Zeno*, there is not one thing indeed. What therefore be we? What are theſe things which ſtand about, nouriſh, and ſuſtaine vs? The whole nature of things ſhall bee a vaine or fallacious ſhaddow. I cannot eaſily tell, whether I ſhould bee more angry at them, who would haue vs to know nothing: or at them, who haue depriued vs alſo of this ignorance.

Epist. LXXXIX.

The difference betwixt Philoſophie and Wiſdome: and a diuerſe diuiſion thereof, and againe a diuiſion and deſcription of the parts. Then an admonition, that theſe and ſuch like are to be referred to manners and to the minde: and by the way he inueigheth againſt thoſe that be badly rich, and therewithall hee chaſtizeth Rioteuſneſſe and Couetouſneſſe.

THou deſireſt a profitable and very neceſſary thing, for him whoſoeuer aſpireth vnto Wiſdome, namely, that Philoſophie be diuided, and that the huge body thereof bee diſpoſed into members. For more eaſily by parts are we brought to the knowledge of the whole. I would that as the face of the whole World preſenteth it ſelfe to our eies, ſo that whole Philoſophie might appeare; this ſhould be a ſpectacle like to that of the World. For truely it would ſpeedily draw all mortall men into admiration of it ſelfe, and make them leaue thoſe things which for the preſent they eſteeme to be great for want of knowledge of thoſe things which are truly ſuch. But becauſe this cannot fall forth, ſo ſhall it bee looked vpon by vs, as the ſecrets of the World are ſeene. The minde of a Wiſeman indeed comprehendeth the whole frame therof, neither leſſe ſwiftly goeth about it, then our eye goeth about the Skie: but to vs, who are to breake thorow this darkneſſe, and whoſe ſight faileth in that which is hard by, ſeuerall things can more eaſily bee ſhewed, wee being as yet vncapable of the whole. I will therefore doe that which thou requireſt, and I will diuide Philoſophie into parts, not into pieces. For it is profitable to be diuided, and not to be hacked ſmall. For it is as difficult a matter to comprehend the greateſt, as to comprehend the ſmalleſt things. The people are deſcribed into Tribes, an Armie into hundreths. Whatſoeuer hath encreaſed to bee very great, is more eaſily taken notice of, if it hath beene deuided into parts; which (as I haue ſaid) ſhould not be innumerable and too ſmall. For too great a diuiſion hath no leſſe fault that no diuiſion hath: The ſub-diuiſions to a graine of duſt are meere confuſions. Firſt therefore, according to thy aduice, I will ſhew what difference there may be betweene Wiſdome and Philoſophie. Wiſdome is the perfect good of humane vnderſtanding. Philoſophie is the loue, and affectation of Wiſdome. This ſheweth whither Wiſdome hath attayned. As touching Philo-

ſo-

ſophie it appeareth by her name why ſhee is ſo called. Some haue defined Wiſdome thus; that they called it a knowledge of diuine and humane things. Some thus; Wiſdome is to haue knowne diuine and humane things, and the cauſes of theſe. This addition ſeemeth ſuperfluous vnto me, becauſe cauſes be parts of diuine and of humane things. Alſo there haue bene who haue defined Philoſophie, ſome one way, and ſome another way: ſome haue ſaid, that it is a ſtudy of vertue; ſome a ſtudy of correcting the minde. By ſome it is called a deſire of true reaſon. As though it were manifeſt, that there were ſome difference betwixt Philoſophy and Wiſdome. For it cannot come to paſſe, that that which is affected, and that which affecteth is the ſame thing. As there is much difference betwixt Money and Couetouſneſſe, ſeeing the one deſireth, the other is deſired: ſo is there betwixt Philoſophie and Wiſdome. For this is the reward and effect of that: that commeth, this is come vnto. Wiſdome is that which the *Grecians* call σοφία. This word did the *Romanes* alſo vſe, as at this day alſo they vſe this word Philoſophie; but both the ancient Images doe approue, and the Inſcription vpon the Tombe of *Doſſennus:*

Stranger ſtand ſtill, to goe doe not proceed,
But ſtay, the Wiſdome of DOSSENNVS *reade.*

Some Stoicks haue ſuppoſed that theſe two things cannot bee ſeparated, although they auow that Philoſophie is the ſtudie of vertue; in ſuch ſort as the one is ſought after, and the other ſeeketh after. Their reaſon is that Philoſophie is not without vertue, nor vertue without Philoſophie: but neither can vertue be without the ſtudie of it ſelfe, nor the ſtudie of vertue bee without it ſelfe. We are not to conceiue of this as of thoſe who endeuour to ſhoot from afarre at ſomething, he that ſhooteth is in one place, and that whereat hee aymeth is in another; or as the wayes that leade to Cities, and are without them. Men attaine vertue by her ſelfe. Philoſophie therefore and vertue are as things vnited. Both the greateſt and moſt principall Authours haue ſaid, that there be three parts of Philoſophie; namely, Morall, Naturall, and Reaſonable. The firſt compoſeth the mind, the ſecond ſearcheth the nature of things, the third exacteth the proprieties of words, and their frame, and manner of reaſoning, that falſe things may not creepe in for that which is true. But there be found, who likewiſe would diuide Philoſophie into fewer parts, and who would diuide it into more. Some of the *Ariſtotelians* haue added a fourth part, which they call politike, becauſe it deſireth a certaine proper exerciſe, and is occupied about another matter. Certaine haue added a part vnto theſe, which the *Grecians* call οἰκονομικὴ, the knowledge of gouerning a Family. Some alſo haue ſeparated a place for the kindes of life. But there is none of theſe which is not found in the Moral part. The *Epicureans* haue ſuppoſed, that there be two parts of Philoſophie, Naturall and Morall. The reaſoning part they haue remoued away. Then, being conſtrained in examining of things to diſcerne the ambiguities and diſcouer the falſities hidden vnder the appearance of truth, they haue reduced this part which they call Iudgement and Rule: which hath ſerued them in ſtead of Rationall Philoſophie, but they ſuppoſe it only to bee an acceſſion to the natural part. The *Cyrenaiq es* haue aboliſhed both Naturall and Rationall, contenting themſelues with the morall. But that which they haue reiected on the one ſide, they haue introduced by another way; making fiue parts of the Morall: the firſt concerning that which we ought to flye; and deſire

ſire, the ſecond of affections, a third of actions, a fourth of cauſes, a fift of arguments. Cauſes of things are from the naturall part, arguments from the reaſonable, actions from the Morall. *Ariſto Chius* hath maintayned, that the Naturall and Rationall were ſuperfluous and contrarie alſo. As touching the Morall, onely which he hath left remayning, he hath maymed it by aboliſhing that part which contayneth admonitions, alleaging that it appertayneth to a Pedagogue, and not to Philoſopher: as though that a Wiſeman is any thing elſe, then a Tutor of Mankind. Therefore ſith Philoſophie or the loue of Wiſdome is three-fold, let vs firſt beginne to diſpoſe the Morall part thereof, or that which ordereth the manners of men. I deuide it alſo into three parts, whereof the firſt which is moſt profitable, ſhall be the inſpection diſtributing to euery one that which is his, and eſtimating that which euery one is valued at and deſerueth. For is there any thing more neceſſary then to value things? The ſecond ſhall be of affections, the third of actions. Firſt of all it is requiſite that thou know the value of things. Secondly, that thou take an ordered and temperate affection to theſe things. Thirdly, that there may be an agreement betwixt thine endeuour and action, that in all theſe things thou mayeſt agree with thy ſelfe. If one of theſe three ſhall be wanting, it alſo troubleth the reſt. For what profiteth it to know the true value of things, if thou art ouer-vehement in thine affections? and what helpeth it to bridle in thy deſires, if thou knoweſt not when it is fit, to ſet or to withdraw thy hand from the action? and if thou knoweſt not when, and where, and how euery thing ought to be done? For it is one thing to haue knowne the worth and value of things; another, the oportunities; another to reſtraine the paſſions and affections; and to goe, not to precipitate a mans ſelfe into actions. Therefore then is life agreeable to it ſelfe, when action is not ſeuered from affection: Which proceedeth from the dignitie of euery thing, making it ſelfe more remiſſe or more fierce, according as that thing deſerueth which is to be ſought for. The part of Philoſophie which is termed Naturall is diſtinguiſhed into two, whereof the one regardeth things corporal, the other incorporeall. Both are deuided (as I may ſo ſpeake) into diuers degrees. The part which conſidereth the body, regardeth firſt of all the things that giue being, then thoſe that take being. The Elements are engendred and take being. Some thinke that the common place of the Element is ſimple; as other ſome thinke, it is deuided into a matter, and into a cauſe mouing all things, and into the Elements. It remayneth that wee deuide the reaſonable part of Philoſophie. Euery ſpeech is either continued, or deuided betwixt him that anſwereth and asketh. Some haue called the one *Dialecticke*, or the Art of Logicke, the other *Rhetorick*. *Rhetorick* regardeth words, and ſenſe, and order. *Dialecticke* is diuided into two parts, into words and ſignifications: that is, into things which are ſpoken of, and into words, wherewith they are ſpoken. Then there followeth an huge diuiſion of them both: therefore I will make an end in this place:

I onely will relate
Of things their chiefeſt ſtate.

Otherwiſe, if I would make parts of parts, there will bee made a Booke of Queſtions. I ſcarre thee not, O *Lucilius*, the beſt amongſt men, from reading theſe things, ſo that whatſoeuer thou ſhalt reade thou doe preſently apply it vnto manners. Bridle thou thoſe, ſtirre vp that which languiſheth in thee, bind that

that which is looſe, tame that which is ſtubborne, and vexe thy publike deſires as much as thou canſt. If the World ſay this, Will you neuer giue ouer reprouing? Anſwere thou this: Will you neuer bee weaned in continuing the ſame faults? You would haue the remedies ceaſe, and the infirmities continue. But I will the rather ſpeake the truth; becauſe you are obſtinate, I will perſeuer: Then beginneth Phyſick to profit, when touching cauſeth griefe in a troubled body. I will ſpeake thoſe things which ſhall profit, yea, euen to thoſe that are refractorie. A day will come when you ſhall not haue this good to be able to heare a ſweete word, and becauſe in particular you will not heare the truth, heare it in publike. How farre will yee propagate the limits of your poſſeſſions? A large and great Champion that in times paſt contented a whole Nation, is too ſmall for one Lord. Will you neuer ceaſe to encreaſe your tillage in diuers Prouinces? When will you limit and bound your Reuenues? The runnings of famous Riuers through the ground of priuate men, and great Riuers, and the bounds of great Nations, from the Fountaine vnto the mouth, bee yours. Yet is this too little, except your houſes be enuironed by Seas; except your Bayliffe reigne beyond the *Hadrian*, and *Ionian*, and *Ægæan* Sea; except Ilands, the houſes of great Captaines, be numbred amongſt the baſeſt things. Poſſeſſe yee ſo largely as yee will; let that bee but one Heritage which in times paſt was called an Empire: make that yours what ſoeuer ye can, ſo that more belongeth to another man. Now I talke with you, whoſe rioteuſneſſe is alike ſpaciouſly ſpread abroad, as the couetouſneſſe of thoſe is. I will aske you; How long ſhall be no water-lake, ouer which the height of your Villages may not hang? No ſtreame, whoſe bankes, your buildings may not couer about? Wherſoeuer veines of warme water ſhall ſpring vp, there new lodgings of ryot ſhall be builded. Whereſoeuer the ſhore ſhall bend crookedly into ſome creek, ye preſently will lay foundations; not being contented with ground, except ye force with hand, to driue the Sea farther in. Although your houſes gliſter in all places, ſomewhere being ſet vpon Mountaines, for the vaſt proſpect both of Land and Sea: ſomewhere being reared vp from the plaine ground to the height of Mountaines; when ye haue builded many, when ye haue builded huge things, ye are notwithſtanding but ſeuerall and ſmall bodies. What doe many Chambers profit? ye lie but in one. It is not yours, whereſoeuer ye are not. Finally, I paſſe to you, whoſe deepe and vnſatiable throat, on the one ſide ſearcheth Seas, on the other ſide ſearcheth Lands. You purſue with great labour ſome creatures with hookes, ſome with ſnares, ſome with diuers kinds of Nets: no liuing creatures haue peace, except ſuch as you are glutted with. For how little of theſe Bankets which ye prepare through ſo many hands, doe yee taſte of with a mouth wearied with pleaſures? How little of this wilde beaſt, taken with danger, doth the Maſter with a raw and lothing ſtomacke taſte of? How little of ſo many Shel-fiſh brought from ſo farre, ſlideth downe by this inſatiable ſtomacke? Vnhappy alſo ye are, becauſe ye vnderſtand not, that ye haue a greater hunger, then a belly. Tell theſe things to other men, ſo that whileſt thou telleſt them, thou mayeſt heare them thy ſelfe. Write, ſo that when thou haſt written, thou reade, and referre all to the manners, and to the aſſwaging of the out-rage of affections. Studie, not to know any thing more, but to become better by knowing things.

EPIST.

EPIST. XC.

The praise of Philosophie, it hath formed life, it hath framed Societies and Empires, it hath giuen Lawes and Equitie. Also whether Arts be profitable to life, as working with the Hammer, working in Marble, in Mettals, on Clothes, and such like? Himselfe denyeth it, against POSIDONIVS, *and saith, that these things are inferiour to the Maiestie thereof, and that many of these bee superfluous. It manageth, and hath managed the affaires, not of the bodie, but of the minde. Also whether Wisemen were in the rude Age? No, but those that were like to Wisemen, by the benefit not of Learning, but of Nature. There are many good things amongst these, and fruitfull for Knowledge, and for Life.*

WHo can doubt, my *Lucilius*, but that it is the gift of the immortall gods, that we liue; but of Philosophy, that wee liue well? Therfore by so much do we owe more to it, then to the gods, by how much more a good life is a greater benefit, then life. For certaine it should be due, except the gods had giuen Philosophie it selfe: the knowledge whereof they haue giuen to none, but the abilitie to all. For if they also had made this a common good, wee likewise should bee borne wise: Wisdome had lost that which is the best therein, that it is not amongst casuall things. For now this is precious and magnificent in it, that it commeth not by chance, that euery man oweth it vnto himselfe, that it is not sought for from another man. What shouldst thou haue, to admire in Philosophy, if one man might giue it to another? One worke of this is, to find forth the truth concerning Diuine and Humane things: Iustice, Godlinesse, Religion, and all the other traine of Vertues vnited and agreeing amongst themselues, neuer doe depart from this. This hath taught to honour Diuine things, to loue Humane things, & that gouernment is in the power of the gods, and that societie is to be amongst men: which sometime remained inuiolable, before Couetousnesse distracted societie, and was a cause of pouertie euen vnto them whom it hath made rich. For they haue ceassed to possesse all things, whilest they would haue them to be their owne. But the first men, and their Of-spring followed Nature, and had the same, both for a Captaine and Law, for they suffered themselues to bee guided by the better. For it is the part of Nature to submit worser things to the better. For either the greatest or the most vigorous bodies doe indeed rule ouer the dumbe flockes. A cowardly Bull goeth not before, but hee who hath ouercome other Males in greatnesse, and in strength of limbes: the highest of Elephants leadeth the flocke: amongst men is hee accounted chiefest who is the best. They chuse him therefore for Chiefetaine who had the most excellentest minde, by whose meanes the Nations were infinitely happie, amongst whom no man could haue superioritie, except he were more honest then others. For he is able to doe so much as he will, who thinketh that hee cannot doe, saue that which he ought. In that Age then which was sirnamed Golden, *Posidonius* iudgeth that the wiser sort gouerned. These contayned their hands and defended the weaker from those that were more strong: they perswaded and disswaded, and shewed both profitable and vnprofitable things. The wisdome of these men prouided that nothing might bee wanting vnto their subiects, their fortitude kept dangers backe,

backe, their bountie encreaſed, and adorned thoſe that were ſubiect vnto them. It was not a Kingdome to rule ouer other men, but an office. No man approued his forces againſt them, through whom he had begun to be able to be powerfull. Neither was there either mind or cauſe to iniurie any one, when there was good obedience to him who gouerned well, and a King could threaten nothing beſides, to thoſe who did badly obey, then that they ſhould depart out of his Kingdome. But when as vices began to gather head, Kingdomes were turned into tyrannie: the lawes began to be neceſſarie, and from the beginning the wiſer ſort were the authors thereof. *Solon* who founded *Athens* with vpright lawes, was one of the ſeuen Sages noted for wiſdome in his age. If the ſame age had brought forth *Lycurgus*, he had beene in that holy number accounted the eight. The lawes of *Zaleucus* and of *Charondas* are praiſed; theſe learned not at the bar, nor at Counſellers dores, but in that ſecret and holy ſolitarie place of *Pythagoras*, thoſe ſtatutes which they publiſhed and eſtabliſhed as well in *Sicily* as in the greater part of *Italy*. Hitherto I agree to *Poſidonius*: but I deny that theſe Arts were inuented by Philoſophie, which humane life maketh ordinarie vſe of, neither will I aſcribe ſo much honour to mechanique arts. She, ſaith he, taught thoſe who were ſcattered vp and down, and couered with a cottage, or with ſome hollow rocke vnder which they digged, or with the trunke of an hollow tree, to build houſes. For mine own part, I ſuppoſe Philoſophie did no more inuent theſe frames of one houſe ariſing vpon another, and engines to ſurpriſe Cities, then thoſe pooles and incloſed fiſh-ponds to exempt gormandize from the perill and tempeſts of the ſea, and to the end that during the guſts and foule weather, diſſolution might haue hir retreats and ſtoaring places, wherein ſhe might fatten ſeuerall ſort of fiſhes in ſeuerall places. What ſaiſt thou? hath Philoſophie taught men to haue a lock and key? and what elſe was it, then to giue a ſigne to couetouſneſſe? Is it Philoſophie that hath raiſed theſe high roofes, to the danger of thoſe that dwell vnder them? For it was but a ſmall matter to be couered with ſuch, whatſoeuer we might caſually light vpon, and without either art or labour to fit our ſelues with ſome naturall habitation. Beleeue me, that happie age flouriſhed, before there were either Maſons or Carpenters. Such workes and workmen who ſquare Ioiſts of timber, who nayle and ſo properly peg and vnite the ioynts that they know how to giue a iuſt proportion to the beame, were borne after diſſolution.

Our forefathers with wedges claue
Such wood as they then cut would haue.

As yet men builded not banquetting houſes able to entertain a whole nation: neither for this vſe were Pine or Fir-trees carried vpon a long row of Carts, the ſtreets trẽbling thereat, to the intent they might make golden ſeelings of them. Two ſtakes planted and couered with bowes and leaues, diſpoſed ſide-long, to the end the greater raines might ſlip away more eaſily, ſufficed for a couerture to the caban. Vnder theſe couerts, our firſt parents dwelt in al ſecurity. Thatch couered free-men, but ſeruitude now dwelleth vnder marble and gold. In that alſo I diſagree from *Poſidonius*, becauſe he iudgeth that working-toooles were deuiſed by wiſe men. For thus he might ſay, that they were wiſe, by whom

Deuis'd it was wilde beaſts with net and gin
To take; with dogs great fields to compaſſe in.

For the ſubtiltie of mens minds, not wiſdome hath deuiſed all theſe things. In this thing alſo I diſagree, that they were wiſe men, who found out the mynes

of yron and braſſe: when as the earth being burned by the fire which was enkindled in the Forreſts,melted downe,and cauſed the veines of thoſe mettals, being hidden vnder ground, to appeare aboue the ſame. Such men inuent theſe things, as honour them. Neither repute I this to be ſo ſubtill a queſtion, as it ſeemeth to *Poſidonius*: whether the hammer or the pinſers began to be vſed firſt. Some one of an exerciſed,ſharpe,and no great,or high wit,found them both forth, and euerie thing beſides which is to be ſought for with a bended bodie,and with a minde looking towards the earth. A wiſe man takes not ſo much paine to liue. Why ſhould he doe otherwiſe, ſith alſo in this age, he deſireth to liue at the eaſieſt rate? How,I pray thee, agreeth it, that thou admireſt both *Diogenes* and *Talus*? Whether of theſe ſeemeth vnto thee to be wiſe, he that inuented the ſaw: or he who ſeeing a boy drinking water in his hollow hand, preſently brake a cup which he tooke out of his bag, reprouing himſelfe after this manner: How long haue I, fooliſh man, had ſuperfluous burthens? I ſpeake of that *Diogenes*, who foulded himſelfe double in a Tub,and lay therein? Which of theſe at this day wouldeſt thou repute to be the wiſer man,either him who hath found out the meanes, how out of ſecret pipes he may caſt forth odoriferous flowers to an immeaſurable height, who will cauſe waters ſodainly to flow abundantly,and as ſodainely to returne; who ſo coucheth together the changeable roofes of dining roomes, that one faſhion after another may preſently ſucceed, and ſo often the roofe may be changed as the diſhes themſelues: or him,who ſheweth this both to himſelfe,and to other men, that Nature hath commanded vs no hard or difficult thing? That we may dwell in a houſe without the helpe of a ſtone caruer, that we may be cloathed without traffique with the *Serians*;that we may haue neceſſary things for our vſes,if we ſhall be content with theſe things which appeare aboue the earth? If mankind would liſten to this leſſon,they would know that a Cooke were as ſuperfluous as a Souldier. They were wiſe men,or for certain,like vnto wiſe men,that were not ouer curious in couering and clothing their bodies. Neceſſarie things coſt but little care: men labour for delights. Thou ſhalt not need artificers,if thou follow Nature. She would not haue vs to be intangled,ſhee hath furniſhed vs, in whatſoeuer our neceſſities. Cold is intollerable for a naked bodie. What therefore? Cannot the skinnes of wilde beaſts, and of other creatures, abundantly defend vs from cold? Doe not many Nations couer their bodies with barks of trees? Are not the feathers of birds ſewed together for the vſe of apparell? And are not at this day, a great part of the Scythians couered with the skins of Foxes and of mice,which be ſoft,and not to be pierced thorow by the winds? Notwithſtanding there is need of a thicker ſhade,to driue back the heat of the Sommer Sun. What therfore, hath not Antiquitie hidden many places, which either by iniurie of time, or by ſome other chance being made hollow, haue retired into the forme of a den? What therefore? haue they not with their hands wouen an hurdle of twigs, & plaſtered it with baſe clay? then haue they not couered the top thereof with ſtubble, and with other things fetched out of the wood,and whilſt raine hath ſlidden downe by the eaues thereof,haue they not in ſecuritie ſpent the winter? What therefore? doe not the Syrtick Nations lie in a place digged out of the ground? who becauſe of the too great heat of the Sunne,haue no couering ſufficient enough for the repelling of the heat,but the very dry ground it ſelfe? Nature was not ſo much our enemie, that ſeeing ſhe gaue an eaſie means of life to all other creatures beſides, man alone ſhould not liue without ſo many arts. She commanded vs none of theſe; nothing is to be

be ſought for with labour to prolong our life. Our prouiſions are prepared for as at our Birth: we haue made all things difficult vnto our ſelues by diſdaine of eaſie things. Houſes and clothes and nouriſhments of bodies and meates, and thoſe things which be now made a great buſineſſe, were eaſie to come by, and freely gotten, and prepared with a light labour: for the meaſure of all things was as neceſſitie required; we haue made theſe things precious, we haue made them maruellous, we haue made them to be ſought for with great and with many Arts. Nature furniſheth vs with that which ſhe requireth. Diſſolution hath reuolted from Nature, which continually inciteth it ſelfe, and increaſeth in ſo many Ages, and helpeth vices with wit. Firſt, ſhe began to deſire ſuperfluous, then contrarie things; laſt of all, ſhe ſold the minde to the bodie, and commanded it to ſerue the luſt thereof. All theſe Arts, wherewith the Citie is continually exerciſed, or buſily troubled, doe manage the affaires of the bodie: to which all things were once miniſtred as to a Seruant, but now are prouided as for a Lord. Therefore hence be the ſhops of Weauers, hence of Hammermen, hence of thoſe that ſeeth Perfumes, hence of thoſe that teach effeminate motions of the bodie, and effeminate wanton Songs. For that naturall meane hath retyred back, which bounded deſires with neceſſary helpe: now is it clowniſhneſſe and miſerie to be willing to haue ſo much as doth ſuffice. It is incredible, my *Lucilius*, how eaſily affabilitie of ſpeech can draw, euen thoſe that be great men from the truth. Behold *Poſidonius* who in mine opinion is one of thoſe who haue added much to Philoſophie, whilſt firſt of all hee will deſcribe how ſome threeds may be hard ſpunne, and how ſome may be drawn from the ſoft and looſened Tow: then how a Webbe of Cloth extendeth the Yarne with weights hung thereon, how the Wooſe is wouen in to mollifie the hardneſſe of the cloth, preſſing it together on both ſides, and how the broad places may be conſtrayned to meet, and to be ioyned together: hee alſo ſaid, that the Weauers Art was inuented by Wiſemen, forgetting this moſt ſubtile kind, which was afterwards found out, wherein

The Web is ioyn'd to beame, a ſmall ſtick doth diuide
The Yarne, the middle Wooſes with Shittle ſlide,
Which Teeth in ſtay of Weauers Loome faſt put,
With their broad Combe the wouen Yarne doe cut.

What if it had beene his hap to ſee the Webs of our time, of which wee make our Apparell ſo fine, that a man may perceiue all the parts of the bodie thorow them, and are ſo farre from couering our bodies, as they diſcouer our ſhame, wherein I will not ſay, that there is no helpe to the bodie, but that there is no helpe for ſhame? Then hee paſſeth to Huſbandmen, and no leſſe eloquently deſcribeth he how the ground is ploughed vp, and tilled againe, to the end that the Earth may more eaſily lye open to the Roots; then he deſcribeth the Seed that is ſowne, and Weedes picked out by hand, leſt ſome caſuall and wild thing may encreaſe vnder it, to kill the Corne. This alſo, ſaith he, is the worke of wiſemen; as though that now alſo the Huſbandmen in theſe dayes did not find out very many new things, whereby fertilitie might be encreaſed. Then is he not contented with theſe Arts, but ſendeth a Wiſeman downe into the Hand-mill; for hee ſheweth how men in imitation of Nature began to make Bread. The ſolid and hard teeth meeting the one with the other, chew the meat which is receiued into the mouth, and if any thing fall by the tongue, gathereth and bringeth it backe to the teeth:

then is it mingled with ſpittle, that more eaſily it might paſſe thorow the ſlipperie iawes; but when it commeth into the belly, it is concocted with the heat of the ſtomacke, then at length conuerteth it ſelfe into the ſubſtance and nutriment of the body. Some one following this example, laid one rough ſtone vpon another, in likeneſſe of the teeth, of which the vnmoueable part expecteth the motion of the other: then the graines are broken by the grinding of them both, and oftner are they turned backe againe, vntill being ground they be brought vnto meale: then mixeth he the flower with water, and by continuall kneading and turning, maketh bread thereof, which firſt of all they baked vnder aſhes and an hote ſtone. Finally, by little and little, ouens were found forth, and other meanes, whoſe heat might ſerue according to the pleaſure of men. He ſcarcely contained himſelfe from auowing, that wiſe men were inuentors of the Shoomakers trade. Reaſon indeed, but not right reaſon hath inuented all theſe things. Theſe are inuentions of a man, not of a wiſe man: in ſuch ſort as ſhips are, by which we paſſe ouer riuers, and trauerſe Seas, fitted with their ſailes to receiue the ſhock of the wind, and hauing their helmes faſtned to their ſternes, which hither and thither might enforce the courſe of the ſhip: Theſe are examples taken from fiſhes, whoſe taile ſerueth them in ſtead of a helme, and with the ſmall force thereof do bend their ſwiftneſſe into either ſide. All theſe things indeed, ſaith he, did a wiſe man find forth, but being too baſe for himſelfe to handle, bequeathed them to more ſordid miniſters; yet they were inuented by none other, then by ſuch as at this day exerciſe thē. We know that in our time many inuentions haue bin publiſhed; as the vſe of windows made of ſtone, ſending cleare light thorow them, by reaſon of a ſlate that the light ſhineth thorow: as the hanging vp of bathes, and pipes preſſed into the walls, by which heat might be diſperſed all-about, which ſhould alike cheriſh at one time, both thoſe things that be below, and thoſe that be aboue. What ſhall I ſpeake of Marbles, wherewith Temples, wherewith houſes doe ſhine? What of heapes of ſtone, faſhioned to be round and ſmooth, whereof we make galleries and houſes capable to receiue whole peoples? What of *Ciphers* and characters, whereby a man collecteth a whole oration, how ſwiftly ſoeuer it bee pronounced, that in ſuch ſort the hand ſhall be ſo light that it ſhall follow the ſwiftneſſe of the tongue? Theſe are the deuices of the baſeſt ſlaues: wiſdome ſitteth more high, neither teacheth ſhe the hands, ſhe is a miſtreſſe of mindes. Wilt thou know what thing ſhe hath found forth, or what ſhe hath made? Not vnſeemely motions of the bodie, nor variable ſingings by the Trumpet and flute, by which breath being receiued, either in the going forth, or in the paſſing thorow, is formed into voice: nor weapons, nor wals, nor wars: ſhe endeuoreth profitable things, ſhe fauoreth peace, and calleth all mankind to liue in amitie. She is not, I ſay, an forger of inſtruments for neceſſary vſes. Why aſſigneſt thou ſo ſmall things vnto her? Thou ſeeſt that ſhe is the artificer of thy life. But ſhe tendeth to a bleſſed eſtate, to that ſhe leadeth, to that ſhe openeth the way. She ſheweth what be, and what ſeeme to be euill thing. She putteth vanitie out of the mind. She giueth ſolid greatnes, and repreſſeth arrogance which is grounded vpon wind, and is glorious in appearance: neither ſuffereth ſhe men to be ignorant, what difference there is betwixt great and ſwelling things; ſhe deliuereth the knowledge of all nature, and of her ſelfe. She declareth what the gods be, and of what ſort they be; what be the infernall, what the houſhold be, and what the *Genij*: what be thoſe euerlaſting ſoules, hauing the ſecond nature of deities; where they abide, what they doe, what they can, what they will.

Theſe

Theſe are her introductions, by meanes whereof no priuate hallowed place, but the huge Tẽple of all the Gods, euen this World is layd open: whoſe true Images, and true repreſentations ſhe hath diſcouered to the eyes of our vnderſtanding to behold. For our eyes are not ſtrong enough to diſcerne things ſo great. From thence afterward ſhe remounteth to the beginning of things, and to the eternall Wiſdome infuſed into the whole, and to the force of all ſeedes properly figuring euery thing. Conſequently ſhe beginneth to enquire of the minde, whence it was, where, how long, and in how many parts it is diuided. Then from corporall ſhe hath transferred her ſelfe to incorporall things, and hath examined the truth, and the arguments of them: after theſe, how the doubts of life and death ſhould be diſcerned. A Wiſeman withdraweth not himſelfe, I ſay, as *Poſidonius* imagineth, from theſe Arts, but I adde this alſo, that hee is not wholly addicted vnto them. For he had iudged nothing worthy of inuention, which he would not iudge worthy of perpetuall vſe. He would not admit thoſe things which he intended to diſmiſſe. *Anacharſis*, ſaith he, found out the Potters wheele by the turning whereof Veſſels be faſhioned. Then becauſe that the Potters wheele is found in *Homer*, he had rather that the Verſes ſhould ſeeme to be falſe, then a Fable. I doe not contend, that *Anacharchis* was the Author of this thing: and if he was, a Wiſeman indeed inuented it, but not as being a Wiſeman: as Wiſemen doe many things, as they bee men, not as they be Wiſemen. Suppoſe that a Wiſeman is exceeding ſwift, hee will excell all in running, as he is ſwift, not as he is wiſe. I would deſire to ſhew ſome Glaſſe-maker to *Poſidonius*, who with breath faſhioneth Glaſſe into many formes, which would ſcarce be framed by a diligent hand. Theſe things are found out, ſince we haue ceaſſed to find out a Wiſeman. *Democritus* (ſaith hee) is reported to haue inuented Fornaces, cauſing that two hollowed ſtones inclining by little and little the one towards the other, ſhould ioyne themſelues and be faſtned, to a ſtone in the middeſt. I ſay, that this is falſe. For before *Democritus* was borne, it was neceſſary that there ſhould bee both bridges and gates, the tops whereof for the moſt part are crooked. Furthermore, ye haue forgotten, how the ſame *Democritus* found out, how Iuory ſhould bee poliſhed, how a well purged ſtone ſhould be turned into an *Emerald*, and by what cocture at this day thoſe ſtones are coloured which are profitable to that vſe. Although that a Wiſeman hath found out theſe things, yet found he not them out, as hee is a Wiſeman: for a Wiſeman doth many things, which a dullard or ignorant man will performe as well, or it may be better. Askeſt thou what a Wiſeman hath found out, what he hath brought into light? Firſt, the nature of things, which he hath looked vpon, as other liuing Creatures haue done, with eyes ſlow to diuine things. Then the Law of life, which he hath directed according to all things: neyther only hath hee taught to know, but to follow the Gods, and to receiue accidents no otherwiſe then commands. He hath forbidden to obey falſe opinions, and he hath weighed with true eſtimation, of how great worth euery thing was: he hath condemned pleaſures mixed with repentance. And hath prayſed good things which will alwayes pleaſe, and hath made apparent, that he is the happieſt man, who hath no need of happineſſe: that hee is the moſt mightie man who hath power ouer himſelfe. I ſpeake not of that Philoſophie, which hath placed a Citizen out of his Countrey, Gods out of the World, and hath made a vertue of the vice: but concerning that, which ſuppoſeth that there is no good thing ſaue that which is honeſt, which cannot be corrupted either by the gifts of man or of Fortune; who for this cauſe

is to be prized, becauſe he will be corrupted by no price or preſent. I doe not ſuppoſe that this Philoſophie was in that rude age, wherein as there were no Artizans, but men by vſe it ſelfe to know that which they had need of: as before, in the Golden age, at ſuch time as the benefits of Nature were indifferently diſpoſed to thoſe that would take them, before that auarice and diſſolution had diſaſſembled men, and that both the one and the other were vnited to make inroades and pillages; the men in thoſe daies were not wiſe, although they did thoſe things which the wiſe ſhould doe. Aſſuredly there is no man that will prize or prayſe any other age or eſtate of mankind before this, neyther if God ſhould permit a man to frame a new World, and to giue Lawes vnto Nations, ſhould he allow any other thing, then that which is remembred to haue beene amongſt them, with whom

The ground then none did plow, none might diuide
Land, that to him alone might then betide.
The earth it ſelfe in common all did lie;
No toiling was, but things to grow did hie.

What Nation was more happie then that kinde of men? They enioyed the nature of things in common: Shee, as their mother, furniſhed them with that which was requiſite for them all, which was the ſame poſſeſſion of publique riches. Why ſhould I not repute ſuch men to be the richeſt that euer were, when as among them all, a man could not finde one that was poore? Couetouſneſſe hath made a forcible breach into things that were ſetled exceeding well: and whileſt ſhe deſired to take ſomewhat apart, and to turne it to the vſe of her ſelfe, ſhe hath made all things other mens, and from being vnmeaſurable, hath brought them into a ſtraite, and hath brought in pouertie, and by coueting many things, hath loſt all things. Although therefore ſhe would recouer and repaire that which ſhe hath loſt; although ſhee ſhould adde fields vnto fields, and driue out neighbors from their lands, either by price or wrong; although ſhe ſhould enlarge her poſſeſſions to be as bigge as Prouinces; and terme a long iourney thorow his Land, his poſſeſſion: yet no enlarging of limits ſhall bring vs thither, from whence we haue departed. When wee haue done all, we ſhall haue much; whereas before that we had the whole World. The Earth it ſelfe was more fertile without labour, and enlarged it ſelfe for the vſe of peoples who deuoured not one another. Whatſoeuer Nature had brought forth, it was a pleaſure no leſſe to haue found it out, then to ſhew the inuention to another: neither could there be either too much or too little for any one, where all was diuided amongſt thoſe that did agree. As yet the ſtronger had not layed hand vpon the weaker, as yet a couetous man did not by hiding that which he hoarded vp for him, exclude another from neceſſarie things. Each one cared as much for his companion as himſelfe. Weapons did ceaſe, & hands were not tainted with humane bloud; they turned all their hatred vpon beaſts. They whom ſome thicke wood had couered from the Sunne, who liued ſafe vnder leaues in a baſe cottage, againſt the rigour of Winter or of raine, paſſed ouer pleaſant nights, without ſighing. Carefulneſſe toſſeth vs in our purple, and ſtirreth vs vp with moſt ſharpe prickes; the hard ground gaue ſoft ſleepe vnto them. Carued roofes did not hang ouer them, but they lying in the open ayre, the Starres did ſlide ouer them, and the notable ſpectacle of the nights; the world was driuen on apace, leading ſo great

great a worke with ſilence: as well by day, as by night, the proſpect of this moſt beautifull houſe did lye open: one might behold the ſignes, declyning from the middle part of heauen, and againe, ſome ariſing from their hidden place. How could it but delight to wander amongſt miracles that be ſo largely ſpread abroad? But ye be afraid of euerie cracke or ſhattering of your houſes, and if any thing make a noiſe amongſt your pictures, ye flie away aſtoniſhed. They had not houſes like vnto Cities. They dwelt in open places, expoſed to the wind that gently blew vpon them on euerie ſide; a Rocke or a Tree was their ſhadow; then had they cleare Fountaines, Brookes gently falling by them of themſelues, neither diuerted by any mans hand, nor drawne away by Pipes, nor inforced any waies; their fields were pleaſant, and fruitfull without induſtrie, and in the midſt thereof ſtood their Countrey Cabban builded after a ruſticke manner. This houſe was according to Nature, which whoſoeuer inhabited, he feared not leſt his houſe ſhould fall on him, or he fall throw his houſe: But now adayes, our houſes be a great part of our feare. But although their life was moſt happie, and farre from deceit, yet were they not wiſe men, becauſe this word hath relation to an accompliſhed worke. Notwithſtanding, I denie not, but that they were men of an high ſpirit, and freſhly ſprung from the gods: for the world being not as yet waſted in ſtrength, ſent forth better things. But as all of them haue had a nature more powerfull and addreſſed for labours; ſo their wits were not conſummated in all things. For Nature giueth not vertue; it is an art to be made good. They ſought not for Gold, nor Siluer, nor gliſtering ſtones ſhining amongſt the loweſt dregges of the earth, yea as yet they ſpared dumbe creatures: ſo farre was it from them, that a man in thoſe dayes in colde bloud, without feare, and in way of paſtime, ſhould kill one another. Their garments as yet were not painted, as yet they were not imbroydered or tiſſued with gold, for the gold in thoſe daies was not ſeene aboue the earth. What therefore? did the ignorance of things make them innocent? but there is much difference, whether one will not, or elſe know not how to ſinne. They wanted iuſtice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude. This rude life had certaine things which had ſome reſemblance of all theſe vertues. Vertue entereth, and is entertained in no mind, except it be inſtructed and taught, and brought to the higheſt by continuall exerciſe. We are borne to this, but without this, and in the beſt men alſo before thou inſtructeſt them, the matter of vertue remaineth, not vertue it ſelfe.

Epist. XCI.

The doleſull and ſudden burning of the Colony at Lyons: by reaſon of which accident, we are to bethinke of ſudden things, and ſuch as may befall a man. He ſetteth before our eies the vncertaintie and variableneſſe of things: the greateſt and moſt firme things may be diminiſhed, changed, withdrawn, by earth-quake, waters and fire. All mortall things are condemned to periſh. Therefore neyther death nor infamie is to be feared by a man.

OVr *Liberalis* is now ſad, becauſe he hath receiued newes that the Citie of Lyons hath beene burned. This accident might moue any other man, much more, ſuch an one who loueth his Countrie exceeding much. This is the cauſe that maketh him to haue recourſe to his conſtancie and patience, which he hath faſhioned and

and exercised of long time, to support those accidents which as he thought might be feared. But I wonder not, if this so vnthought of mischiefe, and almost vnheard of, hath not beene without feare, sith it was without example. For fire hath vexed many Cities, but hath vtterly destroyed none. For although the enemie in a Citie taken by assault, hath sometimes set the houses on fire, and that the most part hath beene burned: and although afterward it hath beene renewed againe, notwithstanding seldome doth it so deuoure all, that nothing be left to the Sword. Scarce also at any time hath there beene so grieuous and so pernicious an earth-quake, as to ouerthrow whole Townes. Lastly, neuer hath there any where beene so terrible a fire, that nothing remained for a second fire. One night hath laid along so many most faire workes, euerie one of which might haue made seuerall Cities to haue beene famous; and that hath fallen forth in so great peace, as could not indeed be feared in open warre. Who can beleeue this? that when armes were laied apart, and peace was spred throughout the whole earth, *Lyons* that was poynted at in Gaule, should be so sought for. Fortune hath permitted all those, whom publiquely she hath afflicted, to feare that which they were to suffer: no great thing, but hath had some time before it grew to ruine. In this there was onely one night betweene a great Citie, and none at all. To conclude, I am longer in telling thee that it hath perished, then it was in perishing. All these considerations incline the affection, and shake the inconstancie of our friend *Liberalis*, who otherwise is firme and resolute in that which concerneth him. Neyther is he shaken and agrieued without a cause. Vnexpected things doe aggrauate the more: Noueltie addeth weight to miseries: neyther is there any mortall man that conceiueth not more griefe for that he hath most admired. For remedie whereof, it becommeth vs to foresee all accidents whatsoeuer, wee ought to send our mindes before all things, and not onely to that one alone which is vsuall, but also on that which may happen. For what is it, that fortune cannot when she will, take away euen from the most flourishing? which she cannot by so much the more assault and shake, by how much it shineth the more beautifully? What is hard, or what is difficult vnto her? She encountreth not with vs daily, nor wholly after one manner. Sometimes she beateth vs with our owne hands, sometimes contented with her owne strength, shee findeth forth dangers without an author. In all times, yea euen from our pleasures, she deriueth the causes of our dolors. Warre ariseth in the middest of peace, and the meanes of securitie are changed into feare. A friend and companion becomes an aduersarie, and an enemie. The Sommer calmes will change into sodaine stormes, more violent then those of the Winter. Without an enemie, we suffer hostile things; and too great felicitie hath found forth causes of slaughter vnto it selfe, if other things fayle. Diseases set vpon the most temperate, the consumption vpon the strongest, punishment vpon the most innocent, tumult vpon the most secret. Chance chuseth some new thing, by which as it were forgetting, she reneweth her owne strength. Whatsoeuer long continuance of many labours, and much fauour of God hath builded vp, one day scattereth and dissipateth it. He that saith, that one day, one houre, one minute of time sufficeth to ouerthrow the greatest Empires, hath assigned a long terme to humane calamities, considering they may come and goe likewise in a farre shorter space. There were some comfort to our weakenesse, and to our affaires, if all things were repaired with so great speed as they be finished. At this day, the reparations aduance themselues slowly, and the damages

mages fall out ſodainely, nothing is firme either in priuate or publique, the ruines and confuſions as well of the particulars as of publique eſtates, aduance themſelues. Feare nearely attendeth the choyſeſt pleaſure; and although there are no occaſions of troubles outwardly, miſchiefes breake forth from ſuch places where they were leaſt expected. Theſe Kingdomes which ſtood both in ciuill and forraine warres, are ruined without any oppoſition. What Common-wealth could ſupport her felicitie? All things therefore are to be thought vpon, and the minde is to be confirmed againſt thoſe things that may happen. Thinke vpon exiles, torments, warres, ſickneſſes, and ſhipwrackes. Fortune may bereaue thee of thy Countrey, or make thee ſee the deſolation thereof: ſhe can caſt thee into a deſert, ſhe can make that place deſolate, wherein the people is almoſt ſtifled with thronging. Let the whole condition of mans life be ſet before our eyes, and let vs conſider in our minds (if we would not be oppreſſed, neither ſtupified with any vnuſuall miſeries, as if they were new) not how much happeneth oftentimes, but how much may for the moſt part fall out. We muſt wholly apprehend the inconſtancie of the affaires of this World. How often haue the Cities of Aſia and Achaia beene ruinated by one earth-quake? How many Cities in Syria, and how much hath the earth deuoured in Macedon? How often hath this miſerie afflicted Cyprus? how often hath Paphos beene buried in her owne ruines? Oftentimes haue we heard newes of the deſtructions of whole Cities, and wee amongſt whom theſe rumours are ordinarily ſpread, how ſmall a part are wee of all things? Let vs therefore erect our ſelues againſt aduerſities, and whatſoeuer thing may happen, let vs know that it is not ſo great as is reported. A rich Citie, the ornament of all thoſe her neighbouring Prouinces who reſpected her, being built vpon a Hill (and that not ouer high) is burned. And time alſo ſhall conſume the verie foundations of all theſe Cities, which now thou heareſt prayſed for their magnificence and riches. Seeſt thou not how in Achaia the foundations of famous Cities are conſumed? and that nothing is extant whereby it may be knowne that in times paſt they haue beene. Not onely thoſe things which are framed by hand doe periſh. Not onely ſuch things as mans Art and induſtrie hath planted, doth time ouerturne, but the mountaine tops moulder, and whole Regions are come to nought. Thoſe places are couered with the Sea that ſtood farre off from the ſight of the ſame. The fire hath conſumed the Mountaines from the hollow whereof it flamed out. And in times paſt hath eaten away the higheſt Promontories which were a ſollace to Sailers, and brought the proudeſt hills to humble ſhoares. The verie workes of nature are endammaged, and therefore ought we to ſuffer patiently the deſtruction of cities. All things that ſtand muſt fall, and an end remaineth to all things: whether it be that the winds ſhut in by an internal force and blaſt, haue ſhaken off the weight vnder which they be held; or the force of flouds in ſecret, hath throwne downe thoſe things that ſtand againſt them; or the violence of flames hath broken the ioyning together of the ground; or age, from which nothing is ſafe, hath by little and little ouercome them: or the vnwholeſomeneſſe of the skie hath caſt out people, and ſituation hath corrupted deſerts. It is a long thing to reckon vp all the waies of the deſtinies. This one thing I know, that all the workes of mortall men are condemned by mortalitie. We liue amongſt thoſe things that periſh. Theſe and ſuch like comforts I apply to our *Liberalis*, who is inflamed with an ineſtimable loue to his Countrey; which peraduenture is conſumed, that it might be the better

better builded vp. Oftentimes iniurie hath made place to greater fortune. Many things haue fallen that they might riſe higher and greater. *Timagines* an enemie to the proſperitie of the Citie, did ſay, that he grieued at the firing of Rome for this one thing, becauſe he knew that a better would riſe againe, then had beene burned. In this Citie alſo it is verie like, that all will ſtriue, that greater and more laſting buildings may be reſtored then they haue loſt. I wiſh that they may be more long-laſting, and builded with better ſignes of lucke for a longer age to come. For it is ſcarcely one hundreth yeares paſt, ſince this Colony was planted there, which is ſcarcely the complete age of a man. This Colony being thus increaſed, vnder the conduct of *Plancus*, by reaſon of the commoditie of the place, hath reinforced it ſelfe, and yet notwithſtanding in the ſpace of an old mans age, ſhe hath ſuffered grieuous miſfortunes. Let the ſoule be framed to vnderſtanding, and patient ſufferance of his condition, and let her know, that there is nothing which Fortune dare not doe. That ſhe hath the ſame right againſt Empires, which ſhee hath againſt thoſe that doe rule: that ſhe can doe the ſame againſt Cities, that ſhe doth againſt men. None of theſe things is to be fretted at. Wee haue entred into that world, wherein men liue by theſe Lawes: Pleaſeth it? Obey. Pleaſeth it not? Depart which way thou will. Be angrie, if any thing bee fooliſhly, or vniuſtly reſolued vpon by thy ſelfe. But if this neceſſitie tieth the higheſt and loweſt, therefore returne into fauour with Deſtinie, by which all things are diſſolued. There is no cauſe that thou meaſure vs with Tombes, and with theſe Monuments, which being of vnequall bigneſſe, doe compaſſe the way about. The duſt maketh all equall. We are borne vnlike, we die alike. The ſame I ſay of Cities, that of the Inhabitants of Cities. As well was Ardea taken, as Rome. That maker of mankind hath not diſtinguiſhed vs by birth, nor by famouſneſſe of names, no longer then we be. But when we come to the end of mortall things: O ambition, ſaith he, depart thou; let there be the ſame law in all things that liue vpon the earth. Wee are equally ſubiect to all ſorts of euils. No man is more fraile then another, no man is more certaine to liue vntill the next day, then another. *Alexander* the King of the Macedonians, began like a wretch to learne Geometrie, to the end that he might know how little the earth was, whereof he had poſſeſſed verie little. I call him miſerable for this, becauſe he was to vnderſtand that he did beare a falſe ſirname. For who can be great in ſo ſmall a thing? Thoſe leſſons which he was to learne, were ſubtill, and were to bee attayned by diligent attention, but they could not enter into this head of his puffed vp with vanitie, who ſent his thoughts beyond the Ocean Sea. Teach me, ſaith he, eaſie things. To whom his Maſter ſaid; Theſe things be the ſame, & alike difficult vnto all. Preſuppoſe likewiſe, my *Lucilius*, that Nature ſpeaketh thus vnto thee. Theſe things whereof thou complayneſt, they are the ſame vnto all: more eaſie things can be giuen vnto none; but whoſoeuer will, ſhall make them more eaſie vnto himſelfe. How? With patience. It is meet both that thou grieue, & thirſt, and be hungrie, and waxe olde; and if longer ſtay amongſt men befall thee, that thou be ſicke, and loſe ſomewhat, and doe periſh. Notwithſtanding, there is no cauſe that thou mayeſt beleeue theſe things which make a noyſe about thee. None of them are bad, none intollerable or hard. They are feared, becauſe all men by common conſent ſuppoſe them to be dreadfull: Thou feareſt death as thou wouldeſt a falſe report. But what is more fooliſh then a man fearing words? Our *Demetrius* was accuſtomed elegantly to ſay, that the ſpeeches of the vnskilfull

were

were as much eſteemed by him, as was the breaking of winde. For what difference, ſaith he, is there vnto me, whether that theſe doe make a noyſe from aboue or from below? How great madneſſe is it to be afraid, leſt thou be diſcredited by thoſe that haue no credit? As ye haue feared fame without cauſe, ſo likewiſe feare you that which dependeth thereupon, which you would neuer feare, if common report commanded you not. What loſſe ſhall a good man ſuffer, beeing beſpotted with vniuſt reports? The ſiniſter iudgement which men conceiue of death, ſhould not make her diſtaſtfull in reſpect of vs: the feare of a common report is wicked, none of them that haue accuſed death, haue tryed it. In the meane ſpace, it is raſhneſſe to condemne that which thou knoweſt not. But thou knoweſt this, how profitable ſhe is to many, how many ſhe freeth from torments, from pouertie, from complaints, from puniſhments, from tediouſneſſe. We are not in the power of any thing, ſith death is in our owne power.

Epist. XCII.

That reaſon ruleth in man, and that all things are to be referred to it, and that bleſſed life is in it when it is perfect. That externall things haue light or no weight. Alſo, that pleaſure is of no moment, it is the good of vnreaſonable creatures. And yet that externall things may be aſſumed, which are according to Nature; but with iudgement: and that this then is good in them, to bee well choſen. Neuertheleſſe alſo without them, that one is bleſſed, yea moſt bleſſed by vertue alone. Theſe things may befall: yet beeing added, they doe not encreaſe, nor being taken away, doe decreaſe bleſſedneſſe: Againſt which no time can doe any thing. Let vs be like to God, let vs haue recourſe to him.

I Thinke that thou and I agree of this, that externall things are gotten for the body, and that the bodie is reuerenced for the honour of the minde, that there be ſeruile parts in the minde, whereby we be mooued and nouriſhed, giuen vnto vs for that principall thing. In this principall there is ſomewhat that is vnreaſonable and reaſonable. That ſerueth to this. This is one thing, that is not referred vnto any beſides: but it carrieth all things vnto it ſelfe. For diuine reaſon hath power ouer all things, and is not of it ſelfe ſubiect to any. Our reaſon likewiſe is the like, for it proceedeth from the diuine. If we agree amongſt our ſelues concerning this, it followeth alſo that we agree concerning that, that bleſſed life is placed in this one thing, that reaſon may be perfect in vs. For ſhe onely ſtandeth firme, and maketh head againſt Fortune. She being conſerued, warranteth vs from all confuſions. But that is the onely good, which is neuer impayred. He, I ſay, is bleſſed, whom nothing maketh leſſer; he holdeth the chiefe, and dependeth not indeed vpon any thing, ſaue vpon himſelfe: For he may fall, who is ſuſtained by the helpe of another. If it be otherwiſe, thoſe things that be not ours, ſhall begin to preuaile much in vs. But who will depend on Fortune, or what wiſe man admireth himſelfe for thoſe things that be anothers? What is bleſſed life? ſecuritie and perpetuall tranquilitie. The greatneſſe of the minde will giue vs this, and a firme conſtancie of a thing well iudged of. But how come we to this? If all veritie be throughly looked

looked vpon; it an order, manner, comelineſſe, and an hurtleſſe will, or that which is bountifull, and bent to reaſon, and neuer departing from it (being both louely, and to be admired) be preſerued in the doing of things. Lastly, that I may briefly write the forme vnto thee, ſuch ought the minde of a wiſe man to be, as may become a god. What can he deſire, who is in poſſeſſion of all vertues? For if things that be not honeſt, can conferre any thing to the perfection of our condition, bleſſed life ſhall be in thoſe things, without which ſhe cannot ſubſiſt. And what is more fooliſh or more diſhoneſt, then to tie the good of a reaſonable ſoule vnto vnreaſonable things? Notwithſtanding, ſome iudge that the chiefeſt good may receiue increaſe, becauſe it is not accompliſhed as long as the accidents of this life reſiſt it. For this cauſe, *Antipater*, one of the chiefeſt Authors of this ſect, ſaith, that he attributeth ſomwhat, but verie little, to externall things. This, as thou ſeeſt, is not to content a mans ſelfe with the Sun, but to require further light from a pettie lampe. What moment in this cleareneſſe of the Sunne can a ſparke of fire haue? If thou art not contented with honeſtie alone, it is needfull that thou deſire that quiet ſhould be added thereunto, which the Grecians call *heſychian*, or pleaſure. The one of theſe things howſoeuer, may be receiued. For the minde is void of trouble, it freely beholdeth the vniuerſe, and nothing calleth it away from the contemplation of Nature. That other thing, namely pleaſure, is the good of a Beaſt. We adde an vnreaſonable thing to that which is reaſonable, a diſhoneſt thing to that which is honeſt. Doth the tickling of the body cauſe a happie life? Why therefore doubt ye to ſay, that a man is well, if his taſte be well? And numbreſt thou him, I doe not ſay, amongſt men, but amongſt mankinde, whoſe chiefeſt good conſiſteth of taſtes, and colours, and ſounds? Let that creature which is borne to eate onely, depart from that moſt beautifull number of liuing creatures, who are next vnto the gods, and let him be numbred with brute beaſts. The vnreaſonable part of the minde hath two parts: the one couragious, ambitious, vnbridled, placed in the affections: the other baſe, languiſhing, giuen vnto pleaſures. They haue left that vnbridled, but better, certainely more valiant and more worthie a man: and haue thought this feeble and abiect to be neceſſarie to a bleſſed life. They haue commanded reaſon to ſerue this, and haue made that which is demiſſe and ignoble, to be the good of a moſt generous creature. Furthermore, it is mixed, and monſtrous, and framed of the diuers agreeing members of liuing creatures. For as our *Virgil* ſaith of *Scylla:*

> *A womans face and Virgines breaſts moſt faire*
> *Vntill her middle-part: after ſhee bare*
> *(Fiſh-like) a bodie vaſt with Dolphines tailes,*
> *And many a woluiſh paunch with her ſhe trailes.*

Wild Beaſts, fierce, horrible, and ſwift, are ioyned to this *Scylla*; but of what monſters haue theſe men compounded wiſdome? The firſt part of a man is vertue it ſelfe; the brittle and fading fleſh, which is onely apt to receiue meats, as *Poſidonius* ſaith, is annexed thereunto. That diuine vertue endeth in a mutable thing; and a ſluggiſh and decaying beaſt, is adioyned to the higher, venerable, and heauenly parts thereof. That repoſe (how quiet ſoeuer) gaue of it ſelfe nothing indeed to the minde, but remoued impediments. Pleaſure of her owne accord, diſſolueth and mollifieth all ſtrength. How can this

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diſagreeing coniunction of bodies be made to continu; A moſt ſluggiſh thing is adioyned to that which is moſt valiant; ſcarce ſerious things to that which is moſt ſeuere, euen a diſtemperate and confuſed thing to that which is moſt holy. What therefore, ſaith hee, if good health, and quiet, if a life exempt from ſorrowes, ſhall no wayes hinder vertue, wilt thou not ſeeke for thoſe things? Why ſhould I not ſeeke them? But not becauſe they are good, but becauſe they be commodities according to nature, and becauſe with good iudgement I make vſe of them. What good then ſhall there be in them? This one, that they haue beene well choſen. For when I take ſuch a garment as is meet, when I walke as is requiſit; when I ſup as I ought: it is not the ſupper, or walking, or apparrell are good things, but my purpoſe in theſe of keeping a meane agreeable vnto reaſon in euerie thing. Yea now I will adde, the choice of neat apparell is to be deſired by a man. For man is by nature a neat and elegant creature. Therefore neat apparrell is not a good thing by it ſelfe, but the choice of neat apparel; becauſe it is not good in the thing, but in the choice: becauſe our actions be honeſt, not thoſe things in which wee imploy our ſelues. That which I haue ſpoken of apparrell, ſuppoſe that I haue ſpoken the ſame concerning the bodie. For Nature hath alſo compaſſed the minde with this, as a certaine apparrell, it is the couer thereof. But who at any time hath eſteemed his apparrell by his cheſt? A ſheath maketh the ſword to be neither good nor bad. I alſo do anſwer thee the ſame concerning the bodie: I would take indeed, if choyſe be giuen, both health and ſtrength. But my iudgement concerning them, and not they themſelues, ſhal be that which is good. A wiſe man is bleſſed indeed, ſaith he; yet notwithſtanding, he obtaineth not that chiefeſt good, except alſo that naturall inſtruments be correſpondent vnto him. Thus wretched indeed he cannot be, who hath vertue: but he is not moſt bleſſed, who is deſtitute of the benefits of Nature, as of health, and of ſoundneſſe of members. Thou granteſt that which ſeemeth to be more incredible, that a man is not miſerable in the greateſt and continuall dolors, but rather that he is bleſſed: thou denieſt that which is more ſlight, that he is moſt bleſſed. But if vertue can be the cauſe that a man ſhould not be miſerable, more eaſily may ſhe make him more bleſſed. For leſſe diſtance remaineth from bleſſed to moſt bleſſed, then from miſerable to bleſſed. Cānot that thing which deliuereth a man from his calamities, and placeth him amongſt the number of the happier ſort, accompliſh and adde the reſt vnto him, and make him intirely happy? Fainteth ſhe on the top of the mountaine? Commodities and diſcommodities are in life; both are without vs. If a good man be not miſerable, although he be preſſed with all diſcommodities; how is he not moſt bleſſed, although he be deſtiture of ſome commodities? For euen as the burthen of diſcommodities plungeth him not into miſerie, ſo likewiſe the want of commodities draweth him not back from his perfect felicitie. But aſwel he is moſt bleſſed without commodities, as he is not miſerable by diſcommodities. Cannot his good be taken from him, if it can be diminiſhed? A little before I ſaid, that a ſmall fire helpeth not the light of the Sun. For whatſoeuer ſhineth without it, is hid with the cleareneſſe thereof. But certaine things, ſaith he, doe alſo hinder the Sun. But the force and the light of the Sun is whole, euen amongſt oppoſit things: and although ſomwhat may interpoſe it ſelfe, which may hinder vs from the ſight of it, yet ceaſeth he not to finiſh his courſe. So often as he hath ſhined amongſt the clouds, he is neither leſſer in bodie, nor ſlower in motion, then when he ſhineth bright; for there is great differēce, whether that ſomwhat do only ſtand againſt or hinder.

After the ſame ſort, oppoſite things detract nothing from vertue. Shee is not leſſe, but ſhineth leſſe: It may be that we ſee her not ſo well nor ſo clearely, yet is ſhe the ſame vnto her ſelfe, and after the faſhion of the obſcured Sunne, doth in ſecret exerciſe her force. Therefore calamities, loſſes, and iniuries, can doe as much againſt vertue, as a ſmall cloud can doe againſt the Sunne. Some one there is that ſaith, that a wiſe man being ſickly, is neyther miſerable nor bleſſed. But he likewiſe is deceyued; for he matcheth caſuall things with vertues, and attributeth ſo much to honeſt things, as to things wanting honeſtie. But what is more filthie, what is more vnworthie, then to compare venerable things with thoſe that are baſe? For faith, iuſtice, pietie, fortitude, prudence, are venerable things: on the contrarie, thoſe things be abiect and vile, which light vpon thoſe men for the moſt part who are the baſeſt, namely, a ſound thigh, and arme, and teeth, and the health and ſtrength of theſe. Againe, if a wiſeman who hath a diſeaſed bodie, ſhall be accounted neither miſerable nor bleſſed, but ſhall be left in the middeſt: his life alſo ſhall neither be to be deſired nor to be fled from. But what is ſo abſurde, as that a wiſe mans life ſhould not be deſired? and what is ſo without credit, as that there is a life which is not to be deſired, or to be fled from? Then if the loſſes of the bodie doe not make a man miſerable, they ſuffer him to be bleſſed. For thoſe things which haue no power to tranſport vs into a worſer eſtate, haue not power indeed to hinder vs from the beſt eſtate. We know, ſaith he, that ſomewhat is hote, and ſomewhat colde: and that luke-warme is betwixt them both. So one is bleſſed, and another miſerable; another neyther miſerable nor bleſſed. I will diligently diſcuſſe this ſimilitude which is oppoſed againſt vs. If I ſhall put more cold into that luke-warme, it will be made colde: if I ſhall powre on more warme, it ſhall at laſt be made warme. But how much ſoeuer I ſhall adde to the miſeries of this man, who is neyther miſerable nor bleſſed, hee ſhall not bee miſerable, as yee ſay, therefore this ſimilitude is vnlike. Furthermore, I propoſe vnto thee a man neyther miſerable nor bleſſed: I adde blindneſſe to him, he is not miſerable: I adde weakeneſſe, hee is not miſerable: I adde continuall and grieuous dolours, hee is not miſerable. Hee whom ſo many euils tranſlate not into a miſerable life; they doe not indeede leade him from a bleſſed life. If a wiſe man, as yee ſay, cannot fall from being bleſſed, to become miſerable, he cannot bee but happie. For why ſhould he, who hath begun to ſlide, ſtay any where? That thing which ſuffereth him not to be rolled to the bottome, keepeth him in the toppe. But why cannot a bleſſed life be cut off? Indeed it cannot be leſſened; and therefore vertue it ſelfe, by it ſelfe, is ſufficient for it. What therefore, ſaith he, is not a wiſe man more bleſſed, who hath liued longer, whom no dolour hath called away: then hee who oftentimes hath wraſtled with bad ſucceſſe? Anſwere mee, I pray thee: Is he better or more vertuous? If he be not, certainely he is not more bleſſed. It is meet that he liue more rightly, that hee may liue more bleſſedly: If hee cannot liue more rightly, he cannot liue more bleſſedly indeede. Vertue is not augmented: no more is a happie life which proceedeth from the ſame. For vertue is ſo great a good thing, that it feeleth not theſe ſmall additions, ſuch as are ſhortneſſe of life, and dolour, and diuers diſcommodities of the bodie. For pleaſure is not worthie to bee reſpected by vertue. What is the chiefeſt in vertue? To haue no neede of that which hereafter is to come, nor to reckon his dayes. In whatſoeuer time ye will, eternall good maketh abſolutely perfect.

Theſe

Theſe things ſeeme incredible vnto vs, and ſurpaſſing humane nature. For we meaſure the maieſtie of vertue by our weakeneſſe, and we impoſe the name of vertue vpon our vices. But why ſhould any man repute it for a matter incredible, that one being placed in greateſt torments, ſhould ſay, I am bleſſed? But ſuch like ſpeeches haue beene heard in the verie ſhop of pleaſure: *I liue*, ſaith EPICVRVS, *this moſt bleſſed and laſt day:* when on the one ſide, difficultie of making water tormented him, and on the other ſide, an incurable dolour of an exulcerated belly tortured him. Why therefore are theſe things incredible with them who imbrace vertue: ſith they haue beene found amongſt thoſe who haue beene drowned in pleaſures? Theſe degenerate and baſe minded ſay, that a wiſe man ſhall not be miſerable, nor bleſſed, in greateſt dolours, in greateſt calamities. But this alſo is incredible, yea more incredible. For I ſee not, how vertue being caſt from her owne height, likewiſe may not be driuen into the loweſt. She eyther ought to make a man bleſſed; or if ſhe be driuen from this, ſhe ſhall not hinder a man to become miſerable. He that ſtandeth cannot be ouercome: it is requiſite that eyther he be ouercome, or ouercome. Some will ſay, that vertue and bleſſed life attendeth the immortall gods onely: I anſwer, that we haue a certaine ſhadow and ſimilitude of thoſe good things which wee neerly approach vnto, but cannot attaine them. But reaſon is common to gods and men: This is conſummated in them, begun and not perfected in vs. But our vices draw vs to deſpayre. Touching the vnreaſonable part, as one ſcarce conſtant to keepe the beſt things whoſe iudgement is vncertaine and irreſolute, it deſireth to content the eyes and the eares, to haue good health, beautie, ſtrength, and long life. By the meanes of the other partie endowed with reaſon, the vertuous man may execute things which are not to be repeated, as the ignorant man doth who is ſeazed with a certaine malice, which diſpoſeth his ſpirit to euill things. Contrariwiſe, the actions of the wiſe man, are exempt from malice, although that otherwiſe his motion be imperfect. As yet he is not good, but is faſhioned for good: But he is euill, whoſoeuer wanteth any thing to be good.

But ſuch a man whom we ſtill conſtant finde,
That ſtill hath vertue preſent in his minde,

He equalleth the gods, he tendeth to heauen, he remembreth him his originall. No wicked man ſtriueth to aſcend thither, whence he had deſcended. But what is the cauſe, why thou eſteemeſt not, that there is ſome diuine thing in him, who is a part of God? All this world, wherein we are contained, is one, is God: and we are the fellowes and the members of him. Our minde comprehendeth much, it mounteth to heauen if vices preſſe it not downe. Euen as the ſhape of our bodies is vpright, and our face looketh towards heauen: ſo the ſoule, which may extend her ſelfe as much as ſhe will, was formed by Nature, to will things equall to the gods, and ſo to vſe her ſtrength, and to extend her ſelfe into her owne ſpace. For if ſhe mounted on high on other wings then her owne, it were an infinite payne for her to tower vp to heauen: when ſhe hath boldly performed this voyage for which alſo ſhe hath taken her beeing, all the world and nothing are all one vnto hir; her eyes are not fixed on earthly poſſeſſions. As for Gold and Siluer, (worthie to bee hidden in that darkeneſſe from whence they were drawne,) ſhee prizeth them, not for their brightneſſe, which in ſome ſort bewitcheth the eyes of the

ignorant, and hath withdrawne them from the contemplation of heauen, ſince ſuch time as our couetouſneſſe began to prize and draw them from the entrailes of the earth. She knoweth that riches are in other coffers and Cabanets then thoſe of the world; that we ought to fill our ſoules, and not our Treaſuries or Sachels. It is the ſoule that ought to gouerne all things, that ought to be put in poſſeſſion of the goods of Nature. Let the East and Weſt be her limit, and let her poſſeſſe all things after the manner of the gods; let her from aboue deſpiſe rich men with their riches: of whom none is ſo ioyful in his own, as ſorrowful at another mans. When ſhe hath lifted vp her ſelf into this loftineſſe, ſhe is alſo not a louer, but a manager of the bodie, as of a neceſſarie burthen: neither ſubiecteth ſhe her ſelfe to that, ouer which ſhee is ſet. Whoſoeuer ſerueth the bodie is a ſlaue; for without mentioning other maſters introduced by the ouer great care that a man hath of himſelfe, his power is tedious and diſſolute. Sometimes the ſoule diſlodgeth peaceably, ſometimes ſhe departeth couragiouſly, without care what ſhall become of that ſhe leaueth behind her. But as we neglect the haires that be ſhauen from the beard; ſo that diuine ſoule being to depart out of the bodie, ſuppoſeth that it concerneth her in no ſort what ſhall become of hir caſe or couer, (whether the fire burne it vp, or the beaſts pluck it aſunder, or the earth couer it) no more then the ſecondines pertaine to an infant new borne. As much is it to her whether it be caſt for a prey to the birds, or deuoured in the Sea by Doggefiſhes. What is this to her? He, who during his conuerſation amongſt men, feareth no threats: ſhall he after death feare any threats of them, whom we ſcarce ought to feare vntill death? The hooke, ſaith he, ſhall not teare mee, nor the rending of my dead carcaſſe caſt out to reproach, although loathſome to them that ſhall looke on. I requeſt no man for a laſt duetie: I commend my reliques to no man. Nature it ſelfe hath prouided that no man ſhould be vnburied. Whom cruelty hath caſt forth, the day ſhall burie. *Mecænas* ſaith eloquently:

I care not for a Tombe or any Graue,
To burie my remaines Nature will craue.

Thou wouldeſt haue thought that a man of great ſpirit and reſolution had ſpoken this: for he had both a great and a manly wit, except he himſelfe effeminately had managed it.

Epist. XCIII.

Concerning the death of the Philoſopher Metronactes, *who died a young man. That is of ſmall regard: alſo life is to be meaſured, not by ſpace, but by act. Euerie good Life is that which is long: Laſtly, nothing here is long.*

IN the Epiſtle wherein thou bewailedſt the death of *Metronactes* the Philoſopher, as though he might & ought to haue liued longer, I haue deſired thy moderation, which is abundant in thee towards euery perſon and in euery buſineſſe, but faileth in one thing, wherein it faileth all men. I haue found many vpright

towards

towards men, but none towards the gods. We daily chide Deſtinie: why was ſuch a one taken away in the midſt of his courſe? And why liueth ſuch a one ſo long? Why extendeth he his olde age in ſuch ſort that he is both grieuous to himſelfe and to others? Whether, I pray thee, iudgeſt thou it to be more fit, that thou obey Nature, or that Nature obey thee? Or what skilleth it how ſoone thou departeſt from a place, from whence either ſooner or later thou muſt depart? We muſt not care to liue long, but to liue enough. For to liue long, thou haſt need of Deſtinie, to liue ſufficiently thou onely needeſt courage. Life is long if it be full: but ſhe is filled, when the ſoule hath reſtored her owne good vnto her ſelfe, and hath tranſlated the power of her ſelfe to her ſelfe. What doe foureſcore yeares profit a man that hath ſpent them in idleneſſe? This man liued not, but made an abode in life; neither lately, but long agoe did he die. He liued foureſcore yeares. But we muſt know from what day thou makeſt account of his death. But he died young; yet he performed the dueties of a good Citizen, of a good friend, of a good ſonne: he fayled in no part: although his age were imperfect, his life was perfect. He liued foureſcore yeares; yea, he liued not, but was in the world, except peraduenture thou ſayeſt him to haue liued ſo, as Trees are ſaid to liue. I deſire thee, my *Lucilius*, that we endeuour this, that euen as pretious things, ſo our life may not lie much open, but may be worth much. Let vs meaſure it by our actions, not by time. Wilt thou know what difference there is betweene this courageous young man, and this contemner of Fortune, who hath gone through all the degrees of humane life, and is promoted vnto the highest good, and that other ouer whom many yeares haue paſſed? The younger liueth euen then when he is dead, the other periſhed before death. So then, let vs praiſe and place him in the number of the happie, who hath imployed his time well, how little ſoeuer it were. For he hath ſeene true light, he hath not beene one of the ordinarie ſort; he liueth, and hath liued, and hath flouriſhed. Sometime he hath clearely appeared in the calme of Fortune; ſometime, as it is ordinarie, the brightneſſe of his fortune hath not ſparkled, but thorow the clouds of aduerſitie. Why ſeekeſt thou, how long he hath liued? He liued euen vntill poſteritie: he paſſed away, and gaue himſelfe to the memorie of ages to come. I will not refuſe a long life, yet will I not ſay, that any thing hath beene defectiue in my felicitie, although my yeares haue beene ſhortned. For I haue not appropriated my ſelfe vnto that day, which greedy hope hath aſſigned me to be my laſt: but I haue looked vpon euerie day, as if it had beene my laſt. Why askeſt thou me, when I was borne? Am I as yet reckoned amongſt thoſe that be more young? I haue that which is mine owne. Euen as in a leſſer habite of bodie, one may be a perfect man: ſo in a leſſer meaſure of time, there may be a perfect life. Age is amongſt externall things. It is not in my power to liue ſo long as I would, yet is it in my power to be a good man. Exact this of me, that I paſſe not the courſe of my life in darkneſſe, that I meaſure out an vnnoble age; that I may leade a life, not that I may bee violently carried through it. Wilt thou know what is the moſt ampleſt ſpace of life? To liue ſo long as that a man becommeth wiſe: He that commeth vnto that, hath attayned, not the longeſt, but the happieſt end. Such a one may glorie, and giue thankes vnto the gods; imputing in their preſence to himſelfe and to nature, that he hath beene. Deſeruedly ſhall he aſcribe it: for he hath returned a better life then he hath receiued. He hath propoſed vnto others the patterne of a good man: he hath ſhewed what an one and how great he was: if he had ad-

ded any thing, it had beene like vnto that which was paſt. And notwithſtanding how long doe we liue? We enioy the knowledge of all things. We know by what meanes the principall Nature ſuſtaineth her ſelfe, how ſhee ordereth the world, by what courſes ſhe recalleth the yeare, how ſhe hath ſhut vp all things which were at any time, and hath made her ſelfe the end of her ſelfe. We know, that the Starres haue their proper turnes and returnes: that nothing is ſtable but the earth: that other things rowle and runne away with a continuall ſwiftneſſe. We know how the Moone outſtrippeth the Sunne in his courſe, why the ſlower leaueth the ſwifter behind her: how ſhe receiueth or loſeth light: what cauſe bringeth on the night, what bringeth backe the day. Thither muſt we goe, where thou mayeſt behold theſe things more nerely: Neyther, ſaith the wiſe man, depart I more valiantly, becauſe I iudge that the way vnto my gods is laid open vnto mee. I haue deſerued to be admitted, I haue alreadie conuerſed with them: and I haue ſent my ſpirit vnto them, and they haue ſent theirs vnto me. But ſuppoſe that I be taken away, and that nothing of a man remaineth after death: I haue a minde as great as euer, although I ſhould depart into no place. Some will ſay, that ſuch a one liued not ſo many yeares as he might haue done. A man may write a booke of few Verſes, that is both praiſe-worthie and profitable: Thou knoweſt that the Chronicles of *Tamuſius* are in little requeſt, and what name is giuen them; ſo is the life of ſome men long, and extendeth it ſelfe further then *Tamuſius* Chronicles. Suppoſeſt thou him to be more happie, who is ſlaine in the euening of the day of his combate, then he who is ſlaine in the midſt of the day? What, thinkeſt thou that any one is ſo deſirous of life, that he had rather haue his throat cut in the place where the combatants are diſpatched, then where thoſe that are wounded to death in the Theater? No greater ſpace doe we one goe before another. Death apprehendeth all; he that killeth, followeth him cloſe who is killed. That is the leaſt, which men care for moſt. But what pertayneth it to the purpoſe how long thou auoydeſt, that which thou canſt not auoyde?

Epist. XCIIII.

A diſpute, whether the Teaching or Exhorting part of Philoſophie be more profitable? and whether the one can ſuffice without the other? Aristo *preferreth the former, and admitteth it alone: and his arguments be here. Others adioyne the other part, and ſhew the great vſes thereof;* and Seneca *diſtinguiſheth finely, wittily, and fruitfully. Reade and delight.*

SOme haue receiued that part of Philoſophie alone, which giueth proper precepts to euery perſon, but frameth not the whole man; perſwading the huſband how to carrie himſelf towards his wife; the father how to bring vp children; the maſter how to gouerne ſeruants: and haue left the other as extrauagant and eſtranged from our profit: as though any one could in part perſwade, except firſt he had comprehended the ſumme of vniuerſall life. But *Ariſto* a Stoick, on the contrarie eſteemeth this to be a light part, and which deſcendeth not euen vnto the breaſt: but that which hath not precepts, he ſaith, that it profiteth verie much; and that the decrees themſelues of Philoſophie, are the conſtitution of the

the chiefeſt good, which he that hath vnderſtood and learned well, himſelfe commandeth himſelfe, what is to be done on either part. Euen as he who learneth to caſt a Dart, taketh a fit place, and frameth his hand for the direction of thoſe things which he throweth; when he hath gotten this force by inſtruction and exerciſe, he vſeth it at whatſoeuer hee will; for he hath learned not to hit this or that, but whatſoeuer he will: ſo he who hath inſtructed himſelfe for his whole life, deſireth not particularly to be admoniſhed, hee being taught for the whole; not how to liue with a wife or with a ſonne, but how he may liue well: in this alſo is it comprehended, how he may liue with his wife and children. *Cleanthes* iudgeth this part alſo to bee profitable, but weake except it flowed from the whole, except one knew the very Decrees and heads of Philoſophie. Therefore this place is diuided into two queſtions: Whether it be profitable or vnprofitable, and whether it alone can make a good man, that is, whether it be ſuperfluous or can make all things elſe ſuperfluous. They who would haue this part to be thought ſuperfluous, ſay thus: If any thing that is ſet before the eyes, hindereth the ſight, it is to be remoued; but if that it be not remoued he hath loſt his labour, who hath giuen theſe inſtructions; thus thou ſhalt walke, neither ſhalt thou ſtretch out thine hand; after the ſame manner, when any thing blindeth the minde, and hindereth it from diſcerning the order of dueties, he doth nothing who deliuereth precepts: thus ſhalt thou liue with thy father, thus with thy wife. For precepts will profit nothing, ſo long as error cloudeth the vnderſtanding: if that be driuen away, it will appeare what is requiſite in euerie mans vocation. Otherwiſe, thou teacheſt him what a ſound man muſt doe, thou makeſt him not ſound. Thou ſheweſt to him that is poore, how to play the rich man: but how can this be done, if ſo be that pouertie remaine? Thou ſheweſt to him that is hungrie, what he may do as a man being full: rather take away hunger, which is faſtned in his entrailes. The ſame will I ſay vnto thee concerning all vices; the things themſelues are to be remoued away; wee are not to command that which cannot be done, whileſt they doe remaine. Except thou ſhalt expell falſe opinions, that we be troubled withall; neither will a couetous man heare how he muſt vſe money, nor a fearefull man how he may contemne dangers. It is requiſit that thou make him know that money is neither good nor bad: that thou ſhew vnto him that rich men are moſt miſerable: that thou cauſe, that whatſoeuer euerie man feareth is not ſo dreadfull, as Fame relateth it him to vnderſtand: no not dolour nor death: that oftentimes there is a great comfort in death, which of neceſſitie euerie man muſt vndergoe, which euerie one muſt be partaker of: that the remedie of griefe is a conſtant reſolution of the ſpirit, which maketh her burthen the lighter, the more cõſtantly ſhe beareth it. That the beſt condition of griefe is, that a man ſo tormented, cannot be made more great, and he that is great cannot be tormented. That all things are to be valiantly receiued, which the neceſſitie of the world impoſeth on vs. When thou haſt brought him vnto the ſight of his owne condition, and that he ſhall know that a bleſſed life is, not that which is according to pleaſure, but according to nature: when he ſhall altogether loue vertue, the onely good of a man, and ſhall flie from diſhoneſtie as that which is onely bad; hee ſhall know that all other things, namely, riches, honors, health, ſtrength, empire, be in the middle part, & are neither to be numbred amongſt the good, nor reckoned amongſt the euill. He ſhall need no inſtructor to ſay vnto him, walke thus, ſup after this manner; this becommeth a man, that a woman; this a married man, that a bachelor.

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For theſe things which they ſo diligently preſcribe, they themſelues cannot doe. Theſe things doth the Schoolmaſter teach his Scholler, the Grand-mother her nephew; and the moſt cholericke maſter of the World, argues that a man muſt not be angrie. If thou enter into the Schooles, thou ſhalt finde that children are taught all that for their Leſſon, which Philoſophers boaſt of with ſuch loftie lookes. Finally, whether wilt thou propoſe ſuch things as are manifeſt, or ſuch as are doubtfull? Thoſe things that are euident need not to be taught, and he that teacheth ſuch things as are doubtfull, is hardly beleeued. It is therefore a ſuperfluous thing to teach. This learne thus: If thou propoſeſt things that are obſcure and ambiguous, thou muſt confirme them by proofes. If thou wilt proue them, thoſe things by which thou proueſt are more auaileable, and are ſufficient enough of themſelues. Thus vſe thy friend, thus thy fellow Citizen, thus thy companion. Why? Becauſe it is iuſt. All theſe things the common place as touching iuſtice, will furniſh me with. There finde I that equitie is a thing to be deſired of it ſelfe, that feare cannot compell vs thereunto; and that for gaine we will not reſpect it: briefly, that he is not iuſt and vpright who approueth any thing in this vertue, but the vertue it ſelfe. When as I haue perſwaded my ſelfe of theſe things, and learned it perfectly, what doe theſe precepts profit me, which inſtruct the learned man? To giue precepts to a wiſe man, is a ſuperfluous trauail, to an ignorant man it ſufficeth not. For he muſt heare not onely what is taught him, but why it is taught him: that is to ſay, whether they be neceſſarie to him that hath true opinions as touching goods and euils, or to him that hath not: hee that hath them not, will be no waies profited by thee, for a common report contrary to thy admonitions hath filled and poſſeſſed his eares. He that hath an exact iudgement of that he ought to flie and follow, knoweth that which he ought to do, although thou be ſilent. All this part of Philoſophie therefore may be cut off. There are in vs two euils, which make vs commit others. Eyther in our mindes is there a malice contracted by euil opinions; or although it be not occupied with falſities, yet is it inclined vnto error, and is quickly corrupted by ſome vaine appearance, which draweth him thither whither he ſhould not pretend. It behoueth vs therefore either to cure the ſicke minde, and to deliuer it from vices, or if as yet it be not infected, but inclined vnto euill, to preuent it. The decrees of Philoſophie doe both the one and the other. And therefore all that other kind of teaching is vnprofitable. Furthermore, if we giue inſtructions to euery particular, we ſhould neuer make an end. For we muſt inſtruct the Vſurer one way, the Huſbandman another way, the Merchant thus, him that affecteth the friendſhip of Princes, otherwiſe: thus, thoſe that ſhould loue their equals: that way, ſuch as affect their inferiours. In matrimonie, they muſt teach how a man muſt liue with a wife, whom he married a Maid; how with her that had a huſband before; how with a rich, how with a poore one. Thinkeſt thou there is no difference betwixt a barren and a fruitfull woman, betweene an olde, and a young Maiden, betwixt a Mother, & a Step-dame? We cannot comprehend all kindes; and yet euerie one of them requireth ſeuerall leſſons and aduertiſements. But the lawes of Philoſophie are ſhort, and containe and write all things. Adde hereunto that a wiſe mans precepts ought to be limited and certaine; if they are found to be infinite, they are out of the limits of Philoſophie, wiſedome knoweth what the bounds of all things ſhould be. This part therefore which propoſeth things in particular ought to be remoued, becauſe that what ſhee promiſeth to performe to a few, ſhee cannot performe to all.

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Contrariwiſe wiſdome embraceth and contayneth all men. There is little difference betweene publike madneſſe, and that which the Phyſicians deſcribe, but that the particular is poſſeſſed with a certaine ſickneſſe, the publike is beſotted with falſe opinions: the one hath drawne the cauſes of his furie from the indiſpoſition of the body, the other from the infirmities of the minde. If a man ſhould giue Precepts to a furious man, and teach him how to ſpeake, how to walke out, how to behaue himſelfe in publike, how in priuate, he ſhould be more mad, then the mad man he teacheth. Hee muſt purge the melancholy humour, and the cauſe of furie muſt be remoued. The like muſt bee done in this other furie of the minde; it muſt be diſcuſſed and driuen away, otherwiſe all aduertiſement will be to no end. Theſe things are ſpoken by *Ariſton*. To whom we will anſwere in particular. Firſt to that where he ſaith, that if any thing hindereth the eye and letteth the ſight, it ought to be remoued: I confeſſe that he hath no need of Precepts to make him ſee, but of Medicines to purge his ſight, and the meanes to driue away that which blemiſheth the ſame. For by nature we ſee, and he that taketh away the obſtacles, hee returneth the eye to his ſight. But nature teacheth not a particular duty to euery one. Secondly, he that is cured of his ſuffuſion, cannot as ſoone as hee hath recouered his ſight, giue ſight to other men likewiſe. He that is rid of malice may recure alſo. The eye needeth neither exhortation nor counſell to vnderſtand the proprieties of colours, it will diſtinguiſh white from blacke without any teacher. Contrariwiſe, the minde needeth many Precepts to diſcerne what is to bee done in life. Albeit the Phyſician not onely cureth the infirme eye, but counſelleth alſo. Thou muſt not (ſaith he) expoſe thy weake eye-ſight ſuddenly to the open aire and brighter light; firſt from an obſcure place ſeeke out a ſhadie, then be more bolde, and by little and little accuſtome thy ſelfe to endure the cleare light. Thou muſt not ſtudie after meat; keepe thy ſelfe quiet where thine eyes are great and ſwolne. Auoid the winde and force of colde, leſt it beate vpon thy face; and ſuch like, which were no leſſe profitable then the medicines were. In briefe, Phyſick annexeth counſels to remedies. Error, ſaith he, is the cauſe of ſin, whereof counſell acquitteth vs not, neither conuinceth falſe opinions of good & euil things. I grant that precepts ſuffice not of themſelues to driue a peruerſe opinion out of the vnderſtanding: but it followeth not, that being annexed to others, they ſhould be vnprofitable. Firſt of all, they refreſh the memorie. Secondly, by their meanes, thoſe things which in generall ſeemed confuſed, being diuided into parts, are more diligently conſidered. Haply thou after this maner ſuppoſeſt conſolations and exhortations ſuperfluous, but they are not; conſequently not admonitions. It is a folly (ſaith *Ariſton*) to command a ſick man ſuch a thing as he ſhould doe in his health, whereas his health is to be reſtored vnto him, without which all his Precepts are vaine. But haue not both the ſick and whole certaine things common to them both, whereof they ought to be admoniſhed, as not to eat ouer-greedily, nor trauell exceſſiuely? Both poore and rich haue certaine common Precepts. Cure Auarice (ſaith he) and thou ſhalt haue nothing wherein thou ſhalt admoniſh eyther the poore or rich: if the couetouſneſſe both of the one and of the other be abated. Is it a different thing not to deſire money, and to know well to vſe it? The couetous haue no meaſure in their deſires, they that are not couetous know not how to make vſe of money as they ought. Take away the errours (ſaith he) the precepts are ſuperfluous. It is falſe: for ſuppoſe that Auarice be moderated, Diſſolution reſtrayned, Raſhneſſe bridled, Idleneſſe a-

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wakened: although the vices are driuen away, yet ought wee to learne that which wee ought to doe and how. The admonitions ſerue to no vſe, being applyed to enormous vices. I anſwere, that Phiſicke healeth not incurable Diſeaſes, yet is it miniſtred to ſome for remedie, to other ſome for mitigation. Not all the whole power of Philoſophie, although ſhe intend all her forces to this end, can roote out an indurate and inueterate plague out of our mindes: and yet ſhee remedieth ſome euils, though ſhee cureth not all. What profiteth it, ſaith hee, to ſhew that which is diſcouered? Greatly, for ſometimes although we know a thing, yet wee regard it not. Admonition teacheth not, but it awaketh and ſtirreth the memorie, and preuenteth forgetfulneſſe. We take little heed of many things, which paſſe before our eyes. To admoniſh is a kind of exhortation. Oftentimes our mind pretendeth not to comprehend that which is apparent: we ought therefore to refreſh the memorie with the knowledge of things beſt knowne. In this place it ſhall not be amiſſe to repeate the notable ſaying of CALVVS againſt VATINIVS, *You know there hath bin bribing, and all men know that you know it.* Thou knoweſt that we ought to entertain friendſhip religiouſly, but thou doſt it not. Thou knoweſt him to be a wicked man, that requireth his Wife ſhould be honeſt, and himſelfe hunteth after other mens Wiues. Thou knoweſt that as ſhe ought not to acquaint her ſelfe with an Adulterer, ſo thou ſhouldeſt not haue to doe with a Strumpet, and yet thou vſeſt to proſtitute. For this cauſe oftentimes oughteſt thou to call thy dutie to memorie, for thy memorie muſt not be diſtracted, but at hand and before thine eies. All wholeſome things ought to be oftentimes remembred, and renewed, to the end that beſides the knowledge thereof, wee may haue them readie to aſſiſt vs. Beſides, that which is alreadie well comprehended, is vnderſtood & remembred far better. If thoſe things (ſaith he) be doubtful which thou teacheſt, thou oughteſt to adde proofe vnto them, conſequently therefore the Precepts are vnprofitable. I anſwere, that the authoritie of him that admoniſheth, ſufficeth without any proofe of his ſaying. As the Anſweres of the Lawyers are of force, although they yeeld no reaſon of their counſell. Moreouer, Precepts haue a great weight in themſelues, eſpecially if wee intermixe them with poeſie, or that in proſe they be ſhut vp together in a few, but graue words. As thoſe of CATOES, *Buy not that which thou needeſt, but that which is neceſſarie. That which thou haſt no need of is deare of a Farthing.* And theſe other Sentences proceeding from Oracles or other excellent men: *Spare time. Know thy ſelfe.* Wouldeſt thou aske the cauſe thereof, if a man ſhould repeate thee theſe Sentences? *Forgetfulneſſe is the remedie of iniuries. Fortune fauoureth the audacious. The idle man hinders himſelfe.* Theſe Sentences ſeeke no Aduocate, they touch the affections and profit, becauſe Nature vnfoldeth Vertue in them. Our minds contayne all the ſeeds of Vertue, and theſe ſeeds fructifie by meanes of admonitions, no otherwiſe then a ſparkle being aſſiſted with a light blaſt, becommeth a great flame. Vertue is awakened, when ſhe is either touched or ſhaken. Furthermore, there are certaine things, which buried in our vnderſtanding, beginne to ſhew their worth, when they are quickened by admonitions. There are other ſorts of things which lye here and there, which a dull vnderſtanding and vnexerciſed cannot recollect. It behoueth therefore to gather them into one, and to ioyne them together, to the end they be more forcible, and raiſe the minde the more. Or if Precepts haue no power, we muſt exterminate all inſtitution, and bee contented with Nature her ſelfe. They that hold this opinion, conſider not that there are ſome that haue a ſtir-

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ring and noble ſpirit; others a dull and heauie. In briefe, that all are not equally, and of one ingenuitie. The power of the minde is nouriſhed by Precepts, and annexeth new perſwaſions to thoſe that are innate,& correcteth thoſe that are depraued. If any man (ſaith he) hath not the true Decrees, what ſhall admonitions profit him who is drowned in vices? Truly this,that he may be deliuered of them.For the naturall diſpoſition is not extinguiſhed in him,but obſcured and oppreſſed. In purſuite whereof ſhe endeuoureth to rayſe her ſelfe, and to reſiſt euill. As ſoone as ſhe is ſuccoured and aſſiſted by Precepts, ſhe receiueth her forces, prouided that this contagion of ſinne, which hath ſo long time infected her, hath not wholly mortified her. For then the whole Diſcipline of Philoſophie vniting all her forces, cannot reſtore her. For what difference is there betweene the Decrees and Precepts of Philoſophie, but that the one are generall, the other particular? Both of them command; the Decrees are generall, the Precepts particular. If any one (ſaith hee) hath iuſt and honeſt Decrees, ſuch a one is admoniſhed in vaine; not ſo. For this man, although he know that which he ought to doe, yet ſeeth hee not exactly all the parts of his dutie. For we are not only hindered by our affections, from executing that which is good, but for want of a knowledge how to finde out that which is requiſite in euery thing.Sometimes we haue a minde well compoſed, but heauie & vnaddreſſed to find out the tract of the Offices of our life,which is diſcouered vnto vs by Admonitions.Driue away (ſaith he) the falſe opinions, as touching goods and euils,ſettle the true in ſtead of the falſe,andthen wil Admonition be profitable. Aſſuredly the mind is gouerned by ſuch means,but not by this means onely.For although it be by arguments gathered, what are good, & what are euill, notwithſtanding Precepts haue their parts, & both Prudence and Iuſtice conſiſt in offices, and offices are diſpoſed by Precepts. Furthermore the iudgement that we haue of goods and euils,is confirmed by the execution of Offices, whereunto weare guided by Precepts. For they agree together,neither may thoſe go before, but theſe will follow after, and keepe their ranke; whence it appeareth that the Generall march before. Precepts, ſaith he, are infinite. It is falſe. For they are not infinite in things that are great and neceſſary, but their differences according to time, place, and perſons are ſmall. But to theſe likewiſe are generall Precepts giuen. There is no man (ſaith he) that cureth madneſſe by Precepts, and conſequently not malice. There is a difference. For in curing a mad man of his madnes, he is reſtored to his health. If we haue excluded falſe opinions, we preſently apprehend not that which wee ought to do;and were it ſo,yet our Admonition would confirme the right apprehenſion and iudgement we haue of goods and euils. This likewiſe is falſe, that Precepts no way profit mad men. For as they profit not alwayes, ſo further they the cure. Both threatnings and chaſtizements haue reſtrayned madde men: I ſpeake now of thoſe madde men whoſe wits are altered, but not taken from them. The Lawes,replyeth he, cauſe vs not to doe that which weought.And what other thing are they, but Precepts intermixed with threatnings? Firſt of all they perſwade not, becauſe they menace; but Precepts conſtrayne not, but perſwade. Secondly, Lawes deterre vs from doing euill: Precepts exhort euery one to doe his dutie. Adde hereunto,that Lawes are profitable to good manners, prouided, that Precepts be vnited to their Commandements. In this thing differ I from *Poſidonius*: I allow not the Principles that are ſet in the beginning of *Platoes* Lawes. For a Law ſhould bee ſhort, to the end that the ignorant might apprehend it more eaſily,as if it were an Oracle.Let it command,

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not diſpute. Nothing ſeemeth more impertinent and fooliſh to me, then a Law garniſhed with a Preface. Admoniſh, tell mee what thou wouldſt haue mee doe; I liſten not to thee to learne, but to obey. The Lawes are profitable; ſo ſee we that Common-weales, which haue had euill Ordinances, haue had worſe manners. But Lawes profit not all men; no more doth Philoſophie, and yet it ceaſſeth not to be profitable and powerfull in forming mens minds. And what other thing is Philoſophie but the Law of our life? But let vs preſuppoſe that the Lawes are vnprofitable, it followeth not therefore that admonitions are vnneceſſarie: otherwiſe we ſhould ſay that conſolations, exhortations, diſſwaſions, reprehenſions and prayſes, ſerued to no purpoſe. Theſe are ſorts of admonitions, and by their meanes the ſpirit attayneth his perfection. There is nothing that more reueſteth our vnderſtandings with Vertue, nor retyreth them more from an euill cuſtome, and confirmeth them in goodneſſe, then good mens conuerſation. For by little and little it deſcendeth and diſtilleth into the heart, and to bee often ſeene and heard, ſtandeth in ſtead of precepts: vndoubtedly the onely meeting with Wiſemen doth great good; and thou mayeſt learne ſomewhat of a vertuous man, euen then when he is ſilent. I cannot ſo well tell thee how it profiteth, as I haue certainely found that it profited mee. Some ſmall creatures (as *Phædon* ſaith) when they ſting are not felt, ſo ſmall and readie is their ſting to giue the pricke, but the ſwelling is diſcouered although there appeare no wound in the ſame. The like will befall thee in thy conuerſation with Wiſe-men, thou ſhalt not perceiue when or how he profiteth thee, but thou ſhalt find the profit. Whereto (ſaith hee) tendeth all this? Good Precepts and Admonitions, oft-times reiterated, will profit thee as much as good examples. *Pythagoras* ſaith, that they who entred into a Temple, or that ſaw neere vnto them any Image of the Gods, or heard the voyce of ſome Oracle, changed their minds and thoughts. Who dare denie, but that the moſt Ideots of the World are powerfully ſtricken with ſome precepts? As for example by theſe which enſue, which are ſhort but ſententious, and of great weight; namely, *Nothing too much. The greedie minde is neuer ſatisfied with gaine. Such meaſure as thou meteſt, the ſame ſhall bee mett to thee.* Theſe things heare we with ſtrong apprehenſion, neither may any man doubt or diſpute vpon them. Why? Becauſe truth perſwadeth without any aſſiſtance of reaſon: if the reſpect wee beare vnto any man bridleth our ſpirits, and repreſſeth our vices, why ſhould not admonition doe the like? If correction maketh men aſhamed, what ſhould hinder the ſame effect in good admonition, although it were accompanyed but with ſimple precepts? But what admonition is more powerfull, and pierceth deeper, then that which fortifieth his Commandements with good reaſons, that alleageth why a man ſhould doe this or that, and what good may befall a man by his obedience? If commandement and authoritie ſerue, ſo doth admonition; but authoritie is of great vſe, and conſequently admonition. Vertue is diuided into two parts, into contemplation of truth, and into action. Inſtitution teacheth contemplation, admonition action. A iuſt action both exerciſeth and ſheweth Vertue. But if hee that perſwadeth profiteth him that is to act, he likewiſe will profit that admoniſheth. If therefore vpright action bee neceſſary to Vertue, and admonition ſheweth what iuſt actions be, it followeth that admonition is neceſſary. There are two things which greatly fortifie the minde, aſſurance of the truth, and confidence. Admonition produceth both theſe. For there is credit giuen to the ſame, and when ſhe is beleeued, the mind conceiueth high hopes, and is filled with

with confidence: admonition therefore is not ſuperfluous. *Marcus Agrippa*, a man of great vnderſtanding, and onely happy to the publike good, amongſt all thoſe that were rayſed by Ciuil warres, was wont to auow, that he was very much indebted to this ſentence; *For by Concord ſmall things increaſe, by Diſcord the greateſt are ruined.* This, ſaith he, made me become a good Brother, & ſure Friend. If ſuch Sentences familiarly entertayned in the minde doe forme the ſame, why ſhould not this part of Philoſophie which conſiſteth of ſuch like Sentences, do the like? A part of Vertue conſiſteth in Diſcipline, another in Action. Thou muſt learne, and that which thou haſt learned thou muſt confirme by action: which if it be ſo, not onely Decrees of Wiſemen are profitable, but alſo the Precepts, which reſtrayn & oblige our affections as it were with an Edict. Philoſophie, ſaith he, is diuided into theſe, into Science and the habit of the minde. For he that hath comprehended any thing, and knoweth that which he ought to doe and auoyd, is not yet wiſe, except his ſpirit be tranſformed into thoſe things which he hath learned. The third part, conſiſting in Precepts, is compoſed of the two precedent, both of decrees and of habit, and conſequently ſuperfluous to make Vertue complete, whereas they two are ſufficient. By this reckoning then conſolation is vnneceſſary, for this alſo conſiſteth of both, neyther exhortation, perſwaſion, neyther argumentation. For ſhe taketh her originall from the habit of a compoſed and ſtrong minde. But although theſe parts proceed from that habitude of the minde, the beſt habit of the minde is both of the one, and of the other. Furthermore, all that which thou ſayeſt reſpecteth a perfect man, & ſuch an one as hath attayned the ſumme of humane felicitie. But to this a man attayneth very ſlowly; meane while wee muſt ſhew an vnperfect man, yet ſuch an one as is toward the way which he is to hold in his actions. It may be that Wiſdome may addreſſe her ſelfe without admonition, conſidering ſhee hath already led the ſpirit ſo onward that he cannot be moued but to the right way. But as touching thoſe that are more feeble, they had need of a Conductor that may ſay vnto them, Thou ſhalt ſhun this, thou ſhalt doe this. Beſides, if he expect the time, wherein of himſelfe he may know that which is beſt to be done, he ſhall in the meane ſpace erre, and erring ſhall be hindred from attayning to that whereby hee may bee contented with himſelfe. He muſt therefore be gouerned till hee begin to bee able to gouerne himſelfe. Children are taught to forme their Letters, their fingers are held, and their hand directed and led, to teach them to faſhion and counterfeit Letters, then are they commanded to follow ſuch and ſuch Examples, and by them to reforme their Writing. So is our minde ſtrengthened if it bee inſtructed by propoſing ſome Example vnto it which ſhe may follow. Theſe are the things whereby it is approued that this part of Philoſophie is not ſuperfluous. Furthermore it is demanded whether ſhe alone ſufficeth to make a Wiſeman. Wee will anſwer this queſtion at another time: for the preſent, omitting thoſe Arguments, doth it not appeare vnto vs that we had need of ſome Aduocate, who may giue vs inſtructions contrary to the precepts of the people? A man cannot ſpeake any thing that toucheth vs not. They that wiſh vs good, hurt vs; and they alſo that curſe vs: for the imprecation of thoſe impreſſeth in vs falſe feares, and the loue of others ſpoyleth vs, in deſiring our proſperitie, becauſe it driueth vs to goods that are forreine, wandring, and vncertaine, whereas we might draw felicitie from our ſelues. I ſay that we are not permitted to follow the right way. Our Parents and Seruants draw vs vnto euill. No man erreth to himſelfe onely, but ſpreadeth his folly amonſt his Neighbours, and learneth

of theirs likewiſe. And therefore the vices of the common ſort are in euery priuate man, becauſe the people amongſt whom hee conuerſeth hath giuen them him, and in making others bad he becometh bad himſelf, he hath learned the worſe, and afterwards teacheth the ſame; and when that which each one knew to be moſt wicked was gathered and put together, that great heape of iniquitie was made and diſcouered. Let there be therefore ſome guide that may pull thee by the eare, driue thee from the bruite of Cities, and reclayme thee from the flatteries of the common ſort. For thou abuſeſt thy ſelfe if thou thinkeſt that vices are borne with vs; they ſteale vpon vs, and were ingeſted into vs. Let vs therefore repreſſe thoſe opinions which buzze about our eares by frequent admonitions. Nature neyther tyeth nor obligeth vs to any vice: ſhee hath ingendered vs entyre and free: nothing that might incite our auarice hath ſhee placed in open ſight, but hath put Gold and Siluer vnder our feet to bee kickt and trod vpon, or whatſoeuer it be for which we are kickt and trod vpon. Shee hath addreſſed our faces towards Heauen, and would that we ſhould behold whatſoeuer ſhee hath made, eyther magnificent or wonderfull in the World, the riſing and ſettings of the Starres, the ſudden courſe and motion of the Heauens, which by day make vs ſee the goods of the Earth, and by night thoſe of the Heauens. The ſlow motion of the Starres, if they be compared with the whole; the ſwift, if thou imagine how great way they make without euer ſtaying; then the Eclipſes of the Sunne and Moone, oppoſed the one againſt the other: moreouer, diuers other things worthy admiration, whether they ſucceed by order, or breake forth being mooued by their cauſes; as the Pillars of fire in the night, the flaſhes ſtreaming from the opening Heauen without Thunder and Lightning; the Pillars, Beames, and other diuers inflamed Impreſſions in the Ayre: Nature diſpoſeth all theſe things aboue vs. As touching Gold, Siluer and Iron, which by reaſon of both theſe hath depriued vs of peace, ſhe hath hid them, as if they had beene badly committed vnto vs. But we haue brought them to light, to the end wee might fight for them: wee caſting the weighty Earth from off them, haue digged them vp, to be the onely cauſes and inſtruments of our dangers. Wee haue truſted our miſeries vnto fortune, neyther are we aſhamed that they are in the greateſt eſtimation with vs, which were moſt deeply buried in the boſome of the Earth. Wilt thou ſee how fallacious the brightneſſe is, that blemiſheth and bewitcheth thine eyes? There is nothing more abiect, nor more obſcure then theſe as long as they are buried in their mould. Why not? when as they are drawne out of the darkneſſe of the largeſt & longeſt Mines, there is nothing more deformed then they are, whilſt they are ſeparated from their excrements, and drawne from their veines. Briefly, regard awhile thoſe that trauell in the Mine, by whoſe hands this ſterill & informed kind of Earth is purged, & you ſhall ſee how they are beſmeared with ſmoke. But theſe do more defile the minds then the bodies, & ther is more ſoile in thoſe that poſſeſſe thē, then in thoſe that refine thē. It is neceſſary therfore to be admoniſhed, & to haue ſome Counſellor of good vnderſtanding, that in ſo great confuſion and tumult of falſities, may truly ſpeak vnto vs: what ſhall hee ſpeake? Thoſe words and wholſome counſels, which may open our eares, being deafned by ſo many ambitious cryes, and ſay, Thou haſt no cauſe to enuy theſe whom the people termēth great and happy men. There is no cauſe that a vaine applauſe ſhould rauiſh from thee the ſetled habitude and health of thy ſoule. There is no reaſon that this great Lord, ſo gaily attended and clad in purple, ſhould driue thee frō the height of thy peace. Thou haſt no more cauſe

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to iudge him more happy, to whom euery man giues place, then him whom the Sergeant enforceth to giue way. If thou wilt exerciſe a power that may be profitable vnto thee, and hurt no man, driue vice from thee. Many there are that ſet fire on Cities, that leuell huge Fortreſſes with the ground, which ſo many hundreth yeares were held impregnable, that raiſe Plat-formes as high as Caſtles, who by Engines of batterie ouerturn marueilous high wals, who cauſe Armies to march before them, that neerly purſue their flying Enemies, who couered with the bloud of conquered Nations, haue gotten Countries as farre as the bounds of the Ocean; but theſe hauing defeated their Enemies, haue thẽſelues bin ouercome by their owne deſires. No man might make head againſt their armies, no more then they knew how to reſiſt their ambition and cruelties. Euen then when they ſeemed to purſue others, they were purſued themſelues. The curſed deſire of ſpoyling other mens countries afflicted vnhappy *Alexander*, & ſent him to Countries vnknown. Doſt thou think him a man of vnderſtanding, or in his right wits, who began to ruinate *Greece*, where firſt he was brought vp and inſtructed, & did afterwards pillage all that which euery one poſſeſſed & eſteemed beſt? Hee impoſed a yoke on *Sparta*, and ſilence to *Athens*. And not content with the ſpoyle of many Cities, (either ſubdued or bought by *Philip* his Father,) he ſcattered them from one place to another, made warre vpon all the World without remitting ought of his wonted cruelty, imitating herein the ſauage beaſts, who bite more then hunger enforceth them to. Furthermore, he ioyned diuers Kingdomes in one, hẽ made himſelfe dreadfull to the *Greeks* and *Perſians*, he ſubdued the free Nations that were vnder *Darius* his Dominion; yet would he beyond the Ocean, and the Sunne, being diſpleaſed that *Hercules* and *Bacchus* Pillars ſhould confine his Victories. Hee addreſſeth himſelfe to inforce Nature; he will not march, neyther will he ſtay in a place, reſembling thoſe ſardels which are caſt from the top to the groũd, which ceaſſe not to tumble down vntil they fall to the bottom. Neyther did Vertue nor Reaſon counſell *Pompey* to enterprize his forreine and ciuill warres, but a diſordinate loue of flattering Greatneſſe droue him now into *Spaine* againſt *Sertorius*, then to make warre againſt the Pirats, and to aſſure the Seas. Theſe were his pretexts to maintayne his authoritie, which drew him into *Africa*, into the North, into *Armenia* and through all the corners of *Aſia* againſt *Mithridates*. It was an immeaſurable deſire of Greatneſſe, being in his own opinion not great enough. What thing thruſt *Cæſar* vpon his owne and his Countries ruine? Glorie and Ambition, and an immeaſurable deſire of eminencie aboue others: for hee could not endure that one ſhould be before him, when as his Common-wealth endured two Maſters. Thinkeſt thou that *Marius* who was once Conſul (for one Conſulate hee receiued, the other ſixe hee bribed or enforced) was egged on by vertue to hew the *Cimbrians* and *Theutons* in pieces, to follow *Iugurth* thorow the Deſerts of *Africa*, and to expoſe himſelfe to ſo many perils? *Marius* conducted the Armie, but Ambition conducted *Marius*. Theſe men, whileſt they ſhooke all others, were ſhaken themſelues after the manner of Whirle-windes, which before they winde in thoſe things they force vp, are themſelues toſſed; and therefore turne they with greater furie, becauſe they haue no hold of themſelues: by which meanes theſe men, after they haue cruelly tormented others, doe feele in themſelues this pernicious furie, wherewith they haue offended other men. Thinke not that any man may become happy by another mans misfortune. All theſe examples propoſed both to our eyes and eares, ought to bee remembred, and our hearts full filled

with euill opinions, ought to be clenſed. Where the place is void there muſt we lodge Vertue, which rooteth out pleaſing lyes; which ſeparateth vs from the people (to whom we giue ouer-much credit) and confirmeth vs in ſincere and good opinions. For this is wiſdome, to be conuerted into Nature, and to be reſtored thither whence publike error hath expelled vs. It is a great part of health, to haue forſaken the counſellors of folly, and to haue farre-fled from this company of people which corrupt one another. To know that this is true, conſider how euery man liueth after one ſort in publike, after another in priuate. Solitude of it ſelfe, neither teacheth vs ſimplicitie or innocence; the Country maketh vs not more frugall or temperate, but when there is no bodie that may behold and giue teſtimonie, vices retyre themſelues. For their good lyeth in this to bee beheld and ſeene. Who would put on a Purple Robe if no man ſhould ſee him? Who being couched vnder the ſhaddow of ſome ruſtick tree, hath muſtred all the people by his diſſoluteneſſe to himſelfe alone? No man is braue in ſecret, no not in the preſence of two or three of his Familiars, but according to the number and qualitie of thoſe that behold him, maketh he ſhew of his vanities. So then if any one, either know or admire vs, that is the ſpurre that pricketh on to diſcouer all theſe things, on which we are mad and beſotted. Take away the ſhew, thou ſhalt aboliſh Couetouſneſſe. Ambition, Diſſoluteneſſe and Pride will haue themſelues ſeene. Wilt thou recouer them? Hide them. If therefore wee are lodged in the midſt of Cities, let vs keepe ſome good Counſellor about vs: who oppoſing himſelfe againſt thoſe that prayſe great Poſſeſſions, prizeth a rich man very little, & that meaſureth his goods by their vſe: againſt thoſe who make reckoning of nothing but credit and humane greatneſſe, let him approoue and commend that honeſt repoſe which the ſtudy of good Letters giueth; and let him eſteeme nothing ſo much as a conſcience that hath forſaken all tranſitorie things, to ground himſelfe vpon the reall good? Let him ſhew that all they who are commonly called happy, tremble, and are diſmayed in that high degree ſo much enuyed, and haue a far other opinion of themſelues then the people hath. For thoſe things that are rayſed, and highly prized in other mens eyes, in their iudgements are ſlipperie, ſteepy, and vncertaine. For this cauſe they are heartleſſe and fearefull as often as they looke into this ſteepe Mountaine of mightineſſe, whereupon they are mounted. Then ſuſpect they thoſe things they deſired, and their felicitie which hath beene ſo odious vnto others, is more hatefull to themſelues: Then prayſe they a peaceable and retyred life: authoritie is diſtaſtefull vnto them, they ſeeke to be diſcharged of their proſperitie; then ſhalt thou ſee them play the Philoſophers for feare, and take good counſell from their aduerſitie. For as if proſperitie and a good minde were appointed contraries, we are moſt wiſe in our miſeries; contrariwiſe proſperitie bereaueth vs of our iudgement.

EPIST.

Epist. XCV.

It adhereth or dependeth of the former, and the queſtion is, Whether the Exhortatorie part of Philoſophie may alone ſuffice? Whenas eſpecially he hath ſhewed ſo many and ſo cleere vſes thereof. He denyeth, ſetteth downe, and refelleth the Arguments which are vrged. Therefore he prayſeth the Doctrinall part, and ſheweth that Precepts flow from that Fountaine, and that life is contayned therein. He intermixeth worthy things, and by the way maketh an excurſion againſt Ryot, Luſt, and vnlawfull affectation of Honours. The whole Epiſtle is excellent and fruitfull.

THou requireſt me to repreſent that which I had remitted till another time, and that I ſhould write vnto thee, If that part of Philoſophie which conſiſteth in precepts (which the *Greekes* call παραγγελτικὸν, we preceptiue) bee ſufficient to make a man perfectly wiſe. I know thou wilt take it in good part, if I deny the ſame, and for that cauſe the rather doe I renue my promiſe, and will not ſuffer that my word ſo expreſly and ſolemnly engaged ſhould be broken. Hereafter aske me nothing which thou wilt not obtayne, for ſometimes wee inſtantly require that, which wee would refuſe if it were offered vnto vs. This, whether it bee lightneſſe or familiaritie, is to bee puniſhed with a facilitie of promiſing: wee ſeeme to will many things which we would not. A certaine Reciter brought a great Hiſtory written in a ſmall hand, & ſtraitly foulded, and hauing read ouer a great part thereof: *I will giue ouer* (ſaith he) *if you will.* To this, it is anſwered with a loud voyce, *Reade on, Reade on,* by thoſe who would willingly that hee ſhould preſently hold his peace. Oftentimes we will one thing, and wiſh another, and to the Gods themſelues wee ſpeake not truth; but the Gods eyther heare vs not, or haue mercie vpon vs. But I ſetting apart all fauour will redeeme my ſelfe, and will cloy thee with a long Epiſtle, which if thou reade vnwillingly, ſay that thou thy ſelfe art the cauſe, and number thy ſelfe amongſt thoſe whom a Wife continually tormenteth to get her ſelfe ſome new Gowne daily: amongſt thoſe that haue no ioy of the goods they haue gotten with great labour: amongſt thoſe whom Honour torments, being gotten by all induſtrie and labour, and the reſt who are partakers of their owne euils. But leauing this Preface, I come to the point. A bleſſed life (ſay they) conſiſteth of iuſt actions, whereunto we are led by precepts; conſequently precepts are ſufficient to make the life happy. Yet precepts do not alwayes leade a man to iuſt actions, but when as the minde is capable and conformable to inſtructions. Sometimes they are propoſed in vaine, to wit, when the vnderſtanding is beſieged with falſe opinions. Againe, although they doe right, yet know they not that they doe right. For no man can performe that which hee ought euery way, nor vnderſtand when he ought to doe a thing, nor how much, nor with whom, nor how, if from the beginning he hath not bene addreſſed and faſhioned exactly in all reaſon. By meanes whereof he cannot with his whole minde conſtantly and willingly endeuour vnto Vertue, but ſhall be doubtfull & looke backe. If an honeſt action (ſay they) proceedeth from precepts, precepts ſhall ſufficiently ſuffice to make the life happie; but the one is true, conſequently, therefore ſo is the other. To theſe wee anſwere, that honeſt actions proceed not onely from precepts and particular inſtructions, but alſo from Maximes

and generall rules. If other Arts (ſaith he) are content with precepts, wiſdome alſo will be contented, which is the art of life, but hee maketh him a plot that inſtructeth him thus. Steere after this manner, ſtrike ſayle after this faſhion, take the benefit of a winde thus, reſiſt a contrarie that way, and make vſe of ſuch a meanes to warrantize thee from a croſſe winde. Precepts likewiſe confirme other ſorts of Artiſts. Cannot therefore Philoſophers teach others to liue; cannot they doe the like? All theſe Arts are employed about the inſtruments of life, not about the whole life, and therefore many things hinder and let them externally, ſuch as are Hope, Couetouſneſſe, and Feare. But Wiſdome the Miſtris of life cannot be hindered by any thing from continuing her exerciſe, for ſhe preuenteth impediments, and temperateth obſtacles. Wilt thou know wherein they differ in condition? In Mechanique Arts it is more excuſable to ſin for want of aduice, then caſually, and in wiſdome it is a great fault to ſinne willingly. That which I ſay is ſo. The Grammarian is not aſhamed of a Soleciſme, if he make it willingly, but he bluſheth if he doe it without taking heed. If the Phyſician foreſeeth not that his Patient begins to weare away, hee committeth more errour in his art, then if hee perceiued the defect, and pretended not to know it. But in the art of good life, more ſhamefull is their fault, who offend willingly. Adde hereunto that the moſt kind of Arts, yea of them all the moſt liberall haue not only their precepts, but decrees, as Phyſick hath. There is therefore one Sect of *Hippocrates*, another of *Aſclepiades*, another of *Themiſon*. Beſides, no contemplatiue Art is without her Decrees, which the *Greekes* call δόγματα, wee precepts: propoſitions and foundations, which you ſhall find in Geometry and Aſtronomie. But Philoſophie is both contemplatiue and actiue, ſhe ſpeculateth and ſetteth hand to the worke. For thou erreſt, if thou thinkeſt that ſhe only promiſeth terreſtriall actions, ſhee aſpireth more high. I ſearch (ſaith ſhe) the whole World, neither contayne I my ſelfe incloſed in the company of mortall men, to the onely end to perſwade or diſſwade. Great matters, ſuch as are aboue your reach call and inuite mee.

For firſt I will diſcloſe and let thee know
The ſecrets of the Heau'ns and higher Powers,
Whence Nature formes, and whence ſhe makes things grow,
Whence they encreaſe, and ſpread their ſeeds and flowers,
Ile count thee all their Of-ſprings and their ends,
And what in each thing Nature moſt intends.

Lib. 1. de Natura rerum.

As *Lucretius* ſaith. It followeth therefore that being contemplatiue, ſhee hath her Decrees. In effect no man ſhall euer performe that which he ought, but he that hath comprehended the reaſon whereby in euery thing hee may performe her Decrees in all Offices; which he ſhall not obſerue who hath receiued but meer precepts. Thoſe things that are diſtributed by parcels are feeble in themſelues, and if I may ſo ſay, without root. Thoſe are Decrees which defend vs, which maintayne our ſecurity and tranquillitie, which comprehend at once all life and all nature. The ſame difference is there betweene the Decrees and precepts of Philoſophie, as there is betweene Letters and whole clauſes. The one depend vpon the other, Decrees alſo are the cauſe of precepts and of all things. The ancient wiſdome, ſaith he, onely taught nought elſe, but what was to bee done, and to be eſteemed. And then were men farre better; after learned men began to flouriſh, good men were ſcant. For that ſimple and open trueth

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is changed into an obſcure and ſubtill ſcience, and wee are taught how to diſpute, not how to liue. Without doubt, that ancient wiſdome, as you ſay, was rude and ſimple in the beginning; no leſſe then other arts which haue been poliſhed by ſucceſſion of time. But at that time alſo the preſent remedies were not neceſſarie, wickednes was not grown to that height, neither had ſhe ſpread her ſelfe ſo largely euery where; ſimple remedies were ſufficient for ſimple vices. But now the more ſtrange the miſchiefes are which aſſault vs, the more ſolide ſhould our reſiſt & defences be. Phyſick in times paſt was but the knowledge of a few Simples, whereby a flux of bloud might be ſtaied, and wounds by little and little might be healed. Afterwards, ſhee attained to this raritie of medicines: neither is it to be wondred at, that in thoſe daies ſhe had ſo little to doe, ſure then men had more ſtrong bodies, and were contented with eaſie and ſimple diet, and not corrupted by art and pleaſure. Which diet, after it began to be ſought, not to take away, but to prouoke hunger; and a thouſand ſorts of ſauces were inuented, whereby the appetite might be awakened. Thoſe meats which ſuſtained ſuch men as were hungry, are become as many burthens to ful bellies. From thence proceeded paleneſſe, and the trembling of the nerues, being drowned in wine, and a more miſerable leaneneſſe cauſed rather by crudities, then by hunger. From this exceſſe hath proceeded the weaknes and ſtumbling of the feet, and ſuch a kinde of gate as drunken men vſe. Thence grew the water betwixt the filme and fleſh, thence was the belly diſtended, whilſt it was accuſtomed to receiue more then it could containe. Thence came the black Anders, the diſcoloured face, and the conſumption of ſuch as rotted inwardly. Thence crooked fingers, by reaſon of the ſtifneſſe of the ioynts, hence the Apoplexie, hence the Palſey: Why ſhould I reckon vp the ſwimming and turning of the head, the torments both of the eyes and eares, and the gnawings of the inflamed brayne; and all the paſſages of our bodies, whereby we are purged, affected with inward vlcers? Beſides an innumerable ſort of Feuers, the one violent and ſudden, the other lent and lingring, the other beginning with much horror and ſhaking of the members; why ſhould I rip vp other innumerable diſeaſes, the iuſt plagues of intemperance? Free were they from thoſe euils, who as yet were not weakened by theſe delicates, who gouerned and miniſtred vnto themſelues. They hardened their bodies with induſtry and true labour, either wearied with running, or hunting, or plowing of their lands; & their meat was ſuch as could not pleaſe any but ſuch as were hungry. There was therefore no need of ſo great a multitude of Phyſitians, neither of ſo many inſtruments and boxes. Their health being entertained by a ſimple cauſe, was ſimple alſo: Many diſhes haue bred many ſickneſſes. Behold how many things gormandize the ruine both of Land and Sea, intermixeth together, to the end they might afterwards be ſwallowed by one greedie gul'et! It cannot be, but that things ſo diuers ſhould ſtriue one with another, and after they are ſwallowed downe, ſhould hardly be diſgeſted, by reaſon that the one is a hinderance to the other. It is no maruell, if of meats ſo different, ſuch confuſed and violent ſickneſſes are engendred, nor that the humors being driuen by contrary paſſages, ſhould redound as they doe. See here the cauſe why we haue ſo many different ſorts of ſickneſſes, as of meats. The greateſt of the Phyſitians, and the Founder of the Science, ſaith, that women are neither bauld nor ſicke of the gowt, yet they at this day are both deſtitute of haire, and lame in their feet. The nature of women is not changed, but the life. For whereas they haue equalled men in their licentiouſnes, they haue likewiſe had an equall part

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in their maladies. They watch no leſſe, they drinke no leſſe, and challenge their huſbands in bathing and drunkenneſſe. Both the one and the other hauing, as it were, by force filled their panches, yeeld it vp again by their mouths, and in vomiting returne backe againe all the wine they haue ſwallowed. The women aſwel as the men gnaw vpon the Ice to coole their ouer-hot ſtomacks. But in luſt they ſurpaſſe the males, being borne to ſuffer. The gods and goddeſſes confound them, who haue peruerted the order of habitation both with male and female. Wonder not therefore, though the greateſt amongſt Phyſitians and Naturaliſts was deceiued in this, that at this time there are ſo many bauld and gowty women. By exceſſe haue they loſt the benefit of their ſex, and becauſe they haue ſhaken off the habit of women, they are condemned to endure the ſickneſſes of men. The ancient Phyſitians knew not what it was to preſcribe their patients to feed often, and to repleniſh their vaines that were emptied, with wine: they knew neither how to cup nor to ſcarifie, nor to bathe and ſweat thoſe that had been long time ſicke; they knew not how by binding the legs and armes, to reuoke the hidden heat to the outward parts, which was ſtayed in the center. There was no need to looke about for many kinds of remedies, when as there were but few ſorts of ſickneſſes. But now to what number and height are infirmities growne? This is the vſury which we pay for ſo much pleaſure as we haue wrongfully and inordinately deſired. Maruelleſt thou to ſee ſo many ſickneſſes? Number me the Cookes. All ſtudie is giuen ouer. The profeſſors of liberall ſciences are without auditors, their ſieges void, and their ſchollers gone. Solitude dwelleth in the Schooles of Rhetoricians, aud Philoſophers. Contrariwiſe, how many famous Kitchins are there: how many yong men fill vp the fires of ſuch as are prodigall and diſſolute? I ſpeake not of the troupes of poore yong children, who at the ſhutting vp of a feaſt attend to ſuffer other villanie in the Chambers. I ouerſlip the troupes of thoſe that haue beene abuſed contrarie to Nature, diſtinguiſhed by Nations and colours, ſo as on the one ſide, all they of the ſame height are raunged, and they whoſe beards begin to bud, and ſuch as are haired alike, to the end that he who hath the ſtraight and long haire, ſhould not bee mixed amongſt thoſe that are curled. I ouerpaſſe the troopes of Paſtlers, and attendants who ſerue in ſupper when the ſigne is giuen them. Good God, how many men are buſied about one belly! Thinkeſt thou that theſe muſhromes, a ſort of pleaſant poiſon, although they hurt not vpon the preſent, doe not ſecretly worke and wrong at laſt? Thinkeſt thou that this ſnow, which they vſe to refreſh and coole themſelues with in Sommer, hardeneth not their Liuers, and the vnſauoury meat of Oyſters that are fattened with mud, engender they not viſcous and clammie humors? Beleeueſt thou not that the ſauce which is compoſed of Mackerels and other ſort of Fiſh that coſts ſo deere, doth not with his drying ſaltneſſe burne the entrailes? Iudgeſt thou that theſe rotten iuyces which are ſwallowed downe hote, can without harme be diſgeſted in the ſtomacke? How filthie and peſtilent belches? what loathing of themſelues, whileſt they diſgorge their old ſurfets? Know thou, that whatſoeuer they take rotteth, but diſgeſteth not. I remember that in times paſt *Æſopes* diſh was much ſpoken of, wherein this ſweet-lipped fellow running vnto his owne ruin, gathered all that was either rare or daintie from the tables of great men: there were diuers ſorts of ſhel fiſh handſomly chewed and ready to ſwallow, athwart whereof were enterlaced Creuiſes, and aboue them dreſſed Barbels, cut in pieces and ſeuered from their finnes and bones. It loatheth them to feed on euerie diſh apart;

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all ſauces are mixt in one, and at ſupper-time that is done, that ſhould be done after collation time. Now muſt I expect to haue the minſed meats ſerued in ſo ſmall, as if they had beene chewed. What difference is there betweene taking away the ſcales and bones, or to haue a Cooke to execute the office of our teeth? It is too tedious a thing to diſguiſe all ſorts of meats; for once we muſt make a hochpot: why ſhould I put any hand into a diſh that had but one kind of daintie? Let me haue many come together. Let the ornaments of many diſhes be vnited and ioyned together. Let them forthwith know, who ſay that this prodigalitie at mens Tables is done to make them to be talked of and eſteemed, that theſe are not publique, but exceſſes done in ſecret. Let thoſe things that were wont to be ſeuerally dreſſed, be ſerued in, in one broth. It is all one, as if Oyſters, and Sea-crabs, Muskels and Mullets be mixed together. The meat of thoſe that vomit ſhould not be more confuſed. But as theſe meates and ſauces are confounded the one with the other; ſo likewiſe of ſuch confuſed exceſſe, diuers compounded, inexplicable, different, and manifold ſickneſſes doe ariſe, againſt which Phyſique hath begun to arme her ſelfe with many remedies and obſeruations. The ſame ſay I of Philoſophie; it was in times paſt more ſimple, amongſt thoſe whoſe ſinnes were not ſo enormious, but more eaſie and ſlight to be cured. Againſt ſo great corruption of manners all things are to be attempted. And would to God this plague at laſt might be ſo ouercome: we play the mad-men, not onely in priuate but in publique: Doe we repreſſe priuate murthers? What ſhall I ſay of warres and the glorious ſinne of deſtroyed countries? Neyther auarice nor crueltie knew any meaſure; and theſe things as long as they are done by ſtealth, and by priuate men are leſſe hurtfull and monſtrous. By the ordinances of the Senate, and Edicts of the people, thoſe hainous offences which are condemned in priuate men, are permitted vnto all, and committed in ſight of euerie man. We praiſe a publique crime, which we would puniſh with death had it been committed ſecretly. Are not men aſhamed, that by nature are the mildeſt, to take pleaſure in ſhedding their neighbours bloud, to make warre, and leaue this exerciſe to their children? wheras euen the dumbe and ſauage beaſts haue peace amongſt themſelues. Againſt ſo potent and generall a fury, Philoſophy was made more effectuall, and aſſumed ſo much power vnto her ſelfe, as they had gathered againſt whom ſhe is addreſſed. It was an eaſie mater to chide and reproue thoſe that were giuen ouer to Wine, and beſotted with delicacy and dainties; for there needed no great force to reduce the minde to frugalitie, from whence by little and little ſhe had reuolted.

Now neede we worke by force and violence,
And then by Art and great experience.

Pleaſure is ſought for on euery ſide. No vice contayneth it ſelfe in it ſelfe. Diſſolution runs headlong into auarice, honeſty is forgotten: there is nothing filthy if it be priſed or pleaſing. A man, a ſacred thing; a man is now murthered in ieſt. And wheras it was impiety to teach a man to giue and receiue wounds, now expoſe we him in publique both naked and diſarmed, ſuppoſing that his death would be a pleaſing ſpectacle to content an aſſembly. So then in this peruerſitie and corruption of manners, there needeth ſome medicine more eager then was accuſtomed, to diſſipate theſe inueterate euils. We muſt propoſe *Maximes* & rules, that the perſwaſion of falſities too greatly entertained, may be

be wholly extinguiſhed. To theſe if we annex precepts, conſolations, exhortations, they may preuaile, being ſcarce powerfull enough of themſelues. If we will ſet them free that are bound, and draw them from thoſe euils wherewith they are now entangled, let them learne what euill is, and what good is. Let them know that all things change their name but onely vertue, and now become euill, and now good. As the firſt bond of a Souldier, is to remember himſelfe of the oath he hath taken, to loue his enſigne and *Rendez vous*; and to reſolue himſelfe neuer to forſake the ſame: ſo that after this, all the reſt are eaſily commanded and obtained at his hands who hath ſolemnely obliged his faith: ſo alſo, muſt thou lay the firſt foundations in thoſe whom thou pretendeſt to conduct vnto happy life, and to plant vertue in their hearts. Let them be ſeized with a zealous ſuperſtition thereof, let them loue her, let them deſire to liue with her, not to liue without her. What then? Are there not ſome that without any ſubtill inſtitution, haue become honeſt, and haue attayned to great perfection, whilſt they onely ſubmitted themſelues to bare precepts? I confeſſe no leſſe. But they had a happie and apprehending ſpirit, which in a moment apprehended that which is proper for his inſtruction. For euen as the immortall gods haue learned no vertue, whereas by being and nature they are all good; ſo ſome of noble nature comprehend thoſe things which are taught them, and as ſoone as vertue is ſhewed vnto them, they imbrace her. Whence grew theſe mindes ſo greedily catching after vertue, and ſo fruitfull of themſelues? But from thoſe that are dull and hard of vnderſtanding, or are long time beſieged with euill cuſtomes, the ruſt of their mindes muſt be rubbed off. Euen as we eaſily draw thoſe vnto perfection, who are inclined to good; ſo on the other ſide, the meanes to redreſſe the feeble, and to diſpoſſeſſe them of their euill opinions, is to propoſe vnto them the rules and *Maximes* of Philoſophie, which are marueilous neceſſarie, as thou ſhalt perceiue by that which enſueth. We haue certaine inclinations which make vs heauie in ſome affaires, and light and raſh in others: neyther may this raſhneſſe be repreſſed, nor that ſlowneſſe awakened, except their cauſes be cut off, ſuch as are falſe admiration and fained feare. As long as theſe haue vs in their poſſeſſion, thou mayeſt ſay, This muſt thou doe for thy father, this for thy children, this for thy friends, this for thy gueſts; but auarice will reſtraine him that would attempt ſo good a courſe. He ſhall know that he ought to fight for his countrey, but feare ſhall diſſwade him. He ſhall know that he muſt labour for his friends to the vttermoſt, but pleaſures ſhall withdraw him. He ſhall know that it is a moſt hainous kind of iniurie towards a wife to entertaine a harlot, yet ſhall luſt compell him to the contrary. It will therefore profit nothing to giue precepts, except thou firſt of all take away all things that are contrary to them: no more then it will profit to haue laid weapons in ſight, and to haue ſet them neerer, except his hands be vnbound that vſeth them. To giue a meanes vnto the minde to apprehend the precepts which we giue, we muſt giue it libertie. Let vs ſuppoſe that a man doth that which he ought not; he will not doe it continually, he will not doe it equally, for he knoweth not wherefore he doth it. By aduenture or by cuſtome ſome things will goe well, but a man ſhall not haue a rule in hand, to know the ſame whereunto he may truſt that they are rightly done, which he hath done. He will not promiſe to continue good that is caſually good. Againe, precepts may haply inſtruct thee to doe that which thou oughteſt, but not in that ſort as thou oughteſt; and if they performe not this, they bring thee not to vertue. He ſhall doe that which he is aduiſed to do:

I grant

I grant it. But that is little, becauſe the praiſe conſiſteth not in the deed, but in the manner how it is done. What is more odious then a ſumptuous Supper, whereupon a man ſpendeth a Knights liuing? What is more worthy of cenſure then if a man (as theſe gluttons ſay) beſtow this vpon himſelfe and his *Genius?* and yet haue there beene ſome perſons, both very ſober and temperate, that in ſuch extraordinary banquets haue ſpent the ſumme of ſeuentie fiue thouſand crownes. If for gormandiſe ſake a man lauiſheth in this expence, it is hateful; if it be to honor any great and noble aſſembly, it may be borne withall, for it is no exceſſe, but a ſolemne expence. The Emperour *Tiberius* hauing receiued a Barbell of a wonderfull greatnes: (ſhall I ſet downe the weight to awake gourmands? for it is ſaid that it weighed more then foure pounds and a halfe) commanded it to be carried to the market and ſold, ſaying to thoſe that kept him company at that time; *My friends, I am much deceiued, but either* APICIVS, *or* P. OCTAVIVS *will buy this Barbell.* But there fell out farre more then he expected; for they ſet the Barbell to be cried, and it was ſold to him that offered moſt. *Octauius* bare it away, and was highly priſed amongſt his adherents, becauſe he had bought a Barbell which the Emperour had ſold, and *Apicius* could not buy it for two hundreth crowns, or thereabouts. It was a ſhame for *Octauius* to diſburſe ſo much money; not for him that bought it to ſend it to *Tiberius*, although I would not excuſe him. He admired the thing which he thought *Cæſar* worthie of. A man ſits by his friend that is ſicke: I allow it; but if he do it in hope to be his heire, he is a Vulture, he expecteth carrion. The ſame things are both honeſt and diſhoneſt: but it importeth to know wherefore, or how. But all things will be done honeſtly, if we addict our ſelues therunto, and iudge it with the dependances thereof, to be the onely good of humane life, the reſt are good but for a ſhort time. We muſt therefore imprint in our heart a leſſon that extendeth it ſelfe to the whole life: this is that which I call a decree. Such as this perſwaſion is, ſuch ſhall thoſe things be which ſhall be eyther done or thought. And ſuch as theſe ſhall be, ſuch ſhall be the life. It is but a ſmall matter for him that would rule the whole, to giue counſaile that it ſhould be diſtributed into parts. *M. Brutus* in his booke he intituled περὶ καθήκοντος, giueth many precepts both to father and mother, children and brothers, which no man ſhal performe as he ought, except he haue ſome rule whereunto he may haue relation. Let vs propoſe vnto our ſelues a ſcope or ſoueraigne good, at which we ayme, & to which we addreſſe all our thoughts and life, as the marriners ought to ſhape their courſe vnder the aſpect of ſome certaine Starre. Life without a limit is extrauagant: if this limit muſt be propoſed, the rules that ſhew vs the ſame, begin to be neceſſarie. Thou wilt confeſſe this, as I ſuppoſe, that there is nothing more ſhameſull, then to ſee a man that is doubtfull, irreſolute, fearfull, that now ſets forward, and then ſlides backward. This will befall vs in all things, if we doe not rent away that which impriſoneth and reſtraineth our vnderſtandings, & that hindereth them from ſtirring at their pleaſure. It is a vſual thing to teach the maner how to ſerue the gods. We forbid men to light lamps on the Sabboth dayes, becauſe the Gods haue no want of light, and men take no pleaſure in ſmoke. We forbid men from doing their reuerences and ſalutations in the morning, and permit no man to ſit at the Temple gates; for humane ambition is baited and caught by theſe offices. He that knoweth God, ſerueth and honoureth him. We forbid men to bring ſheets & bathing-combs to *Iupiter*, or to hold a glaſſe before *Iuno*. God ſeeketh no Miniſters. Why not? He miniſtreth to mankind. Each where is he readie and addreſſed to helpe all men.

men. Although he heare, how he ought to behaue himſelfe in ſacrifices, and eſtrange himſelfe from curious and troubleſome ſuperſtitions; yet would all this be nothing to his perfection, except he haue conceiued in his vnderſtanding a God, ſuch as he ought to apprehend him, namely, ſuch an one as hath all things, that giueth all things, and beſtoweth his benefits *gratis*. But who inciteth the gods to doe all theſe goods for men? Their nature. He erreth, whoſoeuer thinketh that they will doe hurt. They cannot, neither can they receiue or doe iniurie. For to hurt, and to be hurt, are things conioynt, and haue relation the one vnto the other. That ſoueraigne and faire Nature aboue all hath exempted thoſe men from dangers, which are not dangerous. Moreouer, the firſt ſeruice due vnto the gods, is to beleeue that they are; next, to acknowledge their maieſtie and bountie, without which their maieſtie were nothing. To know that they are thoſe that gouerne the world, who temper all things as their owne, who haue all men vnder their protection, and are ſometimes curious of priuate men. Theſe neyther doe, nor ſuffer euill, although they chaſtiſe, repreſſe, and afflict, and puniſh likewiſe ſome men at ſometime, vnder appearance of euill. Wilt thou haue the gods fauourable vnto thee? Be a good man. He honoreth them ſufficiently that imitateth them. Here followeth another queſtion, how we ought to vſe and ſerue men. What doe we? What precepts giue we? To ſhed no humane bloud? How ſmall a matter is it not to hurt him, whom thou oughteſt to profit? Truely it is worthie much prayſe for one man to be kind vnto another. Shall we command him to ſuccour the ſhipwracked, to bring the wanderer into his way, to diuide his bread with the hungry? What need I to ſpecifie all that which it behoueth him to doe or flie, when as in three words I will propoſe a forme of humane offices? All this world, in which all diuine and humane things are incloſed, is but one: we are the members and parcells of this great bodie. Nature hath created vs akin, in forming vs of the ſame Elements, and in the ſame encloſure. Shee hath planted mutuall loue in our hearts, and made vs ſociable. She it is that hath compoſed iuſtice and equitie, and by her ordinance it is a more miſerable thing to offer, then to ſuffer iniurie. By her command are his hands addreſſed, that helpeth and comforteth another. Let vs haue this Verſe in our hearts, and in our mouthes:

I am a Man, and thinke this true to bee,
That nothing humane is eſtrang'd from mee.

Let vs poſſeſſe this common good, that we are born. Human ſociety reſẽbleth a vault of ſtone, which would fall except the ſtones reſiſted one another; ſo that by this meanes it is ſuſtained. After gods and men, let vs behold how we ought to vſe theſe things: vnprofitable ſhould our Precepts be, if firſt of all we knew not what opinion we ought to haue of euery thing, as of pouerty, riches, glory, ignominie, our Country and baniſhment. Let vs eſteeme euerie one of them without reſpect of common apprehenſion, and let vs examine what they be, not what they are called. Let vs paſſe ouer to vertues. Some one would require that we ſhould priſe prudence, that we ſhould reſpect valour, that we ſhould loue temperance, and that (if it might be) we ſhould ioyne our ſelues vnto iuſtice more ſtrictly, then vnto the reſt. But this would be to no purpoſe, if we be ignorant what vertue is, whether there be one or many, if they be ſeparated or vnited; if he that poſſeſſeth one of them hath all, and how the one differeth from

from the other. It is not needfull now for a Smith to enquire what the beginning and vſe of his Art is, nor for a leſter to examine what the art of dancing is. All theſe occupations know themſelues, they want nothing, becauſe they appertaine not to the whole life. But Vertue is the ſcience both of others and of her ſelfe; we muſt learne of her, to the end we may vnderſtand what we ought to will. If the will be not good, the action which proceedeth from the ſame ſhall neuer be. Furthermore, the will ſhall be peruerſe, if the habitude of the ſpirit be not vpright, becauſe that from that the will hath his being; and this habit of mind ſhall not be in the beſt ſtate, if it comprehendeth not all the rules of life (conſidering the iudgement which a man ought to haue of euerie thing) and ſhut them all within the circle of truth. The contentment of the ſpirit is a good that befalleth no man, except thoſe that are endowed with a certayne and vnmoueable iudgement. The reſt of men ſlip, fall, and ſometimes or other riſe againe, and doe but float betwixt that which they haue omitted, and that which they deſired. The cauſe of this toſſing and ſhaking is, becauſe hauing builded vpon common report, which is a wondrous and vncertain manner of liuing, they are aſſured and confident in nothing. If thou wilt alwaies haue the ſame wil, thou muſt will thoſe things that are true. There is no way to attaine truth without Maximes; for they contayne life, good and euill, honeſt and diſhoneſt things, iuſt and vniuſt, pious and impious, vertue and the vſes of vertue, the poſſeſſion of things commodious, exiſtimation and dignity, health, force, forme, and ſagacitie of the ſences; all theſe require ſuch a one as can iudge of them, and knoweth at what price they ought to be taxed. For thou abuſeſt thy ſelfe, and thinkeſt that ſome things are of greater value then they be; and the more art thou deceiued, in priſing riches, credit, and power, (as many other of thy ranke doe) which are not to be accounted worth any thing. Thou ſhalt not know this, if thou reſpecteſt not rule, whereby theſe things are eſtimated amongſt themſelues. Euen as leaues cannot flouriſh by themſelues, but require a bough whereunto they may cleaue, and from whence they may draw iuyce and nouriſhment: ſo theſe precepts decay and vaniſh, if they be alone, they muſt be affixed and grounded vpon Maximes. Beſides, they vnderſtand not who take away decrees, that they are confirmed by that verie meanes, whereby they are extinguiſhed? For what ſay they? That life is ſufficiently addreſſed by precepts: and that the decrees and principall rules of wiſdome are ſuperfluous. But this which they ſay is a Decree as true, as if I ſhould now ſay that we ought to giue ouer precepts, and onely rely vpon Maximes: in denying the vſe of precepts, I ſhould recommend the ſame by this precept of mine. Some things there are that content themſelues with a ſimple admonition of Philoſophie, otherſome that would be proued: and ſome there are, that are ſo confuſed, that hardly and without great ſearch a man cannot vnderſtand their true ſence: if proofes be neceſſarie, ſo are decrees likewiſe, which gather the truth by arguments. Some matters are eaſie, other ſome are obſcure. Thoſe are eaſie and open, which are comprehended by ſence and memorie, and thoſe obſcure which are not ſubiect thereunto. But Reaſon contenteth not her ſelfe with things that are manifeſt. The greateſt and moſt beautifull part thereof, is grounded on that which is hidden. Thoſe things that are hidden require proofe, proofe is not without decrees; decrees therefore are neceſſarie. The perſwaſion and apprehenſion of certaine things, without which all our thoughts are vncertaine and without ſtay, is that which perfecteth the common ſence, and maketh it accompliſhed. Whence it followeth that decrees are

neceſſarie, which giue vnto the mind an inflexible iudgement. In briefe, when we exhort any man to eſteeme his friend as much as himſelfe, let him thinke that his enemie may be made his friends, and let him encreaſe more and more the friendſhip he beareth vnto the one, and moderate his hatred towards the other; we adde thereunto, that it is iuſt and honeſt. But this honeſtie and equitie is compriſed in the reaſon of our decrees or rules. It is therefore neceſſarie, without the which the other cannot be. But let vs ioyne the generall rules and precepts together, for both without the roote the boughs are vnprofitable, and the rootes themſelues are ayded by thoſe branches they haue produced. No man can be ignorant what profit the hands haue in them, for they manifeſtly helpe. That heart whereby the hands liue, from whence they take their forces, by which they are moued, lyeth hidden. The ſame can I ſay of precepts; they are open, but the decrees of wiſdome are hidden. As there are none but ſuch as profeſſe, that know the myſteries of ſacred things: ſo likewiſe in Philoſophie, the ſecrets of the ſame are not diſcouered, but to ſuch perſons as are admitted and receiued into her Sanctuarie: but precepts and ſuch other inſtitutions are knowne euen vnto thoſe who are prophane. *Poſidonius* iudgeth, that not onely inſtruction (for nothing prohibiteth vs to vſe this word) but alſo perſwaſion, conſolation, and exhortation are neceſſarie. To theſe he addeth the inquiſition of cauſes, which why ſhould we not be bold to call *Ætiologie*, aſwell as the Grammarians, who in their owne right terme themſelues the maintainers and keepers of the Latine tongue, I ſee no cauſe. He ſaith, that the deſcription of euery vertue will be neceſſarie. This doth *Poſidonius* call *Ætiologia*, the Grecians χαρακτήρισμον, which expreſſeth the ſignes and notes of euery vertue and vice, whereby thoſe things that are alike may be diſcerned the one frō the other. This hath the ſame force as the propoſition of precepts. For he that giueth precepts, ſaith, Thou ſhalt doe thus, if thou wilt be temperate. He who deſcribeth, ſaith, The temperate man is he that doth theſe things, and abſtaineth from thoſe. Askeſt thou me what the difference is? The one giueth precepts of vertue, the other example. I confeſſe that theſe deſcriptions, and to vſe the words of the Publicans, ἀκριβεμὸς, that is to ſay, marks, proceed from vſe. Let vs propoſe laudable things, and we ſhall find ſuch as wil follow them. Thinkeſt thou that it is profitable to haue inſtructions giuen thee how to know a generous horſe, leſt thou be deceiued, and thou buy a ſluggard and a Iade? How much more profitable is this, to know the markes of an excellent minde, whereby thou mayeſt be able to apply them to thy ſelfe?

Virg. 3. Georg.

The goodly Colt bred from a noble race,
Begins to grow amidſt the ſpacious Fields,
And proudly ouer Hill and Dale doth pace,
His force vnto no threatning torrent yeelds:
The Seas vnknowne he ſwimmes, and neuer feares
The threatning Brookes; his force and courage proud,
To further kindes encreaſe is daily bent,
No ſooner tempts his eare the Trumpet loud,
Or clattering armes ſome future warre preſent:
But ſtraight he ſtartles, beating of the ground
With hornie Hooſe, his Eares are prickt vpright,
He ſhakes his ioynts, he doth coruet and bound,
He ſnorts and puffes, with fome his bit is white.

Our

Our *Virgil*, vnder the ſimilitude of a Horſe, deſcribeth a man of great minde. For mine owne part, I would not giue any other portraiture of a great perſonage. If I ſhould repreſent *Cato* dreadleſſe, and aſſured amongſt the noices of ciuill warres, being the firſt that charged and skirmiſhed with the companies alreadie approching the Alpes, and running before the ruine of the Common-weale, I would aſſigne him no other countenance, no other habit. Truely no man could engage himſelfe further then he, who at one time made head againſt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and defied them both, and ſhewed that the Common-weale had ſome partakers. For it is a ſmall matter to ſay of *Cato*,

Nor rumors falſe doe him affright.

Why? becauſe he cared not for euident and true conſpiracies. Did he not in deſpite of ten Legions entertained and muſtered from France, and from other forren troupes, intermixed with the Romans, ſpeake freely, and exhort his citizens to maintaine their libertie, and to trye all meanes, yea to hazard death it ſelfe, rather then to loſe their libertie; it being more honeſt for them to fal into ſeruitude by conſtraint, then by their owne wills to go vnto it? How great vigor and ſpirit was there in him, what confidence when the reſt of the Common-weale was confuſed? He knoweth that the queſtion is not of his eſtate; that it concerneth not him, that the queſtion is not whether *Cato* be free, but whether he be amongſt free men. Thence groweth it that he diſdaineth dangers and drawne ſwords. In admiration of the inuincible conſtancie of this perſon, confirmed in his conſtancie amiddeſt the ruines of his Country, I will ſay in imitation of *Virgil*, that *Cato* had

A mightie minde, high, ſtout, and generous.

It ſhall doe well, not onely to expreſſe who they are, that haue beene accuſtomed to be good men, and to repreſent ſome counterfeit of them, but alſo to recount and particularly ſet downe that laſt and valourous wound of *Catoes*, through the which liberty it ſelfe loſt her life. Likewiſe the wiſdome of *Lælius*, and the good accord betwixt him & his friend *Scipio*; the braue actions both publike & particular of *Marcus Cato*, ſirnamed *Cenſor*; the Couches of *Tubero* made of plaine wood, ſet in open view, couered with Goats skinnes, and the veſſels of earth wherein they were ſerued at the Table, who banquetted before the Chappell of *Iupiter*: What other thing was this, but to conſecrate pouertie before the Capitol? Had I no other action of *Tuberos*, but this, to ranke him in the number of the *Catoes*; thinke you this to be a ſmall matter? This was no banquet, but a Cenſure, O how little know theſe ambitious men what this cenſure is, and how it ought to be deſired? In that day the Roman people beheld many rich and ſumptuous moueables, but admired none but the vtenſils of this one man. All their gold and ſiluer hath beene broken and melted a thouſand times, but *Tuberoes* veſſels of earth ſhall endure for euer.

Epist. XCVI.

Against complayners, and that all things ſhould come from Fate, and God. Why therefore are wee diſpleaſed? Let vs obey them, or rather aſſent vnto them.

WHence proceed theſe deſpites and plaints? Knoweſt thou not that in all the euils of this life, there is but one euill, which is when thou art diſpleaſed, and complaineſt? If thou aske mine aduice, I thinke there is not any miſerie in a man, except he thinke that there is ſomething miſerable in the nature of things. I endure not my ſelfe that day wherein I can ſuffer nothing. Am I ſicke? It is a part of my deſtinie. Is my Familie afflicted with infirmities? Doth Vſurie offend mee, my houſe cracke ouer mee? Am I aſſaulted by dangers, wounds, trauailes, and feares? This happeneth ordinarily, this is a ſmall matter, this ſhould be done, theſe are not caſuall, they are decreed. If thou thinke mee to be a true man, when I diſcouer freely vnto thee what I thinke, know that in all accidents which ſeeme aduerſe and hard, I am ſo formed. I obey not God forcibly, but freely, I follow him with a free heart, and not enforced. Nothing ſhall euer befall me, that I will entertaine ſorrowfully, or with ſadde countenance, I will pay no tribute vnwillingly. All thoſe things which wee grieue at, for which we feare, are the tribute of life: Neyther hope thou (my *Lucilius*) neyther demaund thou an exemption or immunitie. A payne of the bladder hath tormented thee. This banquet hath little pleaſure in it; theſe are continuall paſſions. I will come more neerer, thou haſt beene put in feare of thy life. But knoweſt thou not that in deſiring to be olde, thou deſireſt ſuch incommodities as are ordinarie in a long life; as in a long way we finde duſt, dyrt, and raine? But I would liue, and feele no diſcommoditie, whatſoeuer. So effeminate a ſpeech becommeth not a man. Conſider how thou wilt entertaine this vow of mine, which I proteſt with a great and generous minde, neuer let the gods and goddeſſes permit, that proſperitie make thee a wanton. Aske thy ſelfe, if (by permiſſion of any god) thou mighteſt haue thy choyce, which of theſe two thou wouldeſt accept of, eyther to liue in a Shambles, or in an Armie. But our life (my *Lucilius*) is but a warfare. They therefore who are toſſed, that mount and deſcend from rockes and high places, that execute dangerous Commiſſions, ought to be reputed valiant men, and chiefeſt in the Armie. But they, who whileſt their companions trauaile, repoſe themſelues at their; pleaſures in all delights, are effeminate and nothing worth, who liue at pleaſure to doe wrong vnto other men, and to meet with it themſelues one day.

Epist. XCVII.

That both now and in times paſt were euill men: he deduceth example from the iudgement of Clodivs, *which he corrupted by bribes and adulteries. After this, of the force of conſcience, and that by her offences are condemned, and alſo puniſhed by an internall whip and gnaw.*

THou abuſeſt thy ſelfe, my *Lucilius*, if thou thinkeſt that diſſoluteneſſe, and neglect of good manners, and other vices which euery man reproueth in the age wherin he liueth, are the imperfections of our age. It is not the time but the men that are to be blamed for this. No age hath been free from vice; and if thou beginneſt to eſtimate the liberty and looſeneſſe of euery time, I am aſhamed to ſay it, neuer did the world offend more openly then before *Cato*. Can any man beleeue, that mony was ſtirring in that iudgement, wherein *Clodius* was accuſed for that adultery which he had ſecretly committed with *Cæſars* wife, violating the ceremonies of that ſacrifice, which was ſaide to be made for the people, from the ſight whereof all men are ſo much exempted (for onely women are admitted to attend the ſame) that the verie pictures of male Beaſts were couered likewiſe? But mony was giuen to the Iudges, and (that which is more villainous then all the reſt) there were ſome that exacted in way of ſalarie, the licence to violate Matrons and yong Noblemen. More ſinne was there committted in abſoluing then acting the crime. He that was guilty of adultery, diuided adulteries; neyther was he ſecured of his life, before ſuch time, as he had made his Iudges like vnto himſelfe. Theſe things were done in that iudgement, wherein *Cato* (if nought elſe) gaue in teſtimonie in the cauſe: I will ſet downe *Ciceroes* very words, becauſe the thing exceedeth all beleefe; *He ſent for thoſe perſons that were required at his hands, he promiſed, he intreated, he gaue. But now, O good Gods, what wickedneſſe? Some of the Iudges in ouerplus of their paines, lay with and paſſed the night with certaine women, and yong Noblemen that were brought vnto them.* I haue no minde to enquire how much mony they receiued. There was more in that which ſucceeded. Wilt thou haue the wife of that ſeuere fellow *Cato?* or of ſuch an one as is rich, that is to ſay, *Craſſus?* thou ſhalt lie with her. When thou haſt committed the adultery, condemne the crime. That faire laſſe which thou deſireſt ſhall come vnto thee: I promiſe thee that ſhe ſhall accõpany thee this night, neither wil I delay thee; I wil perform my word within foure & twenty houres. It is more to diſtribute adulteries, then to cõmit them. That is to giue ſummons to all the matrons, this to delude them. Theſe Iudges of *Clodius* required a guard at the Senates hands, whereof they had no neede except in condemning the faulty, yet was it granted vnto thẽ. By means whereof, after that they had abſolued *Clodius* they were wittily ſcoffed at by Catvlvs; *To what intent*, ſaid he, *required you a guard at our hands? Was it for feare leſt your money ſhould be taken from you?* Yet amidſts all theſe ieſts, and before the ſentence was giuen, the Adulterer remained vnpuniſhed: during the proceſſe this bawde maintained himſelfe, committing (to the end he might warrantize himſelfe from puniſhment) a more greater wickedneſſe then the former, for which he ſhould haue beene condemned. Beleeueſt thou that any age was more corrupted then that, wherein luſt could neyther be repreſſed by pietie, nor by iuſtice? vnder which in the extraordinary inquirie made by decree of

the Senate,there was more great villanie committed,then that which was then in queſtion. The inquiry was, whether after an adulterie any man might liue ſecurely in Rome? And it appeared that he could not be ſecure without adultery. This was done betweene *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, *Cicero* and *Cato*; that *Cato*, I meane,who ſitting by to behold the games, the common people durſt not demand that the common ſports called *Florales* ſhould be giuen them, wherein common and naked ſtrumpets were publiquely preſented. Thinkeſt thou that men haue beene more ſeuere to behold, then to giue ſentence? Such exceſſes haue and will be committed, and the libertie and licentiouſneſſe of Cities (neuer by it ſelfe) but by good lawes and ſharpe puniſhments ſhall be extinguiſhed. Thou art not therefore to beleeue that in theſe dayes onely, the lawes haue little credit, and licentiouſneſſe much. The yonger ſort in this time are not ſo diſordered as in times paſt, when he that was guilty denied the adultery before the Iudges,& the Iudges cõfeſſed their own before him that was faulty; when as in regard of the cauſe that was to be adiudged,whoredomes and villanies were committed:when *Clodius* being wel befriended for thoſe Palliardiſes that made him guiltie, in ſtead of allegations, furniſhed them with Harlots to iuſtifie for him. Can any man beleeue this? He that was condemned in one adulterie was abſolued by many. Euery time will afford vs ſuch as *Clodius*, but not ſuch as *Cato*. All of vs are pliable to the worſt,becauſe therein we ſhal neither want a guide or companion; and were it we ſhould faile them, the matter of it ſelfe goeth ouer-forward without companion: the way vnto vices is not onely readie but headlong. But the greateſt euil that I ſee,and that maketh men vncurable is, that Artſmen and ſuch as are learned are aſhamed if they happen to erre in the exerciſe of their Arts & profeſſions, where contrariwiſe a wicked man taketh pleaſure in his ſinnes. The Pilot reioyceth not if his Ship be ouerturned,the phyſitian is ſad if his patient die, the orator is penſiue if for want of good pleading his clyent loſe the cauſe; but contrariwiſe, all men take pleaſure in their ſinnes. This man reioyceth in his Adulterie, eſpecially when he hath compaſſed the ſame with great labour: another taketh pleaſure in his deceit and theft: it is not the ſin that diſpleaſeth him, but the puniſhment he hath had for committing it. See here the fruit of euill cuſtome: Otherwiſe, to let thee know, that in conſciences (yea, euen thoſe that are moſt corrupted) there remaineth ſome ſenſe of goodnes,and that ſhame conſiſteth not in the concealing, but the neglect of thoſe that doe euill, there is not one that diſſembleth and couereth it not: and if he chance to obtayne that which he pretendeth,yet would he not be called a whoremonger or thiefe, although he had both committed Adulterie and Theft. But a good conſcience will appeare and be ſeene. Wickedneſſe is afraid of darkeneſſe it ſelfe. In my minde therefore *Epicurus* hath ſpoken very fitly: *A man that is guilty may hide himſelfe, but he cannot beleeue that he is hidden.* Or if thou thinkeſt that this ſence may be better explicated by theſe meanes; *It therefore profiteth not thoſe that ſin to lie hidden: for although they haue the meanes to hide themſelues, yet haue they no aſſurance.* So it is, iniquities may be concealed, but not aſſured. I ſuppoſe that this is not repugnant to our ſect if it be thus explicated. Why? Becauſe the firſt and greateſt puniſhment of wicked men,is that they haue committed wickedneſſe; neyther is there any hainous crime, though neuer ſo much bolſtred out by humane proſperitie or countenanced and defenced by fortune,that remaines vnpuniſhed, becauſe the puniſhment of wickedneſſe is in the wickedneſſe it ſelfe. Meane while, ſhe and her puniſhment are ſeconded and attended by another chaſtice-

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ment, that is to ſay, with affright and continuall feare, accompanyed with a diſtruſt of her owne ſecuritie. Why ſhould I deliuer impietie from this puniſhment? Why ſhould I not leaue her alwayes in ſuſpence. Let vs diſſent from *Epicurus* in this, where he ſaith nothing is iuſt by Nature, and that crimes are to be auoyded, becauſe the feare may not be eſchued. Herein let vs agree with him, that an euill Conſcience ſcourgeth theſe hainous faults, and that ſhee is a terrible torture, being preſſed and beaten continually with perpetuall care, becauſe ſhe cannot put truſt in thoſe that would make her beleeue that ſhee is in repoſe. For this is the Argument of *Epicurus*, that by Nature wee abhorre from wickednesſe, becauſe there is no man how much ſoeuer he be ſecured that feareth not. Fortune deliuereth many men from puniſhment, no man from feare. Why? becauſe there is a certaine hatred infixed in our hearts againſt that thing which Nature condemneth. And therefore it is why thoſe who hide themſelues are neuer aſſured in their lurking places, becauſe their Conſcience reproueth them, and diſcloſeth themſelues to themſelues. But the propertie of ſuch as are guiltie, is to tremble. It would be ill for vs, becauſe that diuers enormities eſcape the Law and Magiſtrate, and the written puniſhments, if theſe naturall and grieuous puniſhments did not inſtantly pay the wicked, and if feare had not taken place and ſucceeded Repentance.

EPIST. XCVIII.

That we ought onely to truſt internall goods, and that the reſt come and goe. That this is to be meditated vpon, and that all things ought to be conſidered and eſteemed as tranſitorie. The minde therefore is to be prepared to the loſſe of ſuch things, and to be confirmed in patience. Why not? Other men haue ſuffered the like. Follow thou their Example, nay more, bee thou the Example of thy ſelfe. Aſſuredly this is one amongſt his good and profitable Epiſtles.

NEuer beleeue thou that any man is happy, whoſe felicity is in ſuſpence. He buildeth vpon vncertainties, that reioyceth in caſualties; for the ioy that hath entred will quickly fleet away. But that which proceedeth from it ſelfe is both faithfull and firme, and increaſeth, and proſecuteth euen vnto the end. The reſt, which the common ſort admire, are good for a time. What then? May not they ſerue and giue pleaſure? Who denyeth it? But ſo as they depend on vs, not we on them. All whatſoeuer Fortune beholdeth, becommeth fruitful and pleaſant in this ſort, if he that poſſeſſeth them bee Maſter of himſelfe likewiſe, and is not ſubiect to that which hee hath. For they are deceiued, my *Lucilius*, that thinke that Fortune giueth vs eyther any thing that is good or euill. Shee giueth vs the matter of goods and euils, and the beginnings of things, which ſhall eyther haue a happy or vnhappy iſſue with vs. For the minde is ſtronger then any Fortune; he conducteth his affaires, eyther right or wrong, he is himſelfe the cauſe of his contented or miſerable life. An euill man conuerteth all things to the worſt, yea, euen thoſe things which happen with appearance of great good. An vpright and good Conſcience correcteth the infirmities of Fortune, and mollifieth thoſe things which are hard and vntoward by her knowledge how to ſuffer, and the ſame man moſt gratefully and modeſtly entertayneth proſperity, and conſtantly and couragiouſly aduerſity, who although

though he be prudent, although he doth all things with an exact iudgement, although he attempt nothing aboue his ſtrength, yet that entyre good which is ſetled and exempted from the threats of Fortune doth not befall him, except he be aſſured againſt whatſoeuer is vncertain. Whether it be thou wilt obſerue others (for the iudgemēt is moſt free in other mens affaires) or whether leauing partialitie apart, thou wilt behold thy ſelfe, thou ſhalt both thinke and confeſſe this, that no one of theſe goods which are deſired and pryzed is profitable, except thou arme thy ſelfe againſt lightneſſe, and thoſe things that depend on caſualtie, except that oft and without complaint thou ſpeake thus in euery one of thy loſſes: *It is the pleaſure of the Gods that it ſhould goe otherwiſe.* Or rather that I may report a ſpeech more ſtrong and iuſt, whereby thy minde may bee more enabled, ſay thus when as any thing hath falne out otherwiſe then thou thoughteſt: *The Gods ſend better.* Being thus compoſed, nothing ſhall be caſuall: and ſo ſhall he be compoſed, if he ſhall but imagine what the varietie of humane affaires may be, before he feele them: if he ſo poſſeſſe his children, his Wife and Patrimonie, as if hee ſhould not alwayes haue them, and as if hee ſhould not bee more miſerable for this cauſe, if hee ſhould bee forced to loſe them. Wretched is that minde that is tormented with that which is to ſucceed, and before miſeries is hee miſerable who is carefull, that thoſe things wherein he taketh delight ſhould continue with him to his end: for he ſhall neuer be in quiet, and in expectation of the future; he ſhall loſe the preſent which he might enioy. But the griefe of the thing that is loſt, and the feare of that which is to be loſt, are both equall. Neyther therefore doe I command thee to be negligent. But decline thou from thoſe things that are to be feared, and foreſee all that which prudence may foreſee: conſider and preuent that thing which may offend thee, long time before it happen. To this effect thy confidence will ſerue thee greatly, and thy certaine reſolution to ſupport all accidents. He can beware of Fortune that can ſuffer Fortune: vndoubtedly he neuer ſtormeth in his tranquillity. It is a miſery and extreme folly to be alwayes in feare; what folly is this to goe before a mans euill? In briefe, to let thee know that in a word, which I intend to deſcribe vnto thee, theſe buſie-bodies, and tormenters of themſelues are as intemperate in their miſeries as they were before them. He grieueth more then hee needeth, that grieueth before hee needeth; for by the ſame infirmitie he eſtimateth not his griefe, whereby he expecteth it not; with the ſame intemperace he fayneth to himſelfe perpetuall felicity, he imagineth that all theſe things that haue befalne him, ſhould not only endure but encreaſe, and forgetting that all humane things are both toſſed and changed, while hee promiſeth himſelfe onely an aſſured eſtate in his caſualties. I finde then that *Metrodorus* ſpake very fitly, when in a Letter he ſent vnto his Siſter to comfort her in the death of her Sonne, which was a Childe of great hope, hee ſaid that all the goods of mortall men are mortall. Of theſe goods ſpeaketh he which men ſo much affect and flocke after; for the true good periſheth not, Wiſdome and Vertue are certaine and eternall, theſe onely are the immortall goods that haue befalne mortall men. But men are ſo vnhappy, and ſo farre forgetfull whither they goe, whither euey day draweth them vnto, that they wonder if they loſe any thing, being aſſured one day to loſe all. Whatſoeuer it bee that thou art called Maſter of, know that it is not thine, although thou poſſeſſe it. Thou art infirme and mortall, there is nothing then in this World that is firme and immortall for thee. It is as neceſſarie our goods ſhould periſh as bee loſt, and if wee take heede

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it is a great comfort to loſe thoſe goods with a ſetled and reſolute mind, which muſt periſh. What remedie then ſhall wee find out againſt theſe loſſes? This, that we may keepe in memorie ſuch things as are loſt, neither ſuffer the fruit of them, which we haue gotten by them, to periſh with them. To haue may bee taken from vs; to haue had, neuer. Moſt ingratefull is he, who when he hath loſt, oweth nothing for that hee hath receiued. Caſualty taketh our ſubſtance from vs, but leaueth the vſe and fruit thereof with vs, which we loſe by the iniquity of our deſire. Say vnto thy ſelfe Of theſe things that ſeeme ſo terrible, no thing is inuincible. Many there are that haue ouercome each one of them, *Mutius* the Fire, *Regulus* the Croſſe, *Socrates* Poyſon, *Rutillius* Baniſhment, *Cato* Death, enforced by his owne Sword. Let vs likewiſe get ſome victorie: moreouer, thoſe things which allure and entice the common ſort, vnder appearance of beauty and happineſſe, haue many and oftentimes bin contemned. *Fabricius* being chiefe of the Army, reiected riches, and being Cenſor condemned them. *Tubero* iudged pouertie to be worthy both of himſelfe and the Capitol, when as vſing Earthen Pots in his publike Supper, he ſhewed that man ought to content himſelfe with that, wherewith the gods diſdayned not to bee ſometimes ſerued. *Sextius* the Father, a man fit to gouerne the affaires of a Commonweale, refuſed all honourable Offices, and would not accept the dignitie of a Senatour, which *Iulius Cæſar* had preſented him; knowing well that whatſoeuer may be giuen, may be taken away. Let vs likewiſe doe ſome of theſe things valiantly. Let vs ranke our ſelues as Exemplar men among the reſt. Why are we faint-hearted? Why deſpayre we? Whatſoeuer might bee done, can bee done. Let vs now purge our minds, and follow Nature, for he that erreth and ſtrayeth from her muſt of force, deſire, and feare, and be a Slaue to caſualties. We may returne into the way, we haue libertie to recouer our conſtancie. Let vs be reſtored, that we may endure griefes, in what manner ſoeuer they aſſaile our bodies; and ſay vnto Fortune, *Thou haſt to deale with a man, ſearch out ſome other, a man whom thou mayeſt ouercome.* By theſe ſayings and ſuch like, the force of that vlcer is appeaſed, whereof I deſire eyther eaſe or recure, or recure, or ſtrēgth to ſupport & wax old with the ſame. But I am ſecure of him, the queſtion is of our loſſe, whereby a worthy old man is taken from vs. For hee is full of life, who deſireth that nothing ſhould bee added vnto him for his owne cauſe, but for theirs to whom he is profitable. He doth liberally, becauſe hee liueth. Another ere this had finiſhed all theſe troubles: this man thinketh it as foule a thing to ſhunne death, as to ſeeke after death. What then, ſhall hee not forſake it, if he be perſwaded thereunto? Why ſhould he not forſake it? If no man now hath any further vſe of him, if he haue no buſineſſe but to wait vpon paine. This (my *Lucilius*) is to play the Philoſopher in effect, and to be exerciſed in the truth, to ſee what minde a prudent man hath againſt Death, againſt Dolor, when the one approcheth, the other preſſeth him. That which is to bee done, is to be learned of him that doth it. Hitherto we haue debated by Arguments, whether any man may reſiſt paine, or Death likewiſe may humble great minds, when it aſſayleth them. What need many words? The thing diſcouereth it ſelfe, let vs trauell thereunto: neyther doth Death make him more ſtronger againſt paine, neyther paine confirme him againſt Death, hee armeth himſelfe againſt both; neither hope of Death maketh him endure his miſerie more patienly, neyther dyeth he willingly thorow the tedioufneſſe of paine; he endureth the one, he reſpecteth the other.

EPIST. XCIX.

A Conſolatorie Epiſtle vpon the death of his Sonne, vndoubtedly both Wiſe and Eloquent.

I Haue ſent thee that Epiſtle which I wrote vnto *Marulus*, when as he had loſt his little Sonne, and was ſaid to be ouer-paſſionate and grieued for his loſſe: wherein I haue not obſerued my vſuall cuſtom, neither thought I it fit to handle him gently, when as he was more worthy of reproofe then conſolation. For to him that is afflicted and vnable to ſupport a great wound, ſome little way muſt be giuen. Let him ſatisfie him ſelfe, or at leaſt-wiſe vpon the firſt brunt powre out teares abundantly. They that giue libertie to themſelues to ſorrow and lament, let them forth-with be chaſtiſed, and taught, that there are ſome follies euen in teares. Doſt thou expect conſolations? receiue reproofes. Doſt thou endure thy Sonnes death ſo effeminately? What wouldeſt thou do haddeſt thou loſt thy friend? Thy young Infant of vncertaine hope, and very little, is departed: a handfull of time is loſt. We ſeeke out occaſions to lament, wee exclaime, although vniuſtly againſt Fortune, as though ſhe would not afford vs iuſt cauſes of complaint. Truly I ſuppoſed that thou wert alreadie animated ſufficiently againſt ſolid and great euils, and conſequently againſt ſhaddowes and appearances of miſeries, for which men mourne for cuſtome ſake. Hadſt thou loſt thy friend, (which is the greateſt loſſe of all others,) thou ſhouldeſt endeuour to reioyce more becauſe thou hadſt him, then to mourne for that thou haſt loſt him. But many there are that reckon not what courteſies they haue receiued & comfort they haue conceiued by their friends. Amongſt other miſeries ſorrow hath this, that it is not only ſuperfluous, but vngratefull alſo. Hauing therefore enioyed ſo good a friend, haſt thou loſt thy time? So many yeares, ſo great a vnity, ſuch familiar ſociety in ſtudie: are all theſe vaniſhed without effect? Doſt thou bury thy friendſhip with thy friend? Wherefore mourneſt thou if his preſence hath beene ſo profitable vnto thee? Beleeue this, that the greater part of thoſe whom we haue loued remayneth with vs, although caſualtie hath taken them from vs. The time already paſſed is ours, neyther is there any thing more ſecurely lodged, then that which hath bin. We are vngratefull in regard of thoſe things we haue receiued vnder hope of that to come; as if that which is to come (if ſo be it proue ſucceſſefull vnto vs) ſhould not quickly paſſe into that which is paſt. Too ſtraitly limiteth he the fruits of humane life, who onely reioyceth in thoſe things that are preſent. Both thoſe things that are to come, and thoſe things that are paſt, doe delight; the one with expectation, the other in memory: but that which is to come is in ſuſpence, and may not be done; as touching that which is paſt, it is vnpoſſible but that it hath bene. What madneſſe is it then, to leaue that which is moſt certaine? Let vs content our ſelues with that we haue, prouided that wee haue not drawne with a hollow vnderſtanding, which letteth that paſſe which he hath already apprehended. There are infinite Examples of thoſe, who without teares haue interred their young Children, who vpon their returne from the Funerals, haue entred the Senate-houſe, or entertayned ſome publike Office, and ſuddenly occupied themſelues about other buſineſſe, and that vpon good occaſion. For firſt of all it is loſt time to grieue, if ſorrow profit nothing. Secondly, it is an vniuſt thing to complaine

plaine of that which hath befalne one, and muſt befall all thoſe that are to follow after. Moreouer, it is a folly to wiſh, or to lament, when there is ſo little difference betweene death and him that lamenteth the ſame. For the which cauſe we ought to haue the more repoſe in our hearts, becauſe we ſhall follow them whom we haue loſt. Behold with what ſwiftneſſe time poſteth away: thinke vpon this ſhort Race on which we runne ſo ſwiftly. Conſider this great company of Mankind, which tendeth to the ſame end, conuerſing and liuing together, diſtinguiſhed by ſmall ſpaces, euen then when they ſeeme moſt greateſt. He whom thou thinkeſt dead, is but gone before. But what madneſſe is it to bewayle him that went before thee, when as thou thy ſelfe muſt trauell the ſame iourney after him? Doth a man bewayle that thing which he knew ſhould happen? Or if he thought that man ſhould not dye, he deceiued himſelfe. Some man bewayleth a thing which he ſaid could not chuſe but be done? Whoſoeuer bewayleth the death of any man, bewayleth that he was a man. All men are tyed to one condition, he that hapned to be borne, muſt dye. By ſpaces wee are diſtinguiſhed, by death equalled. That which hapneth betweene our firſt and laſt day, is diuers and vncertaine. If thou eſtimate the troubles, it is ouer long for a Childe: if the ſwiftneſſe, it is too ſhort for an old man. There is nothing that is not incertain and deceiueable, and more light then the wind All things are toſſed, and are transferred into their contrary by the power of Fortune, and in ſo great inconſtancie of humane affaires, there is nothing certaine to any man but his death. Yet all men complaine of that wherein no man is deceiued. But he dyed a Childe. I ſay not yet, that he is better dealt withall that is dead. Let vs paſſe ouer to him that is old, how ſhort is the time wherein he hath out-ſtripped an Infant? Propoſe vnto thy ſelfe this great extent of years, and comprehend all the Ages that are paſt, then make compariſon with that which we call mans life, with that infinitie of yeares; and then ſhalt thou ſee how little a thing all that is which we deſire, and extend. Conſider how much teares, cares, death ſo oftentimes wiſhed for, before it comes, ſickneſſes, feares, fooliſh Infancie, wanton yoth, and vnprofitable yeares do poſſeſſe, and deuour the portions of our life; we loſe the halfe in ſleping. Let vs adde hereunto trauels, ſorrowes, and perils, and thou ſhalt ſee that in the moſt longeſt life which a man can obſerue, that which is called liuing, is the ſmalleſt portion of the ſame. But who will not grant thee this, that hee is in better ſtate that may quickly turne to duſt; whoſe iourney is at an end before he be wearie? Life is neyther good nor euill, it is the place of good and euill. So hath he loſt nothing but the die, which is more certaine to our harme then good. He might haue become both modeſt and prudent, he might haue beene formed by thy care and inſtruction to be more vertuous; but (that which may moſt iuſtly be feared) he might haue beene made like to the moſt part of men. Marke me thoſe young Gentlemen of great Houſes, who by their Intemperance are brought to that miſerie that they are become Fencers. Conſider thoſe others, who lewdly defile both their owne and others bodies, which ouer-ſlip not a day wherein they are not drunke, or defamed for ſome other notable Infamie. Then ſhalt thou ſee that there was more to be feared then hoped for. For which cauſe thou oughteſt not ſummon to thy ſelfe theſe cauſes of ſorrow, nor in vexing thy ſelfe heape vp incommodities, and of light and ſlight ones, as they be, to make them vnſufferable. I counſell thee to reſiſt thy ſorrow, and to vrge it, neyther haue I ſo bad an opinion of thee, that thou wouldeſt call to ayde all thy Vertue againſt thoſe difficulties which preſent themſelues. This is no true griefe, but a ſlight tou-

touching, thou makeſt it true griefe: vndoubtedly Philoſophie hath done thee great ſeruice, if thou bewayleſt with a reſolute heart a Child better knowne vnto his Nurſe then to his Father. Well then, will I haue thee ſeized of a heart of Iron? and is it my mind that thou ſhouldeſt looke vp cheerely in the Funerals of thy Sonne? and will I not ſuffer thee to let thy minde relent a little? By no meanes. For this were Inhumanitie, not Vertue, to behold the dead with the ſame eye that wee doe the liuing, and not to bee mooued when as the one is thus ſeparated from the other. Behold what it is which I forbid. There are things which in a manner are out of our power. Teares fall from the eyes of certayne men that would fayne contayne them, and theſe teares thus ſhedde doe lighten the heart: what is there to bee done in ſuch a caſe? Let vs ſuffer them to fall, but let vs not command them. Let them drop as long as affection commandeth them to flow, but not as much as cuſtome and other mens Example doth require. But let vs adde nothing vnto ſorrow, neyther let vs augment it by other mens Examples. This oſtentation of ſorrow exacteth more then the ſorrow it ſelfe. How few are ſorrowfull to themſelues? If they ſuppoſe that men heare them, they cry out more earneſtly; but being by themſelues, they are quiet, and as ſoone as any other ſaluteth them, then recommence they their ſorrow, then beat they their head with their hands, which they might haue done more freely when no man forbad them; then wiſh they themſelues dead, then toſſe they vpon their pallets: when the beholder is gone, the ſorrow ceaſſeth. In this affaire as in others, wee are wonne by an euill cuſtome, we follow the Example of our Neighbours, and compoſe our ſelues by their Example, and not by that which beſt becommeth vs. Wee neglect Nature, and addict our ſelues to the faſhions of the common people, which are both ignorant and corrupt, and who in this as in all other things is inconſtant of inconſtanteſt. If they ſee any man confident in his calamitie, they call him impious and brutiſh: if they ſee another diſmayd, that reſpecteth nothing but his bodie, they terme him a weake and an effeminate man. All things therefore are to be reduced within the liſt of Reaſon. But there is no one more greater folly then to get Fame by affected ſadneſſe, and to approue it by teares, which I conſider in two kinds in regard of a Wiſeman, the one iſſuing of themſelues, the others permitted to flow. I will ſhew thee what difference there is: Aſſoone as we heare the newes of our deceaſſed friend, when as wee behold his body, ready to be tranſported to the fire from our embraces, naturall neceſſitie extorteth teares, and the ſpirit being impelled by the ſtroke of ſorrow, euen as it ſhaketh the whole body, ſo ſucketh it, and expelleth from the eyes the teares that are at hand. Theſe teares are extorted as they fall, and flow againſt our wils. Some other there are which we giue way to, when as any man maketh mention of thoſe whom they haue loſt. In this heauineſſe there is found ſome ſweetnes, when we remember our ſelues of their pleaſant Diſcourſe, of their agreeable conuerſation, of their charitable Pietie, then do our eies open and powre forth teares, as it were in ioy. To theſe we giue allowance, by theſe we are ouercome. Reſtrayne not therefore, neyther giue liberty to thy teares, by reaſon of thoſe that aſſiſt thee, or attend vpon thee; be it that eyther they are dryed vp, or drop downe, there is no ſhame in them, prouided that they be not fayned. Let them flow of themſelues, and they may flow in men temperate and well compoſed. Oft-times they haue flowed without any preiudice to a Wiſemans authoritie, with ſo much temperance, that they neyther wanted humanity, nor were diſallowed in dignity. It is lawfull, ſay I, to obey Nature without the blemiſh of grauitie.

uitie. I haue ſeene men that were venerable in the Funerals of their children, in whoſe lookes their loue was teſtified towards their dead children, without any vaine oſtentation of grieuing. There was not any thing which teſtified not a ſimple and naturall affection. There is a certain *decorum* euen in ſorrow, which ought to be obſerued by a Wiſeman. And as in other things, ſo likewiſe in teares there is ſomewhat that is ſufficient: vnwiſe men, as in their ioyes, ſo keep they no meaſure in their ſorowes. Accommodate thy ſelfe peaceably vnto neceſſity. What incredible matter or noueltie hath falne out? How many men are there, whoſe Funerals haue beene celebrated, whoſe bodies haue beene embalmed and embowelled, and who weepeth for them? As oftentimes as thou ſhalt remember that thy dead Childe was an Infant, thinke alſo that hee was a mortall creature, to whom nothing certain was promiſed, whom Fortune was not obliged to bring vp to old age, but to forſake then when it beſt liked her. But ſpeake of him oftentimes, and celebrate his memory as much as thou canſt, which oftentimes will be refreſhed in thee, if it may ſalute thee without bitterneſſe. For no man willingly conuerſeth with a ſorrowfull man, much leſſe with ſorrow. If thou remember any ſpeeches of his, if thou haſt during his Infancie, beard any Ieſts of his to thy contentment, repeate them often, and conſtantly affirme that he might haue fulfilled thoſe hopes which thy fatherly minde had conceiued of him. It is the act of an vnnaturall minde to forget a mans friends, and to burie their memories with their bodies, and to weepe for them abundantly, and to remember them ſlenderly. So Birds and Beaſts loue their young ones with a violent & enraged affection, but with the loſſe of them it is wholly extinguiſhed. This becommeth not a Wiſeman: let him continue his remembrance, forbeare his mourning. This doe I no wayes allow of, which *Metrodorus* ſayth, that there is a certaine ioy that is allyed to ſorrow, and that this ſhould be affected at this time. I haue ſet downe *Metrodorus* owne wordes, of which I doubt not what cenſure thou wilt yeeld; for what is more abſurd then in ſorrow to affect pleaſure, nay more, by ſorrow and teares to ſeek that which may comfort? Theſe are they that obiect againſt vs our too much rigour, and defame our precepts for their hardneſſe, becauſe wee ſay that ſorrow is eyther not to bee admitted into the minde, or quickly to bee expelled out of it. But whether of theſe two is more incredible and inhumane, either not to feele any ſorrow for the loſſe of our friend, or to ſearch pleaſure in ſorrow? But that which we teach is honeſt, when as our affection hath powred forth any teares, and (if I may ſo ſpeake it) hath skummed them, that wee ought not abandon our ſelues wholly vnto ſorrow. What ſayeſt thou? That we mixe pleaſure and ſorrow together. So ſtill we our children by giuing them bread, ſo pacifie wee our Infants by powring in Milke. Touching thy ſelfe at ſuch time as thy ſonne burneth, or thy friend expireth, thou canſt not permit thy leaſure to ceaſſe, but wilt tickle and flatter ſorrow it ſelfe: whether of both is more fitting, eyther to heale the ſoule of all griefe, or to mix griefe and ioy together, I ſay not onely to mixe, but to take occaſion of pleaſure out of his ſorrow. So farre is it that ſorrow is accompanied with any pleaſure, as *Metrodorus* thinketh. This is lawfull for vs to ſay, but vnlawfull for you: you acknowledge but one good, which is pleaſure, and one euill, which is paine. What alliance may there bee betweene good and euill? But ſuppoſe there be; euen now eſpecially muſt wee finde the ſame, and now it is that we muſt ſee whether paine be enuironed with any ioy or pleaſure. Certayne remedies there are, which applyed to ſome parts of the body are wholſome, but by reaſon of their lothſomneſſe, and indecency cannot

be applyed to others, and that which in one place may profit without touch of modeſtie, is diſhoneſt in another part where the wound moſt appeareth. Art thou not aſhamed to heale ſorrow with pleaſure? This wound muſt be handled with more ſeuerity: rather proue that the dead can feele no euill; for if hee were ſenſible, hee ſhould not be dead. Nothing, ſay I, hurteth him that is nothing. He lueth if hee bee hurt. Whether thinkeſt thou him to bee in bad caſe who is no man, or him that as yet is ſome body? But in as much as he is not any more, there is not any torment that may offend him; for who can feele that that is not? neither in as much as he is, can he be endamaged; for he is deliuered from the greateſt danger, which is death, by being no more. This likewiſe let vs ſay to him that bewayleth and wanteth his childe, rauiſhed from him in his young yeares. If thou make a compariſon of the ſhortneſſe of all mens liues, with the length of time which is paſt ſince the beginning of the World, both young and old ſhall find themſelues equall. For both the one and the other of vs poſſeſſe as little as nothing of that length and extent of time. A little is yet ſomething, but our life and nothing are almoſt all one, notwithſtanding wee ſtretch it out as much as we may, ſuch is our follies. I haue written theſe things to thee, not becauſe thou ſhouldeſt attend from mee a remedie, which commeth too late; for I ſuppoſe that thou haſt told thy ſelfe all that which is contayned in my Letters. But that I might chaſtize that little delay, wherein thou haſt departed from thy ſelfe, and in concluſion might exhort thee to arme thy ſelfe hereafter againſt aduerſities, and to foreſee all fortunes aſſaults, not as they might, but as they ought ſuddenly to afflict thee.

EPIST. C.

His iudgement of PAPIRIVS FABIANVS *the Philoſopher, and of his Writings.*

THou writeſt to mee that thou haſt very diligently read ouer thoſe Bookes of *Fabianus Papirius*, intituled of things *Ciuill*, but that they anſwered not thine expectation. And afterwards, forgetting thy ſelfe that the queſtion was of a Philoſopher, thou accuſeſt his compoſition. But put caſe it be ſo as thou ſayeſt, that in ſtead of well couching his words, he ſaith all that commeth to memory: firſt of all, this diſcourſe hath his grace, and it the proper ornament of a ſtile little faultie: for I thinke there is a great difference whether it eſcapeth or floweth. Now in this alſo which I am to ſpeake, there is a great difference: *Fabianus* ſeemeth not to mee to ſpeake much, but to ſpeake to the purpoſe. To ſpeake truth, his ſtile is fluent, but not inforced, although it be currant enough. Hee confeſſeth openly, and letteth vs ſee that it is not an affected and laboured ſtile, but ſuch a one as a man may know it was *Fabianus* writing. Hee pretended not to confront his diſcourſe, but to reforme manners: he laboured not to tickle the eare, but to teach and inſtruct the minde. Furthermore, at ſuch time as hee diſcourſed, thou ſhouldeſt not haue leaſure to conſider the parts of his diſcourſe, ſo much would the ſummary of the whole rauiſh and detayne thee. And ordinarily that which is pleaſing to vs, being pronounced *Viua voce* readily and preſently, is not ſo pleaſing vnto vs, beeing couched in writing. But this alſo is a great matter, to ſettle and occupie the ſight vpon a Booke, although a diligent contemplation might find out matter worthy reprehenſion.

If

If thou aske my opinion, more great is he that rauiſheth our iudgement then he that deſerueth it. Such an one is more aſſured, and if I errenot, may more boldly promiſe his Writings perpetuitie. A laboured diſcourſe becomes not a Philoſopher. What ſhall become of a generous and reſolute heart? when ſhall he make proofe of himſelfe, if he be afraid of words? *Fabianus* was not negligent in his Diſcourſe, but ſecure. Thou ſhalt finde nothing in him that is baſe and impertinent. The words are choſen but not affected, neither couched according to the cuſtome of this time, or diſordered. They are words that haue their weight, that haue an honeſt and magnificent ſenſe, although they bee ordinary and vulgar; they are neither conſtrayned nor doubtful in a ſentence, but graue and profound. We ſhall neyther ſee any thing that is curtalled & ſhortned, nor any ſtructure vnfit, nothing that is not poliſhed, as the eloquence of this time requireth. Examine this diſcourſe euery way, and when thou haſt beheld it on euery ſide, thou ſhalt find no ſtreights emptie. Although it haue no Marble of diuers colours, nor diuiding or currents of waters running thorow chambers, nor little cloſſets of ſparing and abſtinence, nor whatſoeuer elſe diſſoluteneſſe not contenting herſelfe with a ſimple and conuenient decencie, hath inuented and mixed together, yet is the houſe well builded. Let vs now ſpeake of ſtructure and compoſition, for all men are not of accord here. Some of harſh will haue it ſmooth, ſome are ſo much affected to raſhnes and auſteritie, that if a clauſe doe happily end in a pleaſing cadence, they purpoſely diſſipate the ſame, and interrupt the clauſes expreſly, leſt they ſhould be anſwerable to expectation. Reade *Cicero*, his compoſition is one, hee obſerueth his foot, his ſpeech is poliſhed, ſmooth and not effeminate. Contrariwiſe, *Aſinius Pollio's* diſcourſe is vneuen and skipping, and ſuch as will leaue thee when thou leaſt expecteſt it. To conclude, in *Cicero* all things end, in *Pollio* they fall, except a few which are tyed to one certayne kind of cuſtome and example. Beſides, in thine opinion thou ſayeſt, that all things in his diſcourſe are humble and ſcarce vpright, of which vice in my iudgement he is freed: for they are not humble but pleaſing, and are formed in an equall and compoſed manner, not tyed together but vnited; they want this Rhetoricall vigour, and thoſe points, and ſudden darted Sentences. But examine the whole body, although it be not farded, it is honeſt and well faſhioned. His ſpeech hath no grace: bring mee one whom thou mayeſt preferre before *Fabianus*. If thou produceſt *Cicero*, who hath almoſt written as many bookes in Philoſophie as *Fabianus*, I will giue place; yet is not that preſently little that is leſſe then the greateſt. Say that it is *Aſinius Pollio*. I will yeeld; but to returne thee an anſwere: To be after theſe two, is too very high when the queſtion is of Eloquence. Name mee *Liuie* beſide theſe, for he alſo hath written Dialogues, which a man may as well call Philoſophicall as Hiſtoricall: other Bookes likewiſe, wherein hee treateth expreſly of Philoſophie; to him likewiſe wil I giue place, yet conſider how many he exceedeth, who is ouercome by three, & they the three moſt eloquent. But he perfourmeth not all his ſpeech, is not ſtrong, although elate, it is not violent nor hedlong, although abundãt in words; it is not perſpicuous but pure. Thou deſireſt a ſharp declamation againſt vices, a cõfident diſcourſe againſt dangers, a bold ſpeech againſt aduerſity, an inuectiue againſt ambition. I will haue wickedneſſe chidden, luſt traduced, impatience brideled. Let the termes of an Oratour bee ſtinging, of a tragike Poet ſtately, of a Comick familiar & plaine. Wilt thou haue him countenance a ſmall matter with wordes? Hee addicted himſelfe to the greatneſſe of things, and buildeth not on Eloquence, but

makes it follow after him, as the ſhaddow doth the bodie. Vndoubtedly all his words ſhall not be well placed and exactly couched together; neither in euery clauſe ſhall there bee a part that may quicken and awaken men. I dare promiſe that diuers periods ſhall eſcape him to no purpoſe, and that ſometimes his Diſcourſe ſhall ſlip away without mooving, but in all places his words ſhall be agreeable, neyther ſhall there be any pauſe that will be diſpleaſant. In a word, he will make thee know that he beleeued whatſoeuer he wrote. Thou ſhalt ſee that his intention was to make thee know what he approued, and not to flatter thee: he demandeth nothing but thy good, and ſearcheth for nought elſe but to ſee thee endowed with a good Conſcience. It is not applauſe which he deſireth. I doubt not but his Writings are ſuch, and though I remember not their intents in generall, yet haue I before mine eyes ſome paſſages of the ſame; not in that I haue read them ouer lately, but for that I haue ſeene them in times paſt, and long ſince. At ſuch time as I heard him, his words in my iudgement were ſuch, not ſwelling but full and naturall, which might allure a young and well diſpoſed man to Vertue, and giue him hope to attayne the true end; which manner of teaching in my opinion, is more effectuall then any other, for that of another kind maketh the Auditors to loſe their hearts, and taketh away their hope, and impreſſeth no other deſire in them, but to imitate and follow the ſame. In briefe, *Fabianus* abounded in words without the commendation of euery particular clauſe; but all his Diſcourſe in generall was exquiſite and magnificent.

EPIST. CI.

Of the ſudden death of one of his acquaintance; and by occaſion, that wee are to truſt or promiſe nothing to our ſelues. That all things are vncertayne, and therefore good life is not to be deferred, neyther long life to be deſired: in concluſion, he controlleth MECAENAS *his abſurd vow.*

EVery day, euery houre ſheweth vs how vaine and nought worth we be, and by ſome new Argument admoniſheth vs that are forgetfull of our frailty, when as it compelleth vs (who meditate vpon eternitie) to looke backe vnto death. Askeſt thou me what this induction meaneth? Thou knoweſt *Cornelius Senecio* a Romane Knight, a man both rich, liberall, and courteous, who from a ſlender eſtate in the beginning, had rayſed his Fortunes, and had attayned the ſpeedie meanes alreadie to compaſſe the reſt. For dignitie doth more eaſily increaſe then begin. And he that is poore hath much labour to diſburthen himſelfe of neceſſity before he become rich. This *Senecio* aſpired vnto Riches, whereunto there were two very effectuall meanes that conducted him, that is to ſay, the knowledge of getting, and the means of keeping, the one whereof is ſufficient to make a man rich. This man being wonderfully frugall, and no leſſe carefull of his Patrimony then of his bodie, when as according to his cuſtome he had ſeene me in the morning, when as from morning to night hee had ſitten by his friend that was grieuouſly ſicke, and lay deſperate without hope; after he had ſupped merrily, was ſeized with a ſudden ſickneſſe, that is to ſay, with the *Squinancy*, which ſtrangled him, and ſet his ſoule at libertie. Hee departed therfore within a few houres after he had performed all the Offices of an able and

and healthfull man. He that traded with his Money both by Sea and Land, that had publike profits alſo, and left no kind of profit vnſought after, in the verie height of his ſucceſſefull Fortunes, when as Money rayned on euery ſide into his Coffers, was taken out of this life.

Now MAELIBEVS *graft thy Peares againe,*
And plant thy Vines vpon the pleaſant Plaine.

How fond a thing is it to promiſe our ſelues long life, whereas wee are ſcarcely Lords and Maſters of to morrow? O how mad are they that feed on fayned hopes, and long Enterpriſes? I will buy, I will build, I will lend, I will recouer my debts, I will haue ſuch and ſuch eſtates; and then when I am fully ſatisfied, I will paſſe my full and weary age in repoſe and quiet. But truſt me, all things are vncertayne, yea euen vnto thoſe that thinke themſelues moſt aſſured. No man ought to promiſe himſelfe any thing of that which is to come. That alſo which we haue ſureſt hold-faſt of, ſlippeth through our fingers, and caſualtie cuts that very cord in ſunder whereon we haue greateſt hold-faſt. There is a prefixed ordinance in the reuolutions of the World, although they are maruellouſly obſcured. But what concerneth it me, whether that be certaine to nature, which is vncertaine to me? We purpoſe and intend great voyages by Sea, wherein we ſhall ſee many forreine parts, and reſolue not to returne againe into our Countrey of a long time: we muſt to the Wars, and be richly recompenced after wee haue paſſed thorow all the degrees of Armes, and haue had Commiſſions and honourable charges, more and more, the one after the other; when as in the mean while death ſtādeth by our ſides, & becauſe we neuer caſt our eies on that which is ours, but only vpon that which is anothers, from time to time the examples of our frailtie appeare vnto vs, whereon wee neuer thinke, but at ſuch time as they ſtay before our eyes. But what is more fooliſh then to wonder to ſee that done in any day, which may be done in euery day? It is a thing moſt aſſured, that the ſcope of our life is limited by the inexorable neceſſitie of deſtinie, but no man knoweth how neere it is. Let vs therefore ſo diſpoſe our minds, as if this preſent time were our laſt houre. Let vs deferre nothing. Let vs daily make euen with life. It is the greateſt errour in life, that it is alwayes imperfect, & that ſome part thereof likewiſe is deferred. He that hath euery day layd the laſt hand on his life, needeth not time. But from this indigence proceedeth feare, and a deſire of the future, deuouring and eating our mindes. There is nothing more miſerable then the doubt of things to come. The ſoule that debateth what it is that remayneth, or of what kinde: is agitated with an inexplicable feare. How ſhall we auoyd this perplexitie? By this one meanes, if we prolong not our life in vaine Diſcourſe, but gather it into it ſelfe. For he to whom the preſent time is vnprofitable, cannot haue any repoſe, in regard of the future. But whereas whatſoeuer is due by me vnto my ſelfe, is reſtored to my ſelfe; whereas the confirmed minde knoweth that there is no difference betweene a day and an age: ſhee beholdeth, as it were, from an high Tower, all the dayes and affaires that hereafter are to come, and with much laughter thinketh on the ſequell of time. For what ſhould the varietie and mutabilitie of Fortunes trouble thee, if thou be aſſured againſt incertainties? Make haſte therefore (my *Lucilius*) to liue, and thinke euery ſeuerall day, a ſeuerall life. Whoſoeuer ordereth himſelfe thus, hee that maketh euery day his whole life, is ſecure. They that liue in hope, haue neuer any time of reſt, they are al-

wayes deſiring and coueting: and the apprehenſion of death (which is a thing moſt miſerable, and which maketh all things moſt miſerable) neuer forſaketh them. From thence proceeded that diſhoneſt wiſh of *Mæcenas*, who contented himſelfe to be weake, deformed, and tormented with grieuous and ſharpe ſickneſſe, prouided he might prolong his life amiddeſt the maſſe of theſe miſeries.

Make me weake in thigh and hand,
Make my feet infirme to ſtand,
Shake my teeth, and make them crack,
Stoope my ſhoulders, bend my back;
So my life remayne, I care not,
Threaten torture, come and ſpare not.

This is to wiſh an extreme miſerie, if it ſhould haue happened, and the length of the puniſhment is deſired, as if it were ſome life. I ſhould repute him a contemptible fellow, if he would liue vntill ſuch time as he were tyed to the Gallowes. Yet this man ſaith, weaken me, prouided that my ſoule may remayne in my craſed and vnprofitable bodie: disfigure mee, if this counterfeit and monſtrous body of mine may lengthen my life ſome dayes. Torture and crucifie me, if ſo be by that meanes I may liue. It is a ſtrange matter in him to hide his wounds thus, and to bee content to remayne hanged and ſtretched vpon a Gibbet, vpon condition that death, which is the end of all puniſhment, and the ſouereigne remedie againſt all euils, ſhould be deferred in his behalfe. See heere a wondrous thing, I would haue a ſoule to dye without dying. What wouldeſt thou wiſh for, O *Mæcenas*, but that the gods ſhould haue pittie on thee? Whereto tendeth this Verſe, proceeding from an effeminate minde? What meaneth this couenant inuented by ſenſleſſe and madde feare? And to what purpoſe is this ſhametull begging of lothſome life. Thinke you that *Virgil* euer recited this Verſe vnto him,

To leaue this life, is it a thing ſo wretched?

He wiſheth the worſt of euils, and thoſe things that are moſt grieuous to be ſuffered, hee deſireth to bee grieuouſly tortured and hanged vp: and why, or for what recompence? for ſooth, for a longer life. But what is this mans life? to dye long. Is there any man found, who had rather parch himſelfe vp amiddeſt tortures, and to loſe one member after another, and to die ſo oftentimes amiddeſt defluxions, as to dye at one time? Was there euer any man that had rather wiſh to lye couched all at his length vpon a miſerable bed languiſhing, deformed, crooked both before and behind, that beſides his violent ſickneſſes, had other more mortall, that deſireth to retayne a ſoule, being tortured and rent in pieces by ſo many torments? Say now that the neceſſitie of death is not a great gift of Nature. Many as yet are readie to vow farre worſe, yea euen to betray their friends that they may liue longer, and to deliuer their children to be deflowred with their owne hands, that they might prolong their life, being guiltie of ſo much wickedneſſe. We muſt ſhake off this deſire of life, and learne this, that it skils not when thou ſuffereſt any thing, which thou muſt ſuffer ſomtimes: that all in all is to liue well, without taking care how long, and that oftentimes alſo this well liuing conſiſteth in a life which is not long.

EPIST. CII.

He ſpeaketh ſomewhat of the immortality of the ſoule, and then annexeth a queſtion, Whether renowne doth vs any good after death. Firſt he diſputeth ſlenderly and Scholaſtically, then about the end more effectually, and leadeth our mindes to God and celeſtiall things. He approueth that this our body is our burthen and couer, that it ought to bee deſpiſed and ſhaken off, when God and Time ſummon vs thereunto.

EVen as hee is troubleſome that awaketh another man, that is ſeized with ſome pleaſant dreames, although it be fayned, for hee taketh away the pleaſure, yea ſuch notwithſtanding as hath the effect of truth. So thy Epiſtle hath done me iniury, for it hath recalled me from a thought and meditation, into which I was ſufficiently entred to the purpoſe, and had ingaged my ſelfe further, had I not by this meanes beene diſturbed. I tooke pleaſure to debate vpon the eternitie of ſoules, nay more, I was fully reſolued therein. For I eaſily beleened the opinions of great men, rather promiſing then approuing ſo grateful a matter. I gaue my ſelfe ouer to this ſo great hope, and now grow hatefull vnto my ſelfe, and now contemned the relikes of my broken yeares, being ready to be transferred into that immeaſurable time, and poſſeſſion of that infinite eternity, when as ſuddenly I was awakened by thy Letter, which made mee diſmiſſe ſo ſweete a dreame, which hereafter I will reuiue and redeeme againe, as ſoone as I haue ſatisfied thy expectation. Thou ſayeſt that in my former Letter I did not ſufficiently anſwere that queſtion, wherein I laboured to proue that which they of our Sect doe approue, that the profit which a man obtayneth after death is a great good. That I haue not anſwered that queſtion which is oppoſed againſt vs. Of goods that are diſtant (ſay they) there is none good; but this is a thing diſtant and farre off. That which thou propoſeſt (my *Lucillius*) is a part of the queſtion, yet ſuch a part as ought to bee debated vpon in another place: and therefore I neyther would touch that, neyther other things that were dependent thereupon. For ſome Morall queſtions as thou knoweſt are intermixed with the Naturall. And therefore I entreated onely of that part which wholly concerneth manners. That is to ſay, whether it bee a fooliſh and ſuperfluous thing to tranſport our thoughts beyond the latter end of this life; whether our goods periſh with vs, and nothing remayneth of his, who is nothing; whether we ſhall feele any fruit of that which ſhall be (whatſoeuer it may be) before we may enioy it. But all theſe queſtions pertayne vnto manners, and therefore are they ranked in their proper place. But thoſe things which are ſpoken by the Logicians againſt this opinion, are to be ſeuered, and therefore are they ſet apart. But now, ſince thou requireſt at this time a reaſon of all, I will examine that which they ſay, and afterwards anſwere their obiections. If I propoſe not ſomething firſt, a man cannot vnderſtand the Refutations. What is it that I would foretell? That there are ſome continued bodies, as a man: ſome compound, as a ſhip, a houſe, and all other things whoſe diuers parts are vnited together in one. Some likewiſe that conſiſt of diſtant parts, whoſe members are as yet ſeparate, as an Army, a People, a Senate. For they of whom this body is compoſed, are vnited together either by Law or duty, but by Nature they are diſtinct, and each one ſeuerall. What is it likewiſe that now I will foretell? That we ſuppoſe that nothing is good, which is compoſed of things diſtant. For one

good

good muſt be maintained and gouerned by one ſpirit, and that there is but one principall of one good. This is approued by it ſelfe, if thou requireſt it to be proued, and in the mean while it was to be ſet downe, to the end it might be the ground of our diſcourſe. Thou wilt ſay, You other Stoicks maintaine that no good is compoſed of things diſtant. But this glorie whereof we entreat, is a fauourable opinion of good men. For as a good fame is not one mans words, neither infamy one mans miſ-report: ſo is it not praiſe to pleaſe one good man, many famous and worthy men muſt conſent herein to make it glorie. But this conſiſteth in diuers mens iudgements, and namely thoſe that are diſtant, therefore it is not good; glorie (ſaith he) is a commendation giuen by good men to a good man: commendation is a ſpeech, a ſpeech is a voice that ſignifieth ſomething. But the voice, although it be a good mans voice, is not goodneſſe. For whatſoeuer a good man doth, is not alwaies good. For he clappeth his hands and hiſſeth. But neither will any man ſay that his clapping or hiſſing is good, although he applaud and admire all whatſoeuer is his, no more then he wil do his ſneeſing or coughing. Therefore glory is not good. In a word, tell vs whether this good concerneth the praiſer, or him that is praiſed? If the prayſer, it is as much as if thou ſhouldeſt ſay, that another mans good health is mine; but to praiſe thoſe that are worthy is an honeſt action: therefore this good concerneth the praiſer, from whom this action commeth, not from vs that are praiſed. But this is that which is in queſtion. I anſwer briefly to theſe obiections. Firſt, the queſtion is at this day, whether any good may be compoſed of thoſe things that are diſtant; and both parties haue their reaſons. Secondly, praiſe deſireth not many ſuffrages: for it may be contented with one good mans iudgement, who onely is a competent Iudge, to ſay that all they who reſemble him are good. What then (ſaith he) ſhal fame depend vpon the eſtimate of one man, and infamie be tied to the miſ-report of another man? Glory alſo (ſaith he) as I vnderſtand, is ſpread more largely. For it requireth the conſent of many men. The condition of theſe, and of this are different. Why? Becauſe if a good man haue a good opinion of me, I am in the ſame eſtate that I ſhould be, when as all good men ſhould haue like thought of mee. For if all of them knew me, they would iumpe in the opinion of this one man. They haue but one and the ſame iudgement, and they that cannot differ, doe neceſſarily agree in their opinions. Therefore, that which one thinketh importeth as much, as if all of them had ſpoken, becauſe they cannot be of any other opinion. The opinion of one man (ſaith he) ſufficeth not to giue glory and renowne vnto another. To this I anſwer, that herein the opinion of one auaileth as much as of all, for if euery one of them be demanded, they will anſwer alike. In this place the iudgements of thoſe that diſagree are diuers, the affections different. Thou ſhalt finde all things in this world doubtful, light, and ſuſpected. Thinkeſt thou that all mens mindes are alike? Vndoubtedly the ſame man is not of the ſame opinion alwaies. Truth is pleaſing to the good, and this truth neither changeth his vigor or color. Amongſt the wicked there are falſities wherein they accord, but there is nothing but inconſtancie, repugnancie, and diſcord in a lye. But praiſe (ſaith hee) is but a voice ſpread in the ayre, and that a word meriteth not the name of good; whenas they ſay that praiſe is the commendation of good men, deliuered by good men; they refer it not to the words, but to the ſentence. For although a good man hold his peace, & yet iudgeth any man worthy of commendation, by this is he commended. Beſides, there is a difference betwixt theſe two words, *Praiſe* & *Praiſing*, which requireth explication. Deliuering a

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funerall Oration, we vſe not this word praiſe but prayſing, which conſiſteth in words. But ſaying that ſome one is worthie of praiſe, we vnderſtand by this word the iuſt iudgements of men, rather then their ſpeeches. So then prayſe ſhal be the right opinion of him who without ſpeaking, priſeth in himſelfe any good man. Furthermore, as I haue ſaid, praiſe hath relation to the thought, not vnto the words, which expreſſe the praiſe which is conceiued inwardly, and vttered to the knowledge of many men. He praiſeth who iudgeth that he ought to praiſe, when, as the Tragique Poet ſaith, *It is a magnificent thing to be prayſed by a praiſe-worthie man:* he meaneth, that this praiſe-worthy man is worthy of praiſe. And when another Poet of the ſame time ſaith, that prayſe nouriſheth arts, he ſpeaketh not of a flatterie which corrupteth arts. For there is nothing that hath ſo much ſoiled eloquence, and all other ſtudies addicted to the eare, as the applauſe of the people. Fame would be publiſhed and bruited, prayſe would not, for ſhe reſpecteth not words, but contenteth her ſelfe with iudgement; ſhe is accompliſhed, not only amongſt thoſe that are ſilent, but likewiſe amongſt thoſe that oppoſe themſelues againſt her. Now will I declare what difference there is betweene praiſe and glory; Glory conſiſteth on many mens iudgements, Praiſe on good mens. To whom returneth the good of praiſe, ſaith he, either to him that is praiſed, or to the praiſer? Both to the one and to the other. It is a great good for me to be praiſed, for Nature hath created me a louer of all men: I reioyce that I haue done well, and one of my contentments is to haue met with men which take pleaſure in thoſe vertuous acts which I might haue done. That many are thus diſpoſed, is a good which they enioy; but I haue my part in it alſo, being of that mind that I thinke other mens good to be mine, eſpecially thoſe men to whom I am the cauſe of this good which proceeds from vertue. But euerie occaſion of vertue is good, which they could not enioy if I were not vertuous. So then, a true praiſe is a common good, both to him that praiſeth, and him that is praiſed, as certainly as a iuſt ſentence is the good and honor both of the Iudge and the partie who obtaineth profit by the cauſe. Doubteſt thou that iuſtice is not a good both to the debtor and creditor? It is iuſtice and equitie to praiſe a man that meriteth praiſe, and conſequently is a common good, both to him that praiſeth, and him that is praiſed: we haue ſufficiently anſwered theſe cauillers. But this ſhould not be our purpoſe to ſow ſubtilties, and to draw Philoſophie from her maieſtie into theſe ſtreights: how farre better is it to go the open and direct way, then to find out by-pathes and loſe our ſelues therein, and be conſtrained to returne back, to our great trouble and preiudice? For theſe diſputations are nought elſe but the paſtimes of men that would cunningly beguile one another. Rather tell me how natural a thing it is to extend the mind to infinitie. A great and generous thing is mans mind, it endureth not to be circumſcribed by any limits, but thoſe which are common to him with God. Firſt of all, he acknowledgeth not himſelfe to be naturally bred in any region or land whatſoeuer, as in *Epheſus* or *Alexandria*, or in any other country of the greateſt extent, or moſt peopled. All whatſoeuer is inuironed by the compaſſe of heauen is his countrey, that is to ſay, his round, compoſed of Seas and Lands mixed together, within which the extent of the ayre ſeparateth and vniteth things celeſtiall and terreſtriall, in which ſo many gods diſpoſed in due order are intentiue to execute their commiſſions: ſecondly, ſhe endureth not to be circumſcribed by yeres: all yeres (ſaith he) are mine, no age is locked vp to great wits, there is no time thorow which humane thought hath not pierced. When that day which muſt make a ſeparation betwixt

twixt the bodie and ſoule thus vnited, ſhall come, I will leaue this bodie where I found it, and will reſtore my ſelfe vnto the gods; neyther am I now without them, but in ſuch ſort, as I feele my ſelfe detained in this heauy and earthly priſon. By theſe delayes of mortall life we make an entrance to that better and longer life. Euen as our mothers wombe containeth vs nine moneths, and prepareth vs not to remaine therein alwaies, but for another place for which it ſeemeth we ſtriue both hand and foot, aſſoone as we are readie to breathe and liue in the aire; ſo by the meanes of this ſpace of time, which is betwixt our infancy and age, we aſpire vnto another birth of nature. Another originall, another eſtate of things attendeth vs. We cannot as yet ſuffer the heauen, but by means of this great extent which is betweene them and vs: for which cauſe beholde thou with a ſetled eye that determined houre, which is not the laſt vnto the ſoule, but onely to the body. Whatſoeuer goods of this world thou beholdeſt about thee, looke on them as if they were the baggage & moueables of an Inne. We muſt paſſe further; nature leaueth vs as naked at the iſſue of this world, as we were vpon the entry: thou haſt brought nothing with thee, neyther ſhalt thou carry away any thing with thee; nay more, thou muſt leaue in the world a great part of that which thou haſt brought with thee. Thou ſhalt be ſpoiled of that skin that incloſed thee, and the laſt cloth that couered thee; thou ſhalt leaue thy fleſh and bloud, which is diſperſed thorow thy whole bodie; thy bones and nerues ſhall be taken from thee, which were the ſupporters of ſo many fraile and fleeting things. This day which thou feareſt ſo much, and which thou calleſt thy laſt, is the birth-day of an eternity. Lay aſide thy burthen. Why delayeſt thou? Is it ſo long ſince that thou forſookeſt a body, that is to ſay thy mothers womb where thou wert hidden, to enter into this world? Why ſtrigueſt thou, and dallieſt thou? Thy mother when thou wert borne laboured hardly to be deliuered of thee. Thou ſigheſt, thou weepeſt, and this is that which the infant doth as ſoone as he is borne. But then wert thou to be pardoned, becauſe as then thou wert but new born, & without the knowledge of any thing. Being iſſued from this hote and ſoft couch of thy mothers entrailes, thou haſt breathed a more freer ayre; then feeling thy ſelfe touched with a hand ſomewhat more hard, thou that wert ſoft and tender, couldeſt not endure it without crying: and it is not to be wondered at that thou remainedſt aſtoniſhed and daunted amongſt ſo many things, which were vnſeene before, conſidering that thou neither haddeſt knowledge nor apprehenſion of any thing. Let it not be a new thing now vnto thee to be ſeparated frõ that, whereof before time thou haſt been ſome portion: acquit thy ſelfe willingly of theſe members which are now ſuperfluous, and lay aſide this bodie, wherein thou haſt inhabited ſo long time. It ſhall be cut in pieces, deuoured and brought to nothing. Why art thou agrieued? So goes the world. The caules which infolde the Infants in their Mothers wombe ſhall be broken and rotten. Why loueſt thou earthly goods, as if they were thine? Theſe are but the folds that wrap thee in. A day will come that will vnfold them, and will draw thee out of the companie of this villanous and ſtinking wombe. Fly now out of this world with a forward courage, eſtrange thy ſelfe from all things; yea, of thoſe things that be neceſſarie. That done, meditate on ſomewhat more high and ſublime. One day the ſecrets of nature ſhall be diſcouered vnto thee, this obſcuritie ſhal be cleared, and a ſhining light ſhal reflect vpon thee on euery ſide. Thinke with thy ſelfe how great this brightnes is of ſo many celeſtiall bodies, which mixe their lights together. So faire a cleare ſhall neuer be obſcured by

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any darkeneſſe: the heauen ſhall be as glorious in one part as in another. Day and night are the reuolutions of the regions of the aire. Thou wilt confeſſe that thou haſt liued in darkeneſſe, whenas thou ſhalt freely ſee the whole light, which now thou beholdeſt obſcurely thorow theſe narrow circles of thine eyes, and from a farre, yet not without aſtoniſhment. What wilt thou ſay of the diuine light, when thou ſhalt ſee it in his place? Such a thought as this will not ſuffer our ſoules to gather ruſt or dyrt, it hindereth vs eyther from humbling our hearts too low, or raiſing them too high. Shee maintaineth that the gods are witneſſes of all things, and will that we be approued by them, that we depend on their will, that we haue the day of eternitie alwaies before our eyes. Whoſoeuer hath any apprehenſion hereof in his ſoule, he hath no feare of armies, the Trumpet amazeth him nothing, there is no threat that may make him feare. He that expecteth death, can he be without feare? whereas the other (who eſteemeth that the ſoule remaineth and ſubſiſteth during his aboad in the priſon of the bodie, in departing from which ſhe is diſſipated) ceaſeth not to demeane himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that after his death he pretendeth to ſerue thoſe that ſuruiue in ſome other ſort: for although he be taken from our ſight, yet

The mans great vertue, and his countries glorie,
And wondrous value, come to memorie.

Thinke how much good examples profit vs, and thou ſhalt finde that the memorie of worthy perſonages is no leſſe profitable for vs then their preſence.

EPIST. CIII.

The malice and treaſons of men amongſt themſelues; yet doe not thou ſo, but lay them apart; and be thou curteous and willing to doe good vnto all men.

WHy regardeſt thou on euerie ſide thoſe things that may befall thee, and haply may not chance vnto thee? I meane fire or ruine, and other inconueniences which happen vnto vs, but lay not in waite for vs. Rather conſider and auoyde thou the dangers which attend and ſurpriſe vs. Theſe caſualties are rare, although they be grieuous, to ſuffer ſhipwrack, to be ouerturned out of a Coach. But from a man daily a man expecteth the moſt danger, prepare thy ſelfe againſt this euill, and contemplate it with open eyes. For there is no euill more frequent, more obſtinate, neyther any one more flattering The tempeſt threatneth before it riſeth: the houſes crack before they fall: the ſmoke foretelleth that the fire is a kindling. But the miſchiefe that a man doth is ſudden, and the neerer the euill is, the more ſecretly is it hidden. Thou art deceiued if thou truſt their looks that meet thee: they haue the faces of men, but the hearts of ſauage beaſts, but that the firſt aſſault of beaſts is moſt violent, which they cannot auoyde: for nothing but neceſſitie moueth them to hurt; either by hunger or feare they are enforced to fight, but a man taketh pleaſure to deſtroy a man. But thinke thou ſo, that the danger is by a man, to the end thou mayeſt thinke what the office of a man is. Conſider the one, to the end thou be not offended; and the other, to the end thou offend not. Reioyce at euery mans profit, and bee ſorrie for their harmes, and bethinke thy ſelfe what thou oughteſt to performe, and what to auoyd.

uoid. By liuing thus, what getteſt thou? Thou maieſt alwaies auoid that men do thee no outrage, but thou canſt not chuſe but be deceiued by them. Eſpecially endeuour thy ſelfe to take thy retreat to Philoſophie, ſhe will defend thee in her boſome. In her Sanctuarie either ſhalt thou be ſafe, or ſafer. Men ioſtle not one another, except they walke in the ſame way. But of all things beware to boaſt of thy Philoſophie. Many men by too proudly boaſting, and vainly vanting thereof, haue periſhed. Let it ſuffice thee that ſhe ſpoileth thee of thy vices, that ſhe reprocheth not other men of theirs, that ſhe abhorreth not from publique manners, that ſhe behaue her ſelfe modeſtly, without cauſing men thinke of her, that ſhe condemneth all that which ſhe doth not her ſelfe. A man may be wiſe without making ſhew thereof, and without enuying any man.

Epist. CIIII.

Of his ſickneſſe and the cure, and the charity his wife had of him. That he had changed his abode for recreation ſake, and hereupon an excellent diſcourſe vpon trauaile. That it is not profitable of it ſelfe, except it be made ſo by the minde. Let that be amended, and the affections cut off, and that then euerie ſtation and eſtate will be pleaſing. That there is likewiſe another kinde of trauaile, to haue recourſe vnto ancient and great men, to behold them in our thoughts, and to imitate them. This rooteth out vices, that planteth vertues, and to this inuiteth he Lvcilivs.

I Fled into my Grange at Nomentanum: but why thinkeſt thou? to ſhun the Citie? No; the feuer which began to ſeaze vpon me. And now alreadie ſhe had laid hold on me. Forthwith therefore I commanded my Coach to be made readie, although my wife *Paulina* were againſt it: My Phyſitian hauing touched my pulſe, and finding the arterie beating incertainly and contrary to nature, ſaid, that it was the beginning of a feuer. Yet notwithſtanding I reſolued my ſelfe to ſet forward; remembring mee of a ſpeech of *Gallio*, my Lord and Maſter, who being in Achaia, and feeling himſelfe ſurpriſed with a feuer, forthwith embarked himſelfe, crying out that this ſicknes of his proceeded from the aire of the countrie, and not from his bodie. This told I to my *Paulina*, who recommended my health vnto me. For whereas I know that her ſoule is tranſlated and liueth in mine, for her content ſake I begin to haue a care of my health. But although that old age hath fortified me againſt diuers difficulties, yet at this preſent begin I to loſe this benefit of age. I thought that in this old man there was a yong man, that was ouer much tendered. So then, becauſe I cannot require that my wife ſhould loue me more entirely then ſhe doth, ſhee hath begged ſo much at my hands, that now I cheriſh my ſelfe more tenderly then I otherwiſe did. For we muſt giue way vnto honeſt affections, and ſometimes alſo, if vrgent cauſes require it, our ſoule in honor of our friends is to be recalled, though it be to our torment, and retained betwixt our teeth, becauſe a vertuous man is bound to liue, not as long as he liketh, but as long as he muſt. He that without reſpect of his wife and friends, laboureth for nought elſe but to end his life, and demaundeth death, is ouer delicate. Let the ſoule haue this commandement ouer her ſelfe, (when the profit of thoſe, to whom ſhe is obliged, requireth the ſame) to ſhunne death, not onely for her owne cauſe, but likewiſe when ſhe is

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vpon the point to diſlodge and leaue the body, to reenter againe, to the end ſhe may be enabled to doe her friends ſeruice. It is the argument of a great mind to returne vnto life for another mans good, as diuers great perſonages haue many times done. And this alſo eſteeme I to be a great humanity, to maintaine old age more intentiuely (the faireſt fruit whereof conſiſteth in maintenance of her health, and in liuing more orderly then ſhe was accuſtomed) if thou knew that to be a thing either pleaſant, profitable, or wiſhed for of any of thy friends. Moreouer, there is a great ioy and profit therein. For what greater contentment may there be, then to be ſo dearely beloued by a mans Wife, that for that cauſe thou ſhouldeſt become more louing to thy ſelfe? My *Paulina* therefore cannot onely impute her feare vnto me, but mine alſo. Demandeſt thou therfore what ſucceſſe my determination had in going into the country? As ſoone as I had gotten out of the foggie aire of Rome, and from the ſtinke of the ſmoakie chimneyes thereof, which being ſtirred, powre forth whatſoeuer peſtilent vapours they held incloſed in them; I felt an alteration of my diſpoſition. How much, thinkeſt thou, was my ſtrength encreaſed, when I came vnto my Grange? No ſooner entred I the Meads, but I began to ruſh vpon my meat with a ſtrong appetite. Thus therefore for the preſent haue I recouered my ſelfe: this leaneneſſe of body, which hath no ſecuritie of health, and which beginneth to decline, is vaniſhed from me, and I begin to ſtudie diligently. The place yeelds little furtherance thereunto, if the mind be not aſſiſtant to it ſelfe; for if he liſt, amidſt all affaires and troubles he may haue a place of retirement. But he that maketh choice of the place, and idleth it vainely, ſhall euery where find a nooke wherein to reſtraine himſelfe. For it is reported, that *Socrates* (hearing a certaine man complaine, that he had loſt his time in trauelling heere and there) returned this anſwer: Not without cauſe hath this befalne thee, for thou trauelledſt with thy ſelfe. O how happy would diuers men be, if they could wander from themſelues! But they are the firſt that ſollicite, corrupt, and terrifie themſelues. What auaileth it to paſſe the Seas, and to change Cities? If thou wilt flie theſe things wherewith thou art vrged, thou needeſt not be in another place, but become another man. Put caſe thou wert come to Athens, or to Rhodes, chuſe what Citie thou pleaſeſt; what skilleth it what manners they haue? Thou ſhalt carry thither thine owne. Thinkeſt thou, that riches make men happie? Pouertie (yea, the appearance and preſumption thereof, which is a lamentable opinion) ſhall inceſſantly torture thee. For although thou poſſeſſeſt much, yet becauſe another man hath more, thou ſhalt ſeeme vnto thy ſelfe by ſo much the poorer, by how much the other is more rich. Suppoſeſt thou that honours are good? It ſhall grieue thee that ſuch a man is made Conſul, & that ſuch a one hath twice enioyed the Office, it ſhall vex thee when thou ſhalt find in the publike regiſters any mans name oftner then thine owne. So great ſhall the furie of thy ambition be, that if any one ſhall out-ſtrip thee, thou wilt not thinke that any marcheth behind thee. Wilt thou ſuppoſe death to be an extreme euill? When as there is nothing euill in it, but the feare which is before it; not onely the dangers, but the ſuſpitions will terrifie thee. Thou ſhalt inceſſantly be tormented with dreames and ſhadowes. For what ſhall it profit thee, that thou haſt eſcaped ſo many Cities of Greece, and made thy way by flight thorow the middeſt of thine enemies? Peace it ſelfe ſhall affright thee. Thou ſhalt no wayes truſt thoſe things that are moſt aſſured, as ſoone as thy minde ſhall be ſhaken. For as ſoone as ſhe hath gotten a cuſtome to entertaine improuident feare, thou art no more diſpoſed to entertaine any

repoſe or contentment in thy ſelfe. For ſhe ſhunneth not, but flyeth from the ſtroake; but if we turne our backes to afflictions, they haue greater hold-faſt on vs. Thou wilt iudge it a grieuous euill to loſe any of thoſe friends thou haſt loued, whereas meane while it is as great folly to bewaile them, as to weepe becauſe the leaues of thy faire ſhadowing trees, which adorne thy houſe, are fallen and ſhaken to the ground. As much flouriſheth the one, as the other which delighteth thee. Death will ſhake downe the one to day, the other to morrow. But as we ſuffer patiently the fall and loſſe of the leaues of our trees, becauſe they will ſpring againe: ſo oughteſt thou to endure the loſſe of thy friends, whom thou conceiteſt to be the ioyes of thy life, becauſe they ſhal be reſtored, although they be not now borne. But they ſhall not be ſuch as they were whileſt they remained in this world. Neither ſhalt thou thy ſelfe be the ſame. Euery day, euery houre changeth thee, but in others the nouriſhment appeareth more eaſily: heere it lyeth hidden, becauſe it is not done openly. Some are carried away; but wee our ſelues are ſecretly ſtolne away. Wilt thou thinke of none of theſe things? Wilt thou apply no remedies to theſe wounds, but ſend vnto thy ſelfe the cauſes of thy cares, by hoping ſomething, and deſpairing other? If thou beeſt wiſe, mixe the one with the other, neither hope thou without deſperation, neither deſpaire without hope. What can trauell profit any man of it ſelfe? It tempereth not pleaſures, it bridleth not deſires, it pacifieth not diſpleaſures, it breaketh not the vntamed aſſaults of loue. To conclude, it disburtheneth the minde of no euill, neither giueth iudgement, nor ſhaketh off error, but detaineth the minde for a ſhort time, and entertaineth it with noueltie of things, as we ſee children ſtand at gaze, when they behold any thing which they haue not ſeene. To conclude, this going and comming doth no more but make the inconſtant thought more light and ſtirring, which in the height of his euill prouoketh and altereth it ſelfe in ſuch ſort, that they who moſt earneſtly trauelled into any Countrey, depart from thence more haſtily, and after the manner of skipping birds, flie thence more ſwiftly, then they came thither. Trauell will giue thee knowledge of Nations, will ſhew thee the new formes of Mountaines, the ſpacious and vnaccuſtomed Plaines, the Valleyes watered with running Riuers: ſome Floud that hath a certaine notable propertie, as Nilus, which encreaſeth in Summer; or Tygris, which loſeth it ſelfe, then hauing made a long circuit vnder the earth, reentreth his Channell, and reneweth his ſwift and ſpacious courſe as before; or how *Meander* (the exerciſe and play of all Poets) maketh an infinite Windlaſſe of Turnes and Returnes, that oftentimes diſcharging her ſelfe from her owne Channell, ſtreameth along the bedde of her neighbour flouds, and ſo returneth. But ſuch voyages will neyther make thee more healthie, or more wiſe. We muſt conuerſe amongſt Studies, and amongſt the authors of Wiſdome, that we may learne that which we deſire to know, and ſeeke out that which is as yet vnfound. By this meanes muſt the minde be redeemed from miſerable ſeruitude, and ſet at libertie. As long as thou ſhalt be ignorant of that which thou ſhouldeſt flie or follow, of that which is neceſſarie and ſuperfluous, of that which is iuſt and honeſt, this may not be ſaid a trauaile, but an errour. This turmoyle will comfort thee nothing, for thou wandereſt accompanied by thy affections, and thy euils follow thee. Would to God they might follow thee, and were further off from thee: now thou beareſt them on thy backe, thou leadeſt them not. For which cauſe, they euerie way weigh thee downe, and feare thee with equall incommodities. The ſicke man

muſt

muſt ſeeke out for a good medicine, not for a new country. Hath any one broken his legge, or put a member out of ioynt? He gets not to his Coach, he embarkes not in his Ship, but calleth for a Phyſician, to the end he may vnite that which was broken, and ſet the ioynt in his place that was diſlocated. To what end then thinkeſt thou, that by changing thy country, thou mayeſt heale thy bruiſed and broken mind in ſo many places? This euill is more great, then to be cured by being carried hither and thither. Trauell neither maketh a Phyſician nor an Orator. There is neither Art nor Science that is learned by changing place in this ſort. What then, is not wiſdome (which is the greateſt treaſure of all others) learned in trauels? Truſt me, there is no iourney that may retire thee apart from thy deſires, thy diſpleaſures, and thy feares; or if there were any, all mankind by troupes would trauell and flocke thither. So long will theſe euils preſſe thee and macerate thee, whileſt thou wandereſt by land and ſea, as long as thou beareſt the cauſes of thine euils in thee. Wondereſt thou at this, that thy flight profiteth thee nothing? Why man, the things thou flyeſt are with thee. Mend thy ſelfe therfore, ſhake off thy burthens, and at leaſt wiſe containe thy deſires within compaſſe. Root all wickedneſſe out of thy mind: if thou wilt haue thy trauels delightfull, heale thy companion. Auarice will cling vnto thee, as long as thou liueſt with a couetous and baſe companion. Pride will cleaue vnto thee, as long as thou conuerſeſt with a proud man. Thou wilt neuer lay aſide thy crueltie in a Hang-mans company. The fellowſhip of adulterers will enkindle thy luſts. If thou wilt be diſcharged of vices, thou muſt retire thy ſelfe afarre off from all euill examples. Auarice, diſſolution, crueltie, fraud (ſuch enemies that approching thee, will wound thee grieuouſly) are within thee. Acquaint thy ſelfe with the better ſort, liue with ſuch as *Cato*, *Lælius*, and *Tubero* were: and if thou take a liking to liue among the Grecians, conuerſe with *Socrates* and with *Zeno*; the one will teach thee how to die, if it be needfull, the other, how to die before it be needfull. Liue with *Chryſippus* & *Poſidonius*: Theſe will teach thee the knowledge of diuine and humane things. Theſe will command thee to put in practiſe that which thou haſt learned, and not to content thy ſelfe with a poliſhed tongue, which tickleth the eares of the hearers, but to fortifie thy heart, and to confirme it, to confront caſualtie. For the only port of this troubled and turbulent life, is to contemne thoſe things that may happen, to remaine reſolute, to oppoſe a naked boſome againſt all the darts of aduerſitie, without playing the coward, or ſeeking ſtarting holes. Nature hath created vs valiant: and as to ſome creatures ſhe hath giuen a fierce, to ſome a ſubtill, to other ſome a fearefull; ſo hath ſhe giuen vs a glorious and high ſpirit, that ſeeketh where he may liue moſt honeſtly, not moſt ſecurely: reſembling the World, which in as much as humane abilitie will giue him leaue, he followeth and counterfeiteth. Hee ſeeketh nothing but prayſe, and deſireth to be ſeene. Hee is the Lord of all things, and aboue all things. Hee therefore ſubmitteth himſelfe to nothing, nothing ſeemeth heauie vnto him, nothing that may make a man ſtoupe.

Trauaile and death are vgly to behold.

Nothing ſo, if a man might behold them clearly, and breake thorow the darkeneſſe. Many things that haue beene eſteemed dreadfull by night, haue proued trifles and ieſting ſports by day.

Trauaile and Death are vgly to behold.

Worthily wrote our *Virgil*; he ſaith, that they were not terrible indeed, but in ſemblance, that is, they ſeeme ſo to be, but are not. What is there, ſay I, in theſe ſo dreadfull, as fame hath reported them? What is there I pray thee (my *Lucillius*) that a man ſhould feare either labour or death? Yet meet I with thoſe men, that thinke all that impoſſible which they cannot doe, and ſay, that wee ſpeake greater matters then humane nature may ſuſtaine or effect. But how farre better opinion haue I of them? They alſo can doe theſe things, but they will not. To conclude, whom haue euer theſe precepts failed, that haue dained to make vſe of them? who found them not more eaſie in action, then in inſtruction? It is not becauſe they are difficult, that we dare not; but becauſe we dare not, they are difficult. Yet if you require an example, behold *Socrates*, that moſt patient man, toſſed in ſo many dangers; inuincible in pouertie, which his domeſtique burthens made more grieuous and cumberſome; inuincible in thoſe labours he ſuffered in warre, and wherewith at home he was dayly exerciſed: whether you reſpect his Wife, fierce in manners, and froward in tongue; or his rebellious and diſobedient Children, more like their mother then their father. So for the moſt part he either was in warre, or in tyrannie, or in libertie, more cruell then warres or tyrannies. Seuen and twentie yeeres he bare Armes; and hauing layd them aſide, he ſaw his Citie enthralled vnder thirtie Tyrants, of which, the moſt part of them were his enemies. The laſt of theſe is his condemnation, vrged againſt him for moſt haynous crimes. The violating of Religion is obiected againſt him, and the corruption of youth, which he was ſaid to enforce againſt the Gods, againſt Parents, and his Common-weale. After all this, his Priſon, and Poyſon. So farre were theſe things from mouing *Socrates* minde, that they neuer moued his countenance. He maintained that his wonderfull and ſingular prayſe vntill his dying day. No man ſaw *Socrates* eyther more merry or more ſad, he continued equall in ſo great inequalitie of fortune. Wilt thou haue another example? Take me that *Cato* of Vtica, with whom Fortune dealt more cruelly, and more obſtinately. Againſt which, whileſt in all places he had made head, and laſt of all, in his death; yet approued he, that a confident and valiant man may liue and die in ſpite of Fortune. All his lifetime was ſpent in ciuill warre. And although thou ſay, that this man, no leſſe then *Socrates*, ſpent his life in ſeruitude; except a man may haply thinke, that *Cneus Pompey*, and *Cæſar*, and *Craſſus*, were confederates to maintaine libertie. There was no man that euer ſaw *Cato* changed, in a Common-weale ſo often-times changed; in all occurrences he ſhewed himſelfe one. In his Pretorſhip, in his Repulſe, in his Accuſation, in his Prouince, in his Speeches in the Armie, in his Death: finally, in that garboyle of the Common-weale, when as on the one ſide *Cæſar* had truſted his fortunes to ten valiant Legions, on that ſide to the forces of ſo many forraine Nations, and *Pompey* to his owne forces; when ſome enclined vnto *Cæſar*, otherſome vnto *Pompey*: *Cato* only maintained and leuied Armes for common libertie. If thou wouldeſt imagine in thy mind the Image of that time, thou ſhalt ſee on the one ſide the people with liſtning eare hearkening after nothing but noueltie; on the other ſide, the Senatours and Knights, and whatſoeuer was either holy and choſen in the Citie: two onely left in the middeſt, the Common-weale and *Cato*. Thou wilt wonder, I ſay, if thou ſhalt obſerue.

ATRIDES *graue, and* PRIAMVS *the old,*
And Troians greateſt feare, ACHILLES *bold.*

For he condemneth both, and diſarmeth both; and this is his opinion of both: he ſaith, that if *Cæſar* preuaile, he will die; if *Pompey*, he will be baniſhed. What had he to feare, which had decreed that againſt himſelfe, eyther if he hapned to be eyther conquerour, or conquered, which might haue beene decreed by his moſt bitter enemies? he died therefore by his owne decree. Seeſt thou that men can ſuffer labours? He led his Army on foot thorow the midſt of the deſerts of Africa. Seeſt thou that they may endure thirſt? Leading the remainder of his conquered Armie along the deſert hills, without any baggage, he ſuffered the want of drinke, being foultered in his armor, and as often as occaſion offered him water, he was the laſt that drunke. Seeſt thou that honour and authoritie may be contemned? The ſame day he was repulſed from the Office he ſtood for, the ſame day played he at the Ball in the Market-place. Seeſt thou that great mens power may not be feared? He oppoſed himſelfe againſt *Pompey* and *Cæſar* at one time; the one of which no man durſt offend, except it were to win the fauor of the other. Seeſt thou that death may be as well contemned as baniſhment? He both pronounced exile and death againſt himſelfe, & in the Interim warre. Wee may then haue the ſame reſolution againſt all accidents, prouided, that we take a pleaſure to diſcharge our necks of the yoke. Firſt of all therfore pleaſures are to be deſpiſed, for they weaken, diſable, & demand much, and much is to be required at Fortunes hands. After theſe, riches are to be deſpiſed, which are the recompences of ſeruitude. Let gold and ſiluer, and what elſe ſoeuer loadeth happie houſes, be left: Libertie is not bought for nothing; if thou highly prize her, thou muſt miſ-prize and neglect all the reſt.

EPIST. CV.

Short and profitable Precepts, tending to ſecuritie. Reade them, and make vſe of them.

THou ſhalt know of me what thoſe things are which thou art to obſerue, to the end thou mayeſt liue more ſecure: yet ſo heare theſe Precepts I aduiſe thee, as if I ſhould counſaile thee how to maintaine thy good health in the bad aire of *Adiatinum*. Conſider what things they be that prouoke one man to ſeeke another mans ruine, and thou ſhalt finde, that they are Hope, Enuy, Hatred, Feare, and Contempt; of all theſe, Contempt is the lighteſt, inſomuch, as many haue lyen hidden therein, for the ſafegard of their liues. Whomſoeuer a man contemneth, he kicketh at him, but paſſeth by him. No man purpoſely hurteth a contemned perſon, no man diligently. Euen he that is proſtrate on the earth in a Conflict, is ouerſlipped, where he that ſtandeth is aſſaulted. Thou ſhalt fruſtrate the hope of the wicked, if thou haſt nothing that may prouoke another mans wicked deſire, if thou poſſeſſe nothing that is worthy the hauing. For thoſe things that are of the greateſt price, are moſt deſired, although they be leaſt knowne. So therefore ſhalt thou flie enuy, if thou makeſt no ſhew, if thou boaſt not of thy fortunes, if thou knoweſt how to enioy them to thy ſelfe. But as

touching the hatred which proceedeth from offence, thou ſhalt auoid it thus, by prouoking no man without cauſe, from whence common ſenſe will defend thee; for this hath beene dangerous to many. Some men haue had hatred, but not an enemy. The means not to be feared, ſhall be to liue in a meane and humble condition, when as men ſhall know that thou art ſuch an one, whom they may offend without perill. Let thy reconcilement be both eaſie and certaine. But to be feared, is as dangerous at home as abroad; by thy ſeruants, as by thy children. There is no man that hath not power enough to hurt. Adde hereunto, that he who is feared, feareth. No man could be terrible ſecurely. Contempt remaineth, the meanes whereof is in his power that is contemned, who is contemned becauſe he would, not becauſe he ought. The incommoditie hereof, both good Arts doe diſcuſſe, and the friendſhips of thoſe who are powerfull with any mighty man, to whom it ſhalbe expedient for thee to apply thy ſelfe, not to entangle thy ſelfe with them, for feare leſt the remedie coſt thee more then the danger would. Yet nothing ſhall more profit thee, then to be quiet, and to conferre the leaſt with many, the moſt with thy ſelfe. There is a certaine charming diſcourſe, which creepeth into a mans boſome, and flattereth, and no otherwiſe then drunkenneſſe, or loue, betrayeth ſecrets. Let no man conceale that which he hath heard, neither let any man ſpeake as much as he hath heard: he that will not conceale the matter, will reueale the author. Euery one hath a friend, to whom he truſteth as much as is truſted to himſelfe. To content himſelfe with one mans cares, & to ſet a watch before his lips, he ſhall addreſſe himſelfe to the people; ſo that which now was a ſecret, becommeth to be a rumour. It is a great part of ſecuritie to doe nothing wickedly. Cholericke and reuengefull men leade a confuſed and troubleſome life; they feare as much as they hurt: neither at any time are they in quiet, for they feare, and are doubtfull when they haue done it. Their conſcience ſuffereth them to doe nought elſe, and compelleth them oft-times to looke backe vnto themſelues. Whoſoeuer expecteth the ſtroake, is chaſtiſed enough; and whoſoeuer hath deſerued puniſhment, expecteth it. There is ſomething in an euill conſcience, that may ſettle it awhile, but nothing that may ſecure it. For he thinketh, that although he be not diſcouered, he may be diſcouered; and midſt his dreames he is moued: and when as any other mans wickedneſſe ſpeaketh, hee thinketh of his owne; hee thinketh it neuer ſufficiently defaced, or fully couered. A wicked man hath ſometimes had the fortune to hide himſelfe, but neuer had he aſſurance in his hiding.

EPIST. CVI.

An idle Queſtion, taken out of CHRYSIPPVS, *Whether Good be a body. In the concluſion, ſomewhat againſt ſubtilties.*

A Little too late I anſwere thy Letters, not becauſe I am troubled with much buſineſſe: for beware thou accept not this excuſe; I am at leyſure, and all they that will, are at leyſure. Affaires follow no man, but men embrace them, and thinke buſineſſe to be an argument of felicitie. What therefore was the cauſe that I did not preſently write backe vnto thee, and anſwer thy queſtion? It was a matter incident to my diſcourſe; for thou knoweſt that I am determined to entreat of Morall Phi-

Philoſophy,and to decide all thoſe queſtions that depend thereupon. I therefore doubted whether I ſhould deferre thee,or giue thee an extraordinary ſatiſfaction, before I come vnto the place where this queſtion ſhould be handled. But I thought it a point of more humanitie,to delay him no longer,who was ſent from ſo farre: by meanes whereof,I will extract this out of the ſequell of thoſe things that depend one vpon another; and if any ſhall occurre of this nature, I will willingly ſend them thee,although thou requireſt them not. Askeſt thou me what theſe be? Such things,as the ſcience thereof, is more pleaſing then profitable;as that is which thou bringeſt in queſtion, Whether we call that Good which is a body? I anſwer,that it is a body,for it acteth. That which acteth,is a body; Good agitateth the minde,and in a manner formeth and containeth it: ſo then, the goods of the body are a body, and the goods of the ſoule are a body, and therefore the ſoule is a body. It muſt needs be, that the good of a man is a body, conſidering that a man is corporall. I am abuſed, if thoſe things which nouriſh the body, and keepe it, and reſtore it to health, be not bodies. It followeth then,that the good of a man is a body. I thinke thou wilt make no queſtion of this, that Affections are bodies, ſuch as is Choler, Loue, and Sadneſſe, (leſt in this place I ſhould be enforced to intermixe thoſe things, whereof thou makeſt no queſtion.) If thou doubteſt, conſider if they change not the countenance,if they bend not the brow,if they ſmooth not the face,or prouoke not bluſhing,or enforce not paleneſſe: What then? Thinkeſt thou, that ſo manifeſt notes are imprinted in the body,without a body? If Affections be bodies, and the ſickneſſes of the mind, ſuch as are Auarice and Crueltie, ſuch as are obſtinate and incurable euils; Malice,and all the kinds thereof, as Malignitie,Enuy,Pride,ſhall be bodies likewiſe,and conſequently good: firſt, becauſe they are contrary vnto theſe; againe,becauſe they produce in thee the ſame effects. Seeſt thou not what vigour fortitude giueth to the eyes? how great intention, prudence? how much modeſtie and quiet, reuerence? what contentment, ioy? what rigour, ſeueritie? what remiſſion, mirth? They are therefore bodies,which change the habite and colour of bodies,which exerciſe their dominion in them. Was it euer doubted,but that meanes whereby a body is touched,is a body? *For nothing can touch and be touched,except it be a body,* as the Poet *Lucretius* ſaith. But all theſe things whereof I haue ſpoken, would not change a body, except they touched the ſame; therefore they are bodies. I likewiſe ſay,that that part of vs which is ſo powerfull,that it puſheth, conſtrayneth,ſtayeth,and commandeth,is a body. What therefore? doth not feare reſtrayne vs? doth not boldneſſe enforce vs? doth not fortitude harden and giue force? doth not moderation bridle and reſtraine? doth not ioy extoll? doth not ſadneſſe diſmay? To conclude,whatſoeuer we doe,we doe it either by the command of malice,or vertue. That which commandeth the body,is a body; that which addeth force vnto the body, is a body: the good of the body, is a bodily good; the good of a man, is the good of the body, and therefore is it corporall. Becauſe as thou willedſt me I haue ſatisfied thy deſire, now will I ſay that vnto my ſelfe,which I ſee thou wilt ſay vnto me: We play at Tables, our ſubtilty is ſpent on trifles. Theſe make not men good,but learned. There is more plaineneſſe and ſimplicitie in true ſcience. We need little learning, to haue a good conſcience. But as we in all other things are lauiſh in ſuperfluities, ſo are we in Philoſophy,and abuſe it with babble. Euen as we are trauailed with intemperance in all things, ſo are we in good letters; we learne not to liue,but to diſpute.

EPIST. CVII.

He comforteth LVCILLIVS, *and animateth him vpon the flight of his ſeruants. That theſe and ſuch like are incident vnto life, and therefore not to be reputed as ſudden. Suffer that therefore which thou doeſt not amend. A good and wiſe Epiſtle.*

WHat is become of thy wiſedome? Where is thy ſubtiltie in conceiuing things? Where is thy magnanimity? Art thou trauelled with ſuch trifles? Thy ſeruants thought, that thy Occupations were the occaſions of their flight. If thy friends ſhould deceiue thee, (for let them haue that name which *Epicurus* gaue vnto them, and be ſo called) what damage ſhouldſt thou receiue? Thou wanteſt them, who both interrupted thy good actions, and made thee troubleſome vnto others. There is no nouelty or vnexpected euent herein. It is as ridiculous a thing to be offended hereat, as to complaine, that thou art either wet with water, or ſprinkled with dirt as thou walkeſt in the ſtreets. The ſame is our condition in this life, as if we were in a Bath, amongſt a multitude of people, or in a great high-way; ſome things wil be intermitted, ſome things will befall. It is no delicate thing to liue. Thou art entred into a long way, wherin perforce thou muſt ſlip, thou muſt iuſtle, thou muſt fall, thou muſt be wearied, and thou muſt exclaime, O death! that is, thou lieſt. In one place thou ſhalt leaue thy companion, in another thou ſhalt burie him, in another thou ſhalt feare him; with ſuch like inconueniences we muſt performe and tread this troubleſome iourney. Will he haue me die? Let our mindes be prepared againſt all accidents, let them know that they are come hither,

Where ſorrowes and reuengefull cares doe ſleepe,
Where ſickneſſe pale, and wearie age doe keepe.

In the companie of theſe, muſt life be led; thou canſt not eſcape theſe. Thou mayeſt contemne them; and thou ſhalt contemne them, if thou oftentimes bethinke thee on that which is to come, and ſuppoſe it preſent. Whoſoeuer hath of a long time prepared himſelfe vnto any thing, he performeth the ſame with greater courage; and if he hath premeditated any aduerſities, he maketh head againſt them afterwards. Contrariwiſe, the man which is vnprepared, ſtarteth backe for feare, vpon the leaſt danger that preſenteth it ſelfe. Let vs take order that nothing may befall vs, which may moue vs to ſay, I had not thought it. And becauſe that nouelties are moſt diſtaſtfull, ſuch continuall thought will bring to paſſe, that thou ſhalt not be apprentice to any aduerſitie. Haue thy ſeruants forſaken thee? They haue robbed one, accuſed another, killed this man, betrayed that, trampled vnder their feet & poyſoned that man, and borne falſe witneſſe againſt another. All thoſe miſchiefes which thou canſt call to memory, haue befalne diuers, and wil hereafter happen. The arrowes that are ſhot againſt vs, are diuers, and great in number. Some are ſticking in vs, other ſome are darted at vs, and approch vs neerely; and other ſome there are which are ſhot at our neighbours, which doe no leſſe grieue vs, then if they were leuelled againſt our ſelues. Let vs not wonder at any accident whatſoeuer, we are borne thereunto, there is no man that hath occaſion to complaine himſelfe, becauſe that all men haue their parts, yea their equall portion: for if any man hath eſcaped from

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an inconuenience, he might haue felt it. But an ordinance is equall vnto all thoſe to whom it is propoſed, although all men make not vſe thereof. Let vs commaund our Soule to continue in her entire, and let vs pay thoſe tributes which wee owe vnto Nature, without murmure. The Winter bringeth on Froſts, wee be cold; the Summer bringeth heats with her, wee ſhall ſweat for heat: the intemperature of the ayre tryeth our bodies; we ſhall be ſicke. We ſhall meete in one place with a ſauage Beaſt, or a Roarer, worſe then all Beaſts whatſoeuer: the one ſhall be drowned, the other brought to aſhes. We cannot alter this condition of things. That which wee may, is to haue a reſolute heart, and worthy of a good man, by meanes whereof we endure all accidents conſtantly, and content our ſelues with the order of Nature, which in this preſent gouernment cauſeth thoſe reuolutions which thou now obſerueſt. After raine comes faire weather, after ſtormes and tempeſts ſucceed calmes and faire ſeaſons. The winds blow the one after the other. We ſee one part of the Heauens, and the other is hidden from vs. The world is compoſed of contrarie elements. Let vs apply our Soules vnto this Law, let her follow and obey the ſame: let him thinke, that all that which happeneth, muſt happen. Let her beware in any ſort to taske Nature: it is good for thee to endure that which thou canſt not amend, and to follow that great God without murmure or complaint, by whoſe prouidence all things come to paſſe. The Souldier is not good that vnwillingly followeth his Captaine. And therefore let vs obey her readily and willingly, without intercepting the courſe of ſo faire a life, as mans life is, in which is interlaced all the euill which we ſuffer: and in concluſion, let vs ſpeake vnto God, by whoſe ordinance and direction all this round Orbe is gouerned, in the ſame termes as our *Cleanthes* doth in elegant Verſe, which I wil preſume to tranſlate into our Tongue, in imitation of *Cicero*, that thrice eloquent Orator. If they pleaſe thee, it ſhall content me; if they diſtaſte thee, know that herein I am conformable vnto *Cicero*. Heare then that which *Cleanthes* ſaith:

O Soueraigne Father, and eternall Lord
Of higheſt Heauens, conduct me at thy pleaſure,
Vnto thy powerfull will I ſtraight accord,
Make me not will, yet mourning without meaſure.
Ile wait vpon thee, and in being bad,
Suffer all that, which if my minde were iuſt,
I might endure with all the ſtrength I had.
Whither thou wilt, O God, I will and muſt:
I flie delayes; both heart and feete are willing,
The Fates conduct, they forward draw the nilling.

Let vs liue thus, let vs ſpeake thus, let the deſtinies finde vs alwayes addreſſed and willing. This courage that is thus bounded within the hands of God, is the greateſt in all kindes. Contrariwiſe, that man is both faint and recreant, that ſtarteth backe, that complaineth him of the gouernment of the World, and that had rather cenſure the Gods then himſelfe.

EPIST. CVIII.

How the Philosophers are either to be read or heard with iudgement, and those things in especiall are to be chosen out of them, and put to memorie, which animate vs to good life. They that seeke delights, studie in vaine; studie thou thy amendment. Neither is this hard to be done, for Nature her selfe inciteth vs vnto honestie, for the seedes and incitements thereof are in our minds, they grow and encrease, when a learned Teacher and animater doth aide. This proueth he by his owne example, when he was ATTALVS *his scholler. Afterwards he sheweth, that we come with diuers ends and mindes to reade Authors, and that we Philosophers should doe the like. Let vs obey him: both reade and heare you that are louers of Learning.*

THat whereof thou enquirest, is of the number of those things which it behoueth thee onely to know, to the end, that a man may say that thou knowest it: yet notwithstanding, since it is pertinent for thee to know it, and thou pressest me so instantly, and wilt not attend those bookes which I will shortly finish, that containe in good order all the part of Morall Philosophie; I will presently resolue thee: yet first of all will I write vnto thee, how this desire of Learning, wherewith I see thee thus transported, should be gouerned, for feare lest it binder it selfe. Thou must neither ouer-runne, nor greedily inuade all Sciences; by parts we attaine the whole. The burthen must be fitted to the strength, neither ought we to embrace more then we are able to containe. Draw not as much as thou wilt, but as much thou mayest hold. Only haue thou a good courage, and thou shalt comprehend as much as thou pleasest. The more the minde receiueth, the more it is enlarged & greatned. These things, as I remember, our Master *Attalus* taught vs, when as we besieged his Schoole, and came first, and departed last, and prouoked him, whilest he walked, to some disputes; not onely addressed to informe those that learned of him, but to meete with them vnprouoked. He that teacheth (saith he) and he that learneth, should haue one and the same intention, the one to instruct, the other to profit. He that commeth vnto the Philosophers Schooles, must dayly carrie away some good thing with him; either returne more wise vnto his home, or better disposed to wisedome. But he shall returne: for such is the power of Philosophie, that she not onely helpeth those that studie the same, but those also which frequent her. He that commeth into the Sunne, shall be Sunne-burnt, although he came not to that end. They that sit downe in a Perfumers shop, and haue stayed a while therein, beare away with them the odour of such a place: and they that haue conuersed with a Philosopher, must needs draw somewhat, that might profit euen those that are negligent; marke what I say, negligent, but not repugnant. What then? Know we not some men that for many yeeres haue conuersed and frequented with a Philosopher, without receiuing any tincture thereof? Why should I not know them? yea, and such as were most industrious and diligent, whom I rather call the Hostes, then the disciples of Philosophers. Some come to heare, not to learne, as wee are drawne into the Theatre for our pleasures sake, to delight our eares with Orations, Musick, or Comedies. Thou shalt see a great part of the auditors, that make the Philosophers Schoole the Inne of their idlenesse. Their intention is not in that place to dispossesse themselues of some vices, or to receiue some instruction, or rule of life, whereby they might reforme their man-

manners,but to enioy ſome delight that tickleth their eares. Some other there are that come to their Tables, not to quote downe matter, but words, which they learne as well without other mens profit, as they heard them without their owne. Some rouſe themſelues when they heare any magnificent ſpeeches,and are affectioned no leſſe then the ſpeakers themſelues, chearefull both in lookes and mind: neither are they otherwiſe moued, then thoſe effeminate French are wont to be,that hand and foot it according to the Phrygian ſtraine; theſe men are rauiſhed & prouoked by the beautie of things, not by the ſound of vaine words. If any thing be ſpoken bitterly againſt death,if ought be vrged proudly againſt Fortune,thou art forthwith addreſſed to doe that which thou heareſt. They are affected, and let them be ſuch as they are commaunded, if that forme remaine in the minde,and if the people,which diſſwadeth all honeſt things,doe not forthwith extinguiſh this worthy forwardneſſe. Few are they that could bring home with them that minde they had conceiued. It is an eaſie matter to ſtirre vp a hearer to the deſire of that which is right. For Nature hath giuen vnto all men the foundations and ſeeds of vertue,all of vs are borne vnto all theſe things: when as a prouoker inciteth our mindes, then are thoſe goods of the mind,which were in a manner laid aſleepe,awakened and reuiued. Seeſt thou not how the Theaters ring, as often as ſome things are repeated, which we publikely acknowledge,and teſtifie to be true by conſent?

Pouertie wanteth many things, Auarice all things,
The couetous man is good to no man,and worſt to himſelfe.

The baſeſt companion will applaud theſe verſes,and is glad to heare his owne vices blamed. How much greater weight ſhould theſe things haue,being ſpoken by a Philoſopher, when as verſes are interlaced with holeſome counſels? thinkeſt thou not that they will more effectually worke in the minds of the vnlettered? For (as *Cleanthes* ſaid) euen as our breath yeeldeth a more cleare ſound,when as the trumpet,after it hath driuen the ſame thorow the ſtraits of a long Pipe,doth at laſt giue him a larger vent at the end thereof; ſo the ſtrict neceſſitie of a vice maketh our ſences more cleare. Thoſe things are heard more negligently, and perſwade leſſe powerfully, as long as they are deliuered in proſe and ordinary diſcourſe: but when as they are ſhut vp in numbers & good ſence,be incloſed in certaine feet and cadences,that very ſentence is darted and deliuered as it were an arrow from a ſtrong arme. Many things are ſpoken in contempt of Money,and in long Orations we are taught this, that men ſhould thinke that their riches are in their mindes,& not in their patrimonies;and that he is rich who fitteth himſelfe to his pouerty,& maketh himſelfe rich of a little. Yet are our minds more moued,when ſuch like things are ſpoken in verſe:

He that coueteth little, hath not need of much,
He hath that which he would,who can wiſh as much as he would.

When we heare theſe or ſuch like things,wee are conſtrained to acknowledge the truth. For they to whom nothing is enough,admire, applaud,and publiſh their hatred to many. When as thou ſeeſt this affection of theirs,vrge the ſame, preſſe and proſecute this, laying aſide all ambiguitie, ſyllogiſmes,cauils,and other vaine ſubtilties of a fruitleſſe braine;ſpeake againſt auarice,inueigh againſt diſſoluteneſſe: and when thou perceiueſt that thou haſt profited, and moued the

the hearts of thine auditorie, proſecute it with vehemencie. It is impoſſible that ſuch a diſcourſe, tending vnto remedie, and intirely intended for the good of the aſſembly, ſhould be other then profitable. For thoſe minds that are not as yet obdurate, may be eaſily induced to loue right and vertue. If truth find a fit and conuenient aduocate, ſhe eaſily ſeizeth on thoſe that are willing to learne, and leſſe peruerted. For mine owne part, when as I heard *Attalus* declayme againſt vices, errors, & the miſchiefes of this life, I oftentimes deplored the miſeries of mankind, and haue beleeued, that he was exalted and rayſed aboue all other men. He ſaid likewiſe, that he was a King, but I thought him ſomewhat more, by reaſon that it was lawfull for him to cenſure Kings. But when he began to prayſe pouertie, and to ſhew, that all that which exceedeth neceſſary vſe, is a ſuperfluous burthen, and grieuous to him that beareth the ſame, I oftentimes wiſhed to depart poore out of his Schoole. When he began to traduce our Pleaſures, to prayſe a chaſte Body, a ſober Table, a pure Mind, not only exempted from vnlawfull pleaſures, but alſo ſuperfluous; I required no more, but to temper my appetite, & gouerne my belly. From thence I gathered ſome good inſtructions, my *Lucillius*: for with earneſt affection I attempted all things, and being afterwards drawne vnto a Citizens life, I haue conſerued ſome few of thoſe faire and good beginnings. From thence it came, that for all my life time I renounced Oyſters & Muſhromes: for theſe are no meats, but entertaine the appetite, & conſtraine thoſe that are full, to eate more; which is very pleaſing to thoſe that are gluttons, who deſire no more, but to fill their paunches with ſuch things which eaſily enter, & are as eaſily vttered. I haue abſtained alſo euer ſince from Oyntments and Perfumes, becauſe the beſt odour in our body is none at all. Thereupon haue I refrained Wine, and during all my life time fled from bathing, ſuppoſing it to be an vnprofitable & nice cuſtome, to ſeethe the body, and conſume it with ſweating. Theſe other cuſtomes in life, which I had giuen ouer, are brought in requeſt, yet ſo, that I keepe a meaſure in theſe from which I had abſtained, and vſe them very little, and with difficultie, becauſe there are certaine things more eaſie to cut off wholly, then to gouerne well. Becauſe I haue begun to declare vnto thee with how much more greater courage I came to Philoſophy, being a young man, then now when I am old, I will not be aſhamed to confeſſe vnto thee, what loue *Sotion* ingraſted in me in regard of *Pythagoras*; he taught me why he and *Sextius* after him abſtained from eating fleſh. Each one of theſe had a different cauſe, but both of them were magnificent. The one ſuppoſed, that man had ſufficiencie to feede vpon without bloud, and that a cuſtome of crueltie began, when tearing of fleſh was drawne to be a pleaſure. Hereunto hee added, that the matter of diſſolution ſhould be contracted and gathered, that multiplicitie of meats were contrarie to mans health, & nothing healthfull to our bodies. But *Pythagoras* held, that there was a communion and conſanguinitie of all things, with the one and the other, and that the one is changed into the other, in ſuch ſort, that (if a man will beleeue him) no ſoule periſheth, neither ceaſeth, but for a ſmall time, whilſt it is infuſed into another body. We ſhall ſee by what reuolutions of Seaſons, and after how many aboades in diuers bodies, the Soule ſhall reenter into a man: meane while this opinion hath made men fearefull, for they haue beene afraid to become murtherers and parricides, becauſe that in eating of a beaſt, they might as well ſeize on their fathers Soule, and with knife or tooth offend a thing wherein the Soule of any one of their kindred might be lodged. *Sotion* hauing propoſed and confirmed this by his arguments, added hereunto, Doeſt thou not beleeue (ſaith he)

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that ſoules are diſtributed from one body to another, and that which we call death is no other thing but a paſſage from one bodie into another? Doeſt thou not beleeue that in theſe tame or ſauage beaſts either killed or drowned, there ſuruiueth ſomtimes the ſoule of a man? wilt thou denie that nothing periſheth in the world, but doth but onely change aire and countrey, and that not onely the heauens turne, but that liuing creatures & ſoules likewiſe haue their reuolutions? Diuers great perſonages haue beleeued theſe things, and therefore hold thou thine opinion in ſuſpence, yet keepe thou all things intire vnto thy ſelfe. If theſe things be true, it is innocence to abſtaine from liuing creatures: if they be faiſe, it is irugalitie; what damage receiueth thy crueltie hereby? I take from thee the meate of Lions and Vultures. Perſwaded thus by theſe arguments, I began to abſtaine from fleſh, & ere a yeare was finiſhed, the cuſtom was not onely eaſie vnto me but pleaſing. I thought my ſpirit more free then it was before; neither can I at this time iuſtifie vnto thee whether it were ſo or no. Doeſt thou aske me how I haue diſcontinued this manner of life? It was in my yonger daies, at ſuch time as *Tiberius* was Emperor, when as the Religions of ſtrangers were baniſhed out of Rome, and to proue the ſuperſtitions of the ſame, they alledged that they abſtained from touching the fleſh of ſome creatures. So then vpon my fathers requeſt, who feared not reproch, but hated Philoſophie, I returned to my former cuſtome: neither was it a hard matter for him to perſwade mee to begin to ſup better. *Attalus* was wont to praiſe a hard bed, and ſuch as reſiſteth the bodie: ſuch a one vſe I now in mine olde daies, wherein you cannot diſcouer any print where I haue lien. Theſe things haue I related vnto thee, to let thee know how vehement the firſt apprehenſions of yong children be, and how inclined vnto all good things, if any man exhort them, or egge them forward. But in ſome kind the teachers are deficient, who teach vs to diſpute, and not to liue: in ſome ſort the learners who bring vnto their Maſters a purpoſe not to rectifie their iudgements, but poliſh their tongues; ſo that which was Philoſophie is made Philologie. But it is verie pertinent to the matter to examine with what purpoſe thou addreſſeſt thy ſelfe to any thing. He that examineth *Virgil* to that intent he may become a Grammarian, he readeth not with this intent that worthy verſe of his,

Time flies, and neuer is to be recald againe.

You muſt watch: except we make haſte we are forſaken. The day that ſwiftly fleeteth from vs, driueth vs forward and is driuen away. We are rauiſhed before we know it. We diſpoſe of all things as if we were to liue long time, and amidſt ſo many dangers we are ſluggards. But to obſerue that as often as *Virgil* writeth of the ſwiftneſſe of time, he vſeth this word, flyeth,

The better dayes of wretched mortall life,
Firſt flie, then ſickneſſe reignes, and irkſome age,
And tedious labour rules and waxeth rife,
And laſtly, death ſweepes all with mortall rage.

He that truely addicteth himſelfe vnto Philoſophie, applieth ſuch ſentences as befitteth him: neuer ſaith he that the daies goe, but that they flie, which is the moſt ſwifteſt kinde of running, and that the better times are rauiſhed from vs firſt. Why therefore ceaſe we to ſpur on our idleneſſe, to the end wee might outſtrip the time which fleeteth away ſo ſwiftly? The better dayes flye away,

the worſe ſucceed. Euen as out of a veſſell the pureſt floweth out firſt, and that which is moſt heauie and troubled, ſettleth in the bottome; ſo that which is firſt in our life is the beſt. We rather ſuffer others to draw out the pureſt, to the intent to reſerue the dregges vnto our ſelues. Let this ſentence be imprinted in our mindes, and pleaſe vs as much as if it were an Oracle ſent from heauen,

The beſt dayes of wretched mortall life,
Flie firſt——————

Why the beſt? Becauſe that which remaineth is vncertaine. Why the beſt? Becauſe being young we may learne, and conuert and addict our tender mindes, and pliable to the better, vnto the beſt: becauſe this time is fit for labour, fit to exerciſe our wits in ſtudie, and our bodies with labour. That which remaineth is more ſlow and faultie, and neerer to the end. Let vs therefore wholly apply our ſelues thereunto, and laying aſide all theſe ſpeculations, whereby we haue beene ſeduced, let vs apply our ſelues to one onely thing, for feare leſt at laſt we learne ouer-late to our confuſion, that it is impoſſible to ſtay and recouer the time that fleeteth away ſo faſt, without hope of returne. Let euerie firſt day pleaſe vs as if it were the beſt, and let vs reckon it properly ours, and let vs preuent that which enſueth. This doth not he thinke that reades this verſe with a Grammarians eie; that therefore euery firſt day is the beſt, becauſe ſickneſſes ſucceed, old age preſſeth and pearcheth ouer the head of thoſe, who as yet think themſelues yong; but he ſaith, that *Virgil* alwaies vnited ſickneſſes and olde age together, and in truth not without cauſe, for olde age is an incurable diſeaſe. Beſides, ſaith he, the Poet ſirnamed olde age, Irkſome:

Then ſickneſſe reignes, and irkſome age.

Wonder not that from the ſame matter euery man gathered that which is agreeable to his conceit. In the ſame field the oxe ſeeketh his Graſſe, the dog his Hare, and the Storke his Lizard: when thoſe bookes which *Cicero* wrote of a Common-weale, fal into the hands of him that would know all things, and of a Grammarian, & of a Philoſopher, euery one of theſe three hath his proper and peculiar election & thought. The Philoſopher wondereth that ſo many things may be ſpoken againſt iuſtice. When this loue-prattle comes to the ſame reading, he noteth this, that there are Romane Kings, whereof the one had no father, and the other no mother: for each man doubteth which was *Seruius* mother, and *Ancus* father, who was reputed *Numaes* Nephew, is not to be found. Beſides, he obſerueth that he whom we call *Dictator*, & is ſo intituled in Hiſtories, was by thoſe in former times called the Maſter of the people, as it manifeſtly appeareth at this day in the books of the Augurs, and that he whom we call the maſter of the knights, hath takē his name from thence. He noteth likewiſe that *Romulus* died during the Eclips of the Sun; that there was an appeale from the Kings vnto the people, as alſo *Feneſtella* holdeth that it is contayned in the Regiſters of the Biſhops. When a Grammarian explicateth the ſame books, he firſt of all noteth in his Cōmentarie, that *Cicero* vſed this word *Reapſe* for *Reipſa*, that is to ſay, indeed, & *Sepſe* likewiſe for *Seipſe*, that is to ſay, himſelfe. Then paſſeth he ouer to thoſe things which the cuſtom of the age hath changed, ſuch are thoſe which *Cicero* vſed, *becauſe we are recalled by his importunity frō the calce hereof*, that is, frō the end of the cours: for that which now we cal limits, thoſe in times

times paſt called *Calcem*, that is to ſay, the heele or end of the foote. After this he gathereth *Ennius* verſes, and eſpecially thoſe which were written by *Scipio* the African,

To whom no friend or enemie in field,
Could lend that helpe which he to them did yeeld.

Hereby he ſaith that he meaneth that this word *opera*, that is to ſay, labour, in times paſt ſignified *Auxilium*, that is to ſay, aide and ſuccour: for he ſaith that there was not one either Citizen or enemie could render *Scipio* the reward of his labour. Furthermore, he eſteemeth himſelfe happie to haue found out this why it pleaſed *Virgil* to ſay,

Ore whom the mightie gate of heauen did thunder.

He ſaith that *Ennius* ſtole this from *Homer*, and *Virgil* from *Ennius*. We reade in the ſame Bookes of *Cicero* this Epigram of *Ennius*,

If it be free for any one t'aſcend the heauenly throne,
The greateſt gate of higheſt heauen is ope to me alone.

But for feare leſt I my ſelfe in thinking on other matters ſhould my ſelfe become a humaniſt or *Pedant*, I ſay vnto thee, that we ought to referre that which we heare ſpoken by the Philoſophers, and that which we reade in their bookes to this end, that we become vertuous, and not to affect olde and fayned words, nor to affect extrauagant and vnaccuſtomed manners of ſpeaking, but let vs ſearch out thoſe precepts, which may profit vs, and ſuch magnificent & manly ſentences, which may be ſuddenly effected. So let vs apply theſe things, that thoſe things which were wordes may be workes. But I thinke that no men doe worſe deſerue of mortall men, then they who haue learned Philoſophy as it were ſome mercenary occupation, who liue otherwiſe then they inſtruct other men to liue: for they themſelues carrie about themſelues, as examples of vnprofitable doctrine, being otherwiſe ſlaues to euerie ſort of vice which poſſeſſeth them. Such a Maſter can as little profit me as a Pilot that is Sea-ſicke in the midſt of a tempeſt: when the billowes are increaſed the helme muſt be ſteered; we muſt ſtriue with the Sea, and ſtrike and hale in ſaile: what can a Maſter of a Ship helpe me that is aſtoniſhed and vomiteth? With how more greater tempeſt thinkeſt thou is humane life toſſed more then any ſhip? We are not to ſpeake, but to gouerne. All that which they ſay, all that which they boaſt of before the common ſort is to no purpoſe. *Plato*, *Zeno*, *Chryſippus*, *Poſidonius*, and an army of ſuch Philoſophers haue ſaid & reſaid it often. I will ſhew thee how they may approue theſe things to be their owne; let them act that which they ſaid. Becauſe I haue ſpoken thoſe things which I would haue carried vnto thee, I will now ſatisfie thy deſire, and I will referre the whole of that which thou requireſt at my hands to another Epiſtle, leſt hauing thy head wearied, thou bend thy attentiue and curious eare to heare a difficult matter.

EPIST. CIX.

A ſhort queſtion: Whether a wiſe man may profit a wiſe man, and how? The cauſe of doubt is, becauſe that all things are high in a wiſe man; neither may any thing be added to him: yet anſwereth he that he doth profit, and diſtinctly approueth it. In the end he deteſteth vnprofitable ſubtilties.

THou deſireſt to know whether a wiſe man may be profitable to a wiſe man: we ſay that a wiſe man is repleniſhed with all goodneſſe, and hath attained to the fulneſſe of perfection. The queſtion is, how a man may profit him that hath attained the chiefeſt good. Good men profite one another; for they exerciſe vertue and containe wiſedome in her eſtate: both of theſe require ſome man with whom he may conferre, with whom he may debate; vſe exerciſeth thoſe who are cunning in wraſtling, and warneth the Muſitian who hath learned vniſons. A wiſe man likewiſe hath neede to haue his vertues ſtirred, ſo that euen as hee moueth himſelfe, ſo is he moued by another wiſe man. What can a wiſe man profit a wiſe man? He will animate him, and ſhew him occaſions of honeſt actions. Beſides theſe, he will diſcouer ſome of his own thoughts, and will teach thoſe things which he hath inuented. For there will be alwaies ſomewhat remaining for a wiſe man to finde out, and whereon his minde may be employed and occupied. An euil man hurteth an euil man, he maketh him worſe by inciting wrath or feare, by aſſenting to ſadneſſe, by praiſing pleaſures; and euen then are euil men moſt trauelled and troubled, when they haue made a mixture of many vices, and wickedneſſe becommeth compleate. Therefore on the contrary ſide, a good man may profit a good man. But how ſayeſt thou? He will bring him ioy, he will confirme his confidence, and both of their ioyes ſhal encreaſe by beholding their mutuall tranquilitie. Beſides, he ſhall deliuer him the notice of ſome things: for a wiſe man knoweth not all things; and although he knew them, yet may ſome man inuent more compendious waies in things, and teach the ſame by which more eaſily the whole worke is compaſſed. A wiſeman ſhall be profitable to a wiſe man, not onely in regard of his owne forces, but in reſpect of his alſo whom he helpeth. And he himſelfe likewiſe being left vnto himſelfe can expreſſe his owne parts. Let him make vſe of his owne ſwiftneſſe, yet notwithſtanding he helpeth him alſo that encourageth him that runneth. A wiſe man is not onely profitable to a wiſe man, but to himſelfe. To this thou wilt obiect, Take from him his proper forces, and he doth nothing. In this ſort thou maiſt ſay that there is no ſweetneſſe in honey: for he that eateth the ſame muſt be apt both in tong and pallat to entertain this taſte, that he may be delighted and not offended with the ſauour thereof: for ſome there are to whom honey ſeemeth bitter in regard of their ſickneſſe. Both of them muſt be ſuch, that both the one may teach, and the other be diſpoſed to receiue inſtructions. It were in vaine, ſaith he, to warme him more that hath beene hote to the extremitie, and as vaine is it to better him that hath attained the fulneſſe of goodnes. Doth a huſbandman that is his craſts-maſter in tillage, ſeeke inſtructions from another? Doth a ſoldier that is ſufficiently armed to enter the field deſire any further defēce? Therfore not a wiſe man; for he is ſufficiently inſtructed and armed for life. He that is in the height of heat, had no need of heat to warme him: further, heat it ſelfe, ſaith he, containeth it ſelfe; To this I anſwer,

firſt of all, there is a great difference betwixt theſe things which thou compareſt. For heate is one, but to profit is diuers. Againe, heate is not encreaſed in heate by the adiection of heate. A wiſe-man cannot ſtand in the habit of his minde, except he admit ſome friends like himſelfe, with whom he may communicate his vertues. Furthermore, adde hereunto that there is a certaine friendſhip betweene all vertues. He therefore profiteth that loueth any mans vertues that are equall with his, and giueth order alſo that his may be beloued. Thoſe things that are alike doe delight, eſpecially if they be honeſt, and know how to approue and to be approued. It is true, no other man but a wiſe man can cunningly moue a wiſe-mans minde, euen as no man may reaſonably moue a man, except he be a man. Euen as therefore there needeth reaſon to helpe reaſon, ſo to moue perfect reaſon, there needeth perfect reaſon. They are ſaide to profit vs that giue vs meanes, as money, grace, health, and other things which are neceſſarie and deere to the vſe of humane life; in theſe euen a foole ſhall be ſaid to profit a wiſe-man. But to profit and aid another, is to moue his thought by his vertue, and according to Nature, or by the vertue of him that ſhall bee moued. And this alſo cānot be done without his good that profiteth; for in exerciſing another mans vertue, hee muſt needs exercife his owne. But that thou maiſt remoue theſe things, which either are the chiefeſt goods, or the efficients of the chiefeſt: yet notwithſtanding wiſe men may profit amongſt themſelues. For it is a thing that of it ſelfe meriteth to be deſired by a wiſe man, to meete with another wiſe mā, becauſe that naturally a good thing is deſired of his like, and a vertuous man acquainteth himſelfe with another vertuous man, as willingly as with himſelf. I muſt needs for argument ſake paſſe ouer from this queſtion to another. For it is demanded whether a wiſe man will deliberate, or demand counſell of another man, which is neceſſarie for him to doe, when he will intreat of ciuil or domeſtical matters, or to ſpeak more rightly, of mortal things. In this caſe he hath need of anothers coūſel, as of a Phyſitian, a maſter of a ſhip, an aduocate & proctor. A wiſe man ſomtimes may be profitable to a wiſe man, for he will perſwade him. But in thoſe great and diuine things alſo, as we haue ſaid, hee ſhall be profitable by ordinarily intreating of honeſt things, and by intermixing both their minds and thoughts. Beſides, it is according to Nature, both to imbrace friends, and to conceiue as much ioy of a friends good action, as of his owne. For if wee doe not thus, vertue ſhall not remaine in vs, which in exerciſing her ſelfe taketh luſtre by vſe. But vertue perſwadeth vs to diſpoſe well of the preſent, to bethinke on that which is to come, to deliberate and intend the minde, and more eaſily ſhall he intend and explicate the ſame, who taketh and entertaineth another vnto him. He ſeeketh therefore either a perfect man, or one that profiteth, or is neere vnto perfection. But that perfect man will profit, if by cōmon prudence the one helpeth the others counſell. They ſay, that men ſee more in other mens buſineſſe then in their owne; and this befalleth thoſe men whom ſelfe-loue blindeth, and to thoſe alſo, whom feare of danger driueth from all conſideration of profit. The man that is aſſured and deliuered from feare, will recouer his courage and become wiſe. Yet notwithſtanding there are ſome things, which euen they who are the wiſeſt doe more diligently diſcouer in others then in themſelues. Moreouer, that which is moſt ſweete and honeſt, a wiſe man will procure a wiſe man to will and nill the ſame which he doth. They ſhall beare together a worthie charge; I haue performed that which thou requiredſt at my hands, although it were couched in the order of thoſe things, which we haue compriſed in our bookes of morall

Philoſophie. Bethinke thee of that which I haue told thee often, that wee doe but exerciſe and whet our wits vpon theſe queſtions: for ofttimes returne I thither. What doth this thing profit me? wil it make me ſtronger, iuſter, or more temperate? I haue yet no leiſure to exerciſe my ſelfe, I ſtand in need of a Phyſician. Why teacheſt thou me an vnprofitable Science? Thou haſt promiſed me great matters, but I ſee little. Thou ſaidſt I ſhould bee dreadleſſe, yea, although Swords gliſtred about me, although the point were readie to pierce my throate: thou ſaidſt I ſhould be ſecure, although I ſaw fires flaming about me, although a ſudden whirle-wind ſhould rauiſh and beare away my Barke thorow the whole Ocean. Doe thou thus much for mee, that I may contemne pleaſure and glorie, then ſhalt thou afterwards teach mee how to reſolue difficulties, diſtinguiſh ambiguities, and pry into thoſe things that are obſcure, now teach me thoſe things that are neceſſary.

EPIST. CX.

That each one of vs haue our GENIVS, *which he hath fauourable vnto him, whoſoeuer hath a good minde. That the vowes and iudgements of thoſe men are wicked, who eſtimate not things according to their value. That vaine things are wiſhed for, and vaine things feared, and that the remedy of both is from Philoſophie, whereunto he ſummoneth vs, hauing ſhaken off ſuperfluities. In concluſion, he diſcouereth exceſſe, and reproueth it by* ATTALVS *worthy ſpeech.*

I Salute thee from my Houſe at *Nomentanum*, and will thee to haue a good minde, that is, that all the gods may be propitious vnto thee, who are fauourable and very well affected towards him, whoſoeuer is reconciled vnto himſelfe. Lay apart for this preſent, the opinions of ſome men, that euery one of vs hath giuen him a Pedagogue or god, not of theſe great and ordinary, but thoſe of the inferiour note, and of the number of thoſe whom *Ouid* nameth popular gods. Yet ſo would I haue thee lay theſe things apart, that thou remember thy ſelfe that our Predeceſſours, who haue beleeued theſe things, were Stoicks, for they attributed vnto euery one his *Genius* and Goddeſſe *Iuno*. Hereafter we will examine whether the gods haue ſo much leiſure to procure and prouide for particular mens affaires. In the meane while know thou this, that whether wee are reſigned to a ſeuerall *Genius*, or elſe neglected and giuen ouer vnto Fortune, that thou canſt wiſh no man a greater miſchiefe, then if thou ſhouldeſt deſire that he may be his owne Enemy. Neyther needeſt thou wiſh any man, whom thou thinkeſt worthy puniſhment, to haue the gods diſpleaſed with him; for I tell thee they are auerſe, although his life ſeemeth to proſper and flouriſh vnder their care and fauour. Conſider and examine thou diligently what humane affaires be, not what they are called; and thou ſhalt know that more euils befall vs by our ſelues, then through the hand of caſualtie. For how oft-times hath that which is called calamitie beene the cauſe and beginning of our felicitie? How oftentimes hath a thing entertayned with great plauſe, builded it ſelfe a degree from whence it might fall head-long, and hath rayſed ſome one man high, that was alreadie eminent, as if hee ſhould as yet continue in this place, from whence hee might ſafely fall? yet that failing, if thou conſider the end, beyond which Nature directeth no man, hath not any euill in it ſelfe. The end of all things is at hand, it is at hand I ſay,

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as well that from whence a happie man is driuen by violence, as that from whence a miſerable man is happily deliuered. Both theſe enlarge we, and make them long by feare and hope. But if thou beeſt wiſe, meaſure all things by humane condition, and reſtrayne the occaſions that may make thee ioy, or make thee feare. So great a thing is it, not to laugh at any thing long, to the end thou mayeſt not feare any other thing long. But why do I thus reſtrayne this euill? Thinke not that there is any thing that thou ſhouldeſt feare. Theſe are but vaine things which mooue and aſtoniſh vs, none of vs hath as yet examined the trueth thereof, but each one hath taught an other to feare. No man hath dared to approch that which procured his feare, or to know the nature and good of his owne affright. And therefore it is, that a thing ſo fallacious and vaine is yet redoubled, becauſe no man diſproueth or diſcouereth the ſame. Let vs onely bethinke our ſelues to open our eyes, and it ſhall preſently appeare how ſhort, incertayne, and ſecure things are feared. Such is the confuſion of our minds, as *Lucretius* deſcribeth it:

For euen as in the blind and darkeſt night,
Yong children quake for feare, and ſhake with fright,
So feare we likewiſe in the cleareſt light.

What then? are not we more fooliſh then children that feare at noone dayes? But this is falſe, *Lucretius*; wee feare not in the light, wee haue made all things darkneſſe to our ſelues: we ſee nothing, neither that which hurteth vs, nor that which helpeth vs; all our life-time we runne, and wander heere and there, yet for all this we neuer make ſtop, nor conſider at any time where we fix our feet. And yet thou ſeeſt how furious a thing it is to run head-long in the darke, yet vndoubtedly we doe thus, to the end wee may bee recalled from a further off, and whereas we are ignorant whither we are carryed, yet perſeuere wee to run ſwiftly thither, whither we intended. But if wee will that the day may breake, yet but after one manner, that is, if a man receiue the knowledge of theſe humane and diuine things; if inſtead of meerly ſprinkling himſelfe therewith, he taketh the tincture thereof; if although he know the ſame, hee often debateth thereupon, and relateth it oftentimes to himſelfe. If hee haue ſought what things are good and euill, and what things doe vnworthily challenge this title; if he enquire what things are honeſt or diſhoneſt, and what is prouidence: neither within theſe bounds is the quickneſſe of humane vnderſtanding circumſcribed. He taketh pleaſure to caſt his eye beyond the World, to examine whither it is carryed, whence it came, to what period ſo great a ſwiftneſſe of things haſteneth. From this ſo high contemplation haue we drawne our minds into the conſideration of ſordid and baſe things, for to be ſlaues to auarice, ſo as ouer-ſlipping the earth and the bounds thereof, and the gods which gouerne and diſpoſe all things, wee haue employed the ſame in conſideration of embowelling the Earth; and not content with the goods which were offered, to ſearch out what euill might bee digged out of it. Whatſoeuer is for our good, our good God and Father hath layd by vs. Hee expected not our inquiſition, he gaue it freely, and buryed thoſe things that were hurtfull for vs in the boſome of the earth. Wee haue cauſe to complaine of none other but our ſelues. We in ſpite of Nature, and when ſhee had cloſely hidden them, haue brought thoſe things to light, which are inſtruments of our ruine. Wee haue dedicated our minds vntopleaſures, the entertainment and allowance whereof is the be-

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ginning of all our miſchiefes. Wee haue giuen them ouer to ambition and fame, and other things as vaine and fruitleſſe as theſe. What therefore now do I exhort thee to doe? No new thing, for wee ſeeke no remedies for new euils, but this, eſpecially to conſider in thy ſelfe, what thing is neceſſary, and what ſuperfluous. That which is neceſſary, thou ſhal find euery where before thee, but as touching thoſe that are ſuperfluous, thou muſt alwaies runne after them, and thou ſhalt hardly find them. Neyther haſt thou cauſe to prayſe thy ſelfe too much, if thou contemneſt golden beds, and houſhold-ſtuffe garniſhed with precious ſtones. For what vertue is it to contemne ſuperfluities? Then admire thou thy ſelfe, when thou contemneſt neceſſary things. Thou doeſt no great thing, when as thou canſt liue without Kingly entertaynment, when thou deſireſt not wild Bores of a thouſand pounds weight, nor the tongues of Phenicopteres, nor ſuch other monſters of gluttony, which this day taketh no delight in whole beaſts, but deſireth and longteh after the leg of one, and the wing of another, and ſuch and ſuch members of another. Then ſhall I admire thee when thou contemneſt not the browneſt Bread: if thou perſwade thy ſelfe that herbes when neceſſity requireth, doe not only grow for the vſe of beaſts, but for the nouriſhment of man. If thou knoweſt that the buddes of Trees are ſufficient to fill the belly, into which wee gather ſo many precious things, as if it were a ſtore-houſe to conſerue them in, we muſt fil the ſame without lothing. For what skilleth it what it receiueth, ſince it muſt loſe whatſoeuer it hath receiued. Thou takeſt pleaſure to ſee a ranke of Platters charged with Fowle and Fiſh. There are meates which pleaſe thine appetite, becauſe they are young and tender: contrariwiſe there are others more ſauourie vnto thee, if they be ſo thicke and fat as they melt in their greaſe. The very artificiall ſmell of theſe delighteth thee. But vndoubtedly theſe meates ſo carefully ſought out, and ſo cunningly ſauced, being ſwallowed downe into the belly, conuert themſelues into ordure of the ſame colour, and ſtinck. Wilt thou contemne the voluptuouſneſſe of meates? looke vpon them in thy Cloſe-ſtoole. I remember that ATTALVS, not without the admiration of all men, was wont to ſay this: Riches, ſaid he, haue oftentimes deceiued me, when I ſaw any piece of them ſhine here or there, I ſtood in admiration to behold them. I thought that thoſe which were hidden, were like thoſe which were ſhowen. But in a certayne Circenſian ſhew I ſaw all the riches of the Citie embelliſhed with Gold and Siluer, and thoſe things which exceeded eyther Gold or Siluer in price, exquiſite colours, and garments that were brought not onely from our vttermoſt Territories, but beyond the furtheſt Confines of our Enemies. On this ſide the troopes of Children, ſeemely both in their habite and forme: on that ſide women, and other things, whch the fortune of the greateſt Empire hauing ſought out her greateſt riches, had brought forth. What other thing is this (ſaid he) then to irritate the luſts and deſires of men that are too forward of themſelues? What meaneth this pompe of money? we are aſſembled together to learne Auarice. But vndoubtedly I carry hence leſſe Couetouſneſſe then I brought with me. I contemned riches, not by reaſon they were ſuperfluous, but becauſe they were things of a ſmall value. Seeſt thou not in how ſmall a time this ſo mightie ſhew paſſed ouer, although they marched but ſlowly, and were ranked orderly? Shall this which could not fill the ſpace of an houre, occupie our whole life? Hee likewiſe added this. They ſeemed vnto me as ſuperfluous to thoſe that had them, as thoſe that beheld them. I therefore ſay thus to my ſelfe, as oftentimes as any ſuch thing encountreth mine

eyes,

eyes, as often as I ſee a rich and ſumptuous houſe, a rich guard of Seruants, a Litter carryed by goodly Lackeyes. Why wondreſt thou? why art thou amaſed? It is but pompe. Theſe things are ſhewne, not poſſeſſed; and whileſt they pleaſe they paſſe by. Rather conuert thy ſelfe vnto true riches, learne to be content with a little, and with a great and manly minde exclayme thus; *Let vs haue water, let vs haue Barley ſteeped in water, and let vs contend with* IVPITER *himſelfe for felicitie.* Let vs, I pray thee, do thus, although theſe things be wanting. It is a baſe thing to build a bleſſed life, eyther on Gold or Siluer, and as baſe to found it on water and ſteeped Barly. What ſhall I therefore doe if theſe things be miſſing? Doeſt thou aske mee what remedie there is againſt need? Hunger endeth hunger, otherwiſe what importeth it if the things that make thee a ſlaue be great or little? What matters it how much it be that fortune may deny thee? This very water and ſteeped Barley is at another mans command, but he is the freeman, not ouer whom fortune hath the leaſt power, but he ouer whom ſhe hath no power at all. It is ſo. Thou muſt deſire nothing if thou wilt prouoke *Iupiter* that deſireth nothing. Theſe things ſpake *Attalus* vnto vs, but Nature cryeth it in all mens eares, which if thou wilt oftentimes thinke vpon, thou ſhalt make thy ſelfe really, not ſeemingly happy, and in effect ſeeme ſuch vnto thy ſelfe, and not vnto others.

EPIST. CXI.

He proueth that cauils are but a vaine and baſe kinde of Philoſophie, and that that part which concerneth manners is true, firme, and ſublimed. Counſailing vs to that ſtudie.

THOu haſt enquired of me, what thoſe things are called in Latine, which the Grecians call *Sophiſmata*: many men haue endeuored to expreſſe the ſame, but no man hath performed it; and the reaſon is, becauſe the thing it ſelfe was not receiued by vs; neyther had in vſe, and therefore likewiſe was the name of no account: yet that in my iudgement was the moſt fitteſt which *Cicero* vſed, who called them *Cauillationes*, that is to ſay, Cauils; to which whoſoeuer addicteth himſelfe, he forgeth ſubtle queſtions, yet doe they profit him nothing vnto life, neither is he made the ſtronger, more temperate, or more excellent. But he that hath exerciſed Philoſophy for his owne remedie ſake is made mightie in mind, ful of confidence, inuincible, & more great the neerer he approcheth the ſame. That which falleth out in the greateſt Mountaynes, whoſe height appeares leaſt to thoſe that behold them from a farre, and the neerer you approch them, the more manifeſtly appeareth it what their immeaſurable height is: ſuch, my *Lucilius*, is a true and no counterfeit Philoſopher; he ſtandeth in a high place, admirable, vpright, and truely great. He rayſeth not himſelfe on his feet, neyther walketh on his tiptoes, after the manner of thoſe that helpe their height by ſhift, and would ſeeme longer then they be; he contenteth himſelfe with his greatneſſe. Why ſhould he not content himſelfe, ſince hee is growne ſo farre, as Fortune reacheth not her hand vnto him, and therefore is hee aboue all humane things? He is alwayes like himſelfe in all things that may happen, whether the Nauigation of his life floateth vnder a proſperous wind, or bee toſſed by ſtormes and aduerſe dangers. This conſtancie, theſe cauils (of which I haue

ſpoken

ſpoken a little before) cannot affect. The minde dallyeth with theſe, but profiteth not: he caſteth Philoſophie from her Throne, and bringeth her vnto the plaine; neyther would I forbid thee to practiſe theſe things ſometimes, but let it be then when thou wouldeſt doe nothing: yet haue they this one curſed qualitie in them, they leaue a certaine touch of delight behind them, and poſſeſſe and arreſt the mind that is induced by the appearance of ſubtiltie; meane while infinite and important affaires remayne behind, and ſcarſly may our whole life ſuffice to learne this one thing, which is, how to contemne life. What, to gouerne it, ſayeſt thou? This is the ſecond worke: for no man euer well ruled it except he contemned it.

Epist. CXII.

He deſpayreth the reformation of his Friend, old in yeares and vices.

VNdoubtedly I deſire that thy friend according to thy wiſh ſhould be both formed and inſtructed; but hee is held ouer-hard, or rather (which is more troubleſome) hee is held ouer tender, and broken by euill and daily cuſtomes. I will yeeld thee an example out of the huſbandry I profeſſe: It is not euery Vine that is fit for grafting; if it be old and Worme-eaten, if it bee weake and ſlender, eyther it receiueth not the young plant, or nouriſheth it not, or it will not ioyne with it, neyther will communicate his qualitie and nature to the ſame. We therefore are accuſtomed to cut it aboue the ground, to the end that if it faile, a man may aſſay another experiment, and ſet him once more into the Earth. This man of whom thou writeſt, and whom thou recommendeſt, hath no forces. Hee hath beene in ſuch ſort addicted vnto vices that he is both dryed and indurate. He cannot receiue or nouriſh reaſon, yet is he deſirous. Beleeue him not: I ſay not that he lyeth vnto thee, he thinketh he deſireth. Hee is angry with the exceſſe hee hath made, yet will hee ſhortly fall in league with it againe. But hee ſaith that he is offended with his life. I will not deny it; for who is not offended? Men both loue and hate their liues. Then therefore will wee giue our iudgement of him, when he hath approued vnto vs that his exceſſe is hateſull vnto him; for the preſent I cannot reſolue thee.

Epist. CXIII.

He queſtioneth whether vertues be liuing Creatures. Hee ſtoycally affirmeth that the vices and affections are no leſſe. Then preferres he a diſpute, that were ridiculous in theſe dayes. He diſſwadeth vs from ſuch like, & ſummoneth vs to thoſe things that are profitable to life.

THou deſireſt mee to write vnto thee what I thinke of this queſtion ſo much canuaſſed amongſt Stoickes, whether Iuſtice, Fortitude, Prudence, and the reſt of the vertues, are liuing Creatures. By this ſubtilty, my deareſt *Lucilius*, wee giue occaſion to ſome to thinke that we whet our wits about vnprofitable things, and that we loſe our time in ſuch diſputes as ſerue to no purpoſe. Yet will I doe that

that which thou deſireſt, and expreſſe vnto thee what the opinion of our Stoicks is; yet proteſt I that I am of another opinion. I thinke there are ſome things that become thoſe that weare the Hat and Cloke amongſt the Grecians. I will therefore tell thee what the reaſons were which moued antiquitie. It appeareth that the ſoule is a liuing creature, conſidering ſhee is the efficient cauſe wherby we are animated: and for that liuing creatures haue deriued this name from her. But vertue is nought elſe then a ſoule poſſeſſing her ſelfe in ſome ſort, it is therefore an animall. Againe, vertue doth ſomething, but nothing can be done without motion; if ſhe haue motion, which none hath except it be a liuing creature, ſhe is a liuing creature: & if ſhe be a liuing creature, then vertue containeth vertue in her ſelfe, why not? ſhe hath her ſelfe. Euen as a Wiſeman doth all things by the aſſiſtance of vertue, ſo doth vertue by her ſelfe: and therefore ſaith he, all Arts, and all thoſe things which wee thinke, and whatſoeuer wee comprehend in our mindes are animals. It followeth therefore that in thoſe narrow breaſts of ours there inhabit diuers thouſands of animals, and that euery one of vs are many animals, or contayne many animals in our ſelues. Askeſt thou me what is anſwered hereunto? Each one of theſe things ſhall be an animall, and not diuers. The reaſon? I will tell it thee, if thou wilt heare me patiently and attentiuely: all animals ought to haue each of them a proper ſubſtance: all animals haue one ſoule; they cannot therefore ſubſiſt euery one, neither can they bee diuers. I am an animall, and a man, thou wilt not therefore ſay that I am two. Why? To make them two, they ought to be ſeuered the one from the other. Euery one of diuers ſorts hath but one nature, and therefore is but one. My ſoule is an animall, and I my ſelfe am one alſo; yet for all this are wee not two. Why? By reaſon that my ſoule is a part of mee. Then ſhall any thing bee numbred by it ſelfe, when it conſiſteth by it ſelfe, but when it is a part and member of another, it cannot ſeeme to bee another thing. And why? I will tell thee. Becauſe that which is another muſt be his owne, and properly his owne, and wholly his owne, and abſolute within it ſelfe. I haue declared that I was of another opinion: for not only ſhall vertues be animals if this be admitted, but thoſe vices and affections which are oppoſite vnto them likewiſe, ſuch as are wrath, feare, ſorrow and ſuſpition. And yet this thing ſhall proceed further, all Sentences, all thoughts ſhall be animals, which muſt in no ſort bee admitted. For euerie thing that a man doth is not a man. What is Iuſtice, ſaith he? A ſoule that poſſeſſeth her ſelfe in ſome ſort: if therefore the Soule be an animall, Iuſtice is an animall. Nothing ſo: for this is a habit and certaine power of the Soule. The ſame Soule is conuerted into diuers Figures, and yet is not the Soule an animall, ſo oftentimes as it changeth thus; neither is that which the Soule doth an animall. If Iuſtice, Magnanimitie and thoſe other vertues bee animals, I demand of thee if ſometimes they ceaſſe to be, or if they begin againe, or if they be alwayes? Vertues cannot ceaſſe to be vertues, therefore many liuing creatures are animals, nay, more innumerable animals are in this ſoule. There are not many (ſaith he) but this is but one ſoule aſſembled of diuers, which are the members and parts of one. By this reckoning wee repreſent vnto our ſelues ſuch a forme as the *Hydra*, which hath diuers heads, each one of which fighteth and hurteth by it ſelfe. But none of thoſe heads is an animall, but the head of an animall, yet is ſhe but one animall. No man ſaid that in *Chimera* the Lion was an animall, or the Dragon; theſe are the parts of him, but the parts are not animals. Where doeſt thou gather that Iuſtice is an animall? It acteth

teth, ſaith he, ſomewhat and profiteth. But that which doth ſomewhat and profiteth, hath force and motion, *ergo*, that which hath force and motion is an animall. True it is, if it haue his owne force and motion; but it hath not his owne force and motion, but that of the ſoule. Euery animall vntill it dye is that which it began to bee. A man vntill hee dye is a man, ſo likewiſe a Horſe and a Dogge, for they cannot paſſe into another forme and ſubſtance. Iuſtice that is the Soule which poſſeſſeth it ſelfe in any ſort, is an animal. Let vs beleeue it. Moreouer, Magnanimitie, that is to ſay, the ſoule in any ſort Miſtris of her ſelfe, is an Animal. What Soule is that? That which euen now was Iuſtice, is incloſed in the firſt animal, and cannot paſſe into another animal, but muſt remayne in him where ſhe began to bee. Furthermore, our Soule cannot be in two liuing creatures together, much leſſe in many. If Iuſtice, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and thoſe other vertues be animals; how can they haue but one Soule? it muſt needs fall out that euery one hath his owne, elſe cannot they be animals. One body cannot be the body of diuers animals. What is, ſaith he, the body of Iuſtice? the Soule, and of Magnanimitie alſo; but one bodie cannot be the bodie of two Animals. But ſome one will ſay, that one and the ſame Soule hath taken the habitude of Iuſtice, Magnanimitie, and Temperance. This might bee, if at ſuch time as Iuſtice was in vigor, Magnanimitie was not, and when value was, Temperance was not. But all vertues are together. How ſhould theſe be different animals, ſince there is but one ſoule, which can make but one Animal? Furthermore, no animal is a part of another animal. But Iuſtice is a part of the Soule, it is not therefore an animal. Truly in my iudgement, it is but loſt time to conteſt vpon a matter that is granted, wee ſhould rather be angry thereat, then diſpute thereupon. No animal is a part of another. Conſider all mens bodies, and there is not one of them but hath his particular colour, forme, and proportion. Amidſt other miracles, which make the wiſdome of God the Creator admirable, I eſteeme this to bee one, that amidſt ſo many things that are created, the one reſembleth not the other; and as touching thoſe that are like one another, yet will there bee ſome difference found, if thou curiouſly obſerue the ſame. Hee hath made infinite ſorts of leaues, and diſtinguiſhed the one from the other by ſome ſpeciall marke. Infinite and different animals, yea, euen thoſe which are of the ſame kind, doe not in euery part reſemble one another. The Creator hath required and obtayned this of himſelfe, that theſe animals of different kinds ſhould not reſemble one another, eyther in forme or proportion. Thou ſayeſt that all the Vertues are like one another, and therefore they are not animals. There is not any animal but doth ſomething of it ſelfe. But vertue doth nothing by her ſelfe, but with a man. All liuing creatures are either endowed with reaſon, as men and gods, or depriued of reaſon as beaſts are. Vertues are endowed with reaſon, and yet for all that, they are neyther gods nor men, and conſequently they are not animals. Euery reaſonable liuing creature doth nothing, except it be firſt incited and puſhed forward in regard and conſideration of ſomething: this ſtirreth the ſame, and then conſent ſtirreth this motion. As touching Conſent, ſee here what it is. I muſt walke out, I ſet forward; after I am commanded ſo to doe, and hauing found it good. I muſt ſit downe, and then I ſit. This Conſent is not in Vertue. Preſuppoſe that Prudence is a liuing creature, how ſhould ſhe conſent? I muſt of neceſſitie ſet forward. Nature oppoſeth her ſelfe againſt this point, for Prudence prouideth not for her ſelfe, but for him that is endowed with her, which cannot goe nor ſit downe, and therefore hath no conſent.

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That which is depriued of iudgement and conſent, is not a liuing creature endowed with reaſon. If Vertue bee a liuing creature, ſhee is a reaſonable liuing creature. But ſhe is neyther the one nor the other: *Ergo*, no liuing creature. If Vertue be a liuing creature, and vertue bee a good thing, euery good thing is a liuing creature. The Stoickes auow this. It is a good thing for a man to ſaue his fathers life, to ſpeake materially and to the purpoſe, his opinion in publike aſſembly; to giue a Sentence according to the Lawes: by this reckoning to ſaue a mans father, ſhall be a liuing creature, and to thinke and debate well, another. In briefe, this Paradoxe will ſeeme ſo great in the end, that a man cannot contayne himſelfe from laughter. To know how to hold a mans peace in time and place, to ſup well is a good thing, and therefore to hold a mans peace, and to ſup well, are liuing creatures. I will not ceaſſe to tickle my ſelfe, and make me pleaſure by theſe follies. Truly if Iuſtice and Magnanimitie bee liuing creatures, they are terreſtriall; euery terreſtriall liuing creature ſuffereth cold, hunger and thirſt. So Iuſtice hath a cold, Magnanimitie is hungry, and Clemency dry. Moreouer I would willingly aske of theſe Doctors, if theſe liuing creatures haue the figure of a man, of a horſe, or of a ſauage beaſt. If they attribute vnto them a round forme, as they doe vnto God, I would aske of them, whether Couetouſneſſe, Ryot, and ſolly are round? For theſe likewiſe are animals, if they be round. I would deſire them further to let mee know, if to walke diſcreetly bee a liuing creature or no? They muſt of neceſſity confeſſe that it is a liuing creature of a round forme. But to the end thou mayeſt know that I ſpeake by my Booke, and that it is not my priuate opinion which I here doe publiſh: *Cleanthes* and his Scholer *Chryſippus* are not one in opinion, as touching this walking. *Cleanthes* ſaith that it is an agitation diſperſed from the head vnto the feet. *Chryſippus* is of another opinion: why then according to *Chryſippus* example cannot any man maintayne that which he ſhall iudge to be the beſt, and laugh at the number of theſe Animals, ſo great, as the World would be too little to contayne them? The Stoicks ſay that Vertues are not diuers animals, and yet notwithſtanding that they are animals; euen as one man is an Orator and Poet, ſo are Vertues animals, and not diuers liuing creatures, but one onely. The ſoule that is iuſt, prudent, and couragious, is one and the ſame, being in ſome ſort in poſſeſſion of her ſelfe, in euery one of the Vertues. The diſpute ceaſſeth, wee are agreed, for I confeſſe that the ſoule is a liuing creature, referring it to another place to ſpeake my opinion as touching the ſame. I deny that the actions of the ſoule are liuing creatures, otherwiſe all the words, and euery Poets Verſes ſhould be liuing creatures. For if a word well ſpoken be a good thing, and euery good thing bee a liuing creature, the word ſhall be a liuing creature. A Verſe that is well made is good, that which is good is called an animal, and conſequently a Verſe ſhall be an animal: and ſo

Arma virumq; cano,

is an animal, which cannot for all that be round, becauſe it is a Verſe of ſix feet. All this is but meere Sophiſtry, which being well examined makes me ready to ſwound with laughing, when I remember that a Soleciſme, a Barbariſme, and a Syllogiſme is an animal, and I depaint euery one of them ſuch a forme as beſt liketh me. Theſe things diſpute we with loftie lookes and bended browes. I cannot in this place refrayne to exclayme in this ſort with *Lucilius*, O hatefull follies! They are ridiculous. But why manage we not rather ſome matters

that may make vs better! Why search we not out the meanes to attayne vnto vertue, and the way that may leade vs thereunto? Breake not my braynes in teaching me whether Magnanimity be a liuing creature, but learne mee that in this World there is not any liuing creature found that is happy, except hee bee magnanimous, except he be resolute against all accidents, if in his thought hee hath not ouercome all aduersities before he felt them. Magnanimity is the impregnable Fortresse of humane infirmity; whosoeuer is inclosed therein, he remayneth assured in this beleagring of life. For he vseth his owne strength and his owne weapons. In this place I will set downe vnto thee the notable saying of the Stoick POSIDONIVS, *Neuer thinke thy selfe assured with the armes of Fortune, combate against her with thine owne. Casualties doe not arme vs.* They therefore that are armed against their enemies, are disarmed against aduersitie. *Alexander* spoiled and put to flight the Persians, the Hircanians, the Indians, and all those Nations that inhabit the extent of the East Countries vnto the Sea. Notwithstanding he himselfe hauing slaine one friend and lost another, lay groueling in a dark chamber, detesting his wickednesse, deploring his losse; and this conquerour of so many Kings and Nations, was ouercome by choler and sorrow. For all his endeuours were aimed to this end, to master all other things except himselfe. O how blinde are men, who desire to make their Scepters passe beyond the Seas! who thinke themselues happy if they conquer diuers countries and prouinces by their soldiers, and ioyne new to the old, not knowing that the greatest Empire, and that which is wholly conquered, is to command a mans selfe! Let them teach me how sacred a thing Iustice is, that it is a vertue that is carefull of another mans good; that seeketh not commodities, or aduantages to her selfe. That she hath no alliance with ambition and vainglorie, but pleaseth her selfe. Before all things let euery one perswade himselfe this: It behoueth me to be a good man, without hope or desire of recompence. This is a small matter, let him adde more: I am commanded to employ my selfe wholly and freely in the study of Vertue, in such sort as all my thoughts, as much as in me lyeth, are to be driuen from the consideration of my priuate profit. Studie thou not whether the reward of Vertue is more great then Vertue it selfe. Fixe thou that likewise in thy minde, which I haue touched hertofore; it skilleth not whether thy vertue be known to few men, or to many. He that will haue his Vertue published, laboureth not for Vertue, but for glory. Wilt thou not be iust without glory? But vndoubtedly thou must be iust with Infamy, and then, if thou art wise, an euill opinion well gotten doth delight.

EPIST. CXIIII.

He teacheth that Eloquence is otherwhile different, and pleasing, euen as publike manners are seuere, dissolute and broken. He proueth that they take that colour from the mind, and that by MAECENAS *Example: and therefore that that is to be cured and formed, from whence proceedeth sence, and consequently direct words. By the way he argueth against dissolutenesse.*

HOw askest me why and whence it commeth to passe, that the speech is corrupted in some times, and why mens minds are inclined to certaine vices, so as sometimes a swelling discourse was applauded, some other times sounding speech, and such as is deliuered after the manner of a Song. Why other whiles men tooke pleasure in long and continued periods, other whiles in abrupt Sentences and sus-

ſuſpicious, in which more is to be vnderſtood then heard. Why there hath bin an age wherein men immodeſtly vſed a figuratiue diſcourſe. The reaſon is this which thou haſt commonly heard, and the Greekes haue made their Prouerb; Of ſuch is mens ſpeech as is their life. But as euery mans action is anſwerable to his ſpeech, ſo ſometimes the kind of diſcourſe imitateth publike manners. If the diſcipline of the Common-wealth hath bin depraued, the effeminate manner of Language is an argument of the diſſolution of all Eſtates: I ſpeake of that Language which is vſuall amongſt all men, and not of that which ſome one or two vſe. The Soule and vnderſtanding cannot be of two colours. If the Soule be whole, compoſed, graue, and well tempered, the vnderſtanding alſo is ſober and moderate. If the one be corrupted, the other is affected. Seeſt thou not, that if the mind languiſh, the members are weakened, and the feet hardly moued? And if it be effeminate, how the infirmitie thereof appeareth euen in the walking? How, if it bee watchfull and forward, the body doubleth his pace; and if it be furious, or (that which is next to furie) be angry, how all the body trembleth, and how they goe not, but are tranſported? How much more befalleth the vnderſtanding thinkeſt thou, which is wholly intermixed with the Soule, which formeth the ſame, bringeth it in action, and giueth it a Law? In what ſort *Mæcenas* liued, it is better knowne, then that it needed to be expreſſed at this time: how he walked, how dainty he was, how deſirous to bee ſeene, how vnwilling that his vices ſhould be vndiſcouered. What then, was not his diſcourſe as diſſolute as his life? Had hee not as much affectation and vanity in his ſpeech, as in his Equipage, then in his trayne, then in his Houſe, then in his Wife? He was a man of great vnderſtanding, had hee not tracted a worſer way, had he not affected obſcuritie, had he not ouerflowed in his Diſcourſe. Thou ſhalt therefore ſee the Eloquence of a drunken man enfolded, extrauagant, and full of liberty. Behold *Mecænas* in his manner of ſpeech. *Quid turpius amne ſiluiſq; ripa comantibus? Vide vt alueum lintribus arent, verſoq; vado remittant hortos. Quid ſi quis fæminæ cirro criſpatæ & labris columbatur? Incipitq; ſuſpirans vt ceruice laxa feriatur. Nemo tyranni irremediabilis factio rimantur, epulis lagænaq; tentant domos & ſæpe mortem exigunt. Genium feſto vix ſuo teſtem tenuis cerei fila & crepacem molam. Iocum mater & vxor inueſtiunt.* Wilt thou not ſuddenly remember, as ſoone as thou readeſt this, that this is the ſpeech of ſuch a man, who alwayes trauerſed *Rome* ſtreetes in his looſe Gowne. For euen then when in *Cæſars* abſence he executed his office, he deliuered the watch-word in this habite. Thinke that it is the ſame man, that in the Pallace, in the Tribunall during the time of Orations, in all Aſſemblies of the people alwayes preſented himſelfe, hauing his face muffled in his cloke, without diſcouering any thing but his eares, as they are accuſtomed to do who flye and will not be knowne, according as they are repreſented in Comedies. Hee it is that in the greateſt height of Ciuill Warres, at ſuch time as *Rome* was in Armes and in feare, marched thorow the ſtreets, attended by two Eunuches, yet more men then himſelfe. Hee it is that had but one Wife, and notwithſtanding hath beene marryed a thouſand times. Theſe wordes aboue written, ſo badly builded, ſo negligently diſpoſed, ſo repugnant to the manner of all mens Writings, ſhew that his manners were no leſſe new, then particular and depraued. He hath bene highly priſed for the ſweetneſſe of his Nature, in that hee neuer bare Armes, or euer tooke pleaſure in ſhedding of bloud; or did any thing, except that which the libertie of the time, or his credit might permit him. But all this good re-

putation of his hath beene ſoyled by the affectations of this his monſtrous manner of Language: for in this it manifeſtly appeareth that he was rather a Milke-ſop then mercifull. Theſe obſcurities in his compoſition, theſe ouerthwart words, theſe conceits, oftentimes loftie, but without pith, diſcouer vnto him that will obſerue the ſame, that too much felicity had troubled his head, a vice which is ſometimes found in the man, ſometimes in the time. When as repoſe and felicitie produceth and ſoweth diſſolution on euery ſide: Firſt of all, a man beginneth more carefully to dreſſe and adorne his bodie. Afterwards his ſtudie is to haue rich moueables, conſequently hee bethinketh himſelfe of ſtately Buildings, to make them more large, to enrich the wals with Marbles fetched from beyond Seas, to embelliſh the Roofes with Gold, that the beautie of the pauement bee anſwerable to the richneſſe of many beames. Then transferreth he his daintineſſe to the magnificence of his Table, and there ſearcheth hee glorie in noueltie, and changing the accuſtomed faſhions amongſt our Predeceſſours, ſo that thoſe things which were woont to bee ſerued in laſt at Supper, are brought in firſt, and thoſe things that were preſented to thoſe that entred to the Feaſt, are giuen to thoſe that depart from it. After that mans minde was accuſtomed to loath that which was in vſe, and things that are ordinary were accounted contemptible: he goes and ſeekes out a new Language, reuiuing and renuing vnuſuall and forgotten words, then forgeth hee new, and regrateth the vnknowne: that which is but newly found out is reputed elegant, and figuratiue Tranſlations are audacious and frequent. Some thinke to credit themſelues by ſpeaking to the halfes, and abbreuiating their ſpeech in ſuch ſort, as he that heareth knoweth not what to thinke. Other there are that dilate and draw them out. Some there are that detayne themſelues and keepe ſilence, contenting themſelues to loue this diſorder (a cuſtome requiſite and neceſſary in him who pretendeth any great matter) but ſuch men loue the vice. Whereſoeuer therefore thou ſeeſt that men take delight in an obſcure and corrupt ſpeech, hold thy ſelfe aſſured that their manners are depraued. Euen as exceſſiue Banquets and ſuperfluous Rayments are witneſſes that the Common-weale is ſicke, ſo this libertie in coyning new tearmes and words (if ſo be the cuſtome be continued) ſheweth that the ſpirits of thoſe that ſpeake thus, are entangled and loſt. Wonder thou not in any ſort, that this corruption is as pleaſing to the mightieſt, as to the meaner ſort; for the greateſt and the pooreſt differ not in iudgements, but in their pompe and eſtate. Rather wonder thou that men prayſe the effects of vices, and the vices themſelues. For this hath beene alwayes done: there was no pleaſing wit that had not his pardon. Giue mee whatſoeuer man thou wilt of greateſt name, and I will tell thee wherein the age wherein he liued pardoned him, and what they willingly diſſembled in him. I will reckon thee vp many, whoſe vices harmed them not, and ſome, whoſe errours profited them. I will, I ſay, let thee ſee ſome of great renowne, and reputed moſt excellent men, whom if a man will cenſure, he confoundeth them. For ſo are their vertues intermixed with their vices, that the one doe neceſſarily draw the other after them. Adde hereunto that Language hath no certayne rule. The publike cuſtome which changeth it inceſſantly, altereth it from yeare to yeare. Some men borrow words from another Age. They vſe the ſtyle of the Laws written in the twelue Tables. *Gracchus*, *Craſſus*, and *Curio* are ouer new for them, they returne as farre as *Appius* and *Coruncanus*. Some other contrariwiſe, that will haue nothing which is not vulgar and triuiall, ſpeake verie barely.

Both

Both of them are corrupted in a diuers manner ſo much certaynly, as if they would vſe pompous wel-ſounding and poeticall words, and flye thoſe that are neceſſary and in vſe: I will ſay that as well the one as the other doth amiſſe. The one eſteeme themſelues more then is neceſſary, the other miſpriſe themſelues ouer-much, the one pull the haire from their legs, the other mayntayne it in their arme-pits. Let vs paſſe ouer to compoſition, how many defaults may I diſcouer to thee? The one allow of a crabbed and harſh diſcourſe, the other of ſet purpoſe diſturbe a ſmooth and pleaſing ſtyle: no period is pleaſing to them, if it be not harſh and rough: they repute that manly and ſtrong which affecteth the eare with inequalitie. The other in ſtead of ſpeaking, ſeeme to ſing, ſo flattering and fluent is the ſtructure of their words. What will you ſay of that where the words are deferred, and after wee haue attended them long time, hardly returne they vnto their clauſes? What ſhall I ſay of that which in the iſſue is moderate (as is that of *Ciceroes*) and falling and ending afterwards ſweetly, and anſwerable to the faſhion, and hath his ending anſwerable to the manner and foot? There is not onely an errour in the kinde of Sentences, if eyther they are too weake and childiſh, and more proude and bold then modeſty will permit, but they are too flouriſhing & ſweet; if they be deliuered in vaine and without any effect, they doe no more but ſound. Theſe vices ſome one man bringeth in, whoſe Eloquence in that time is applauded, the reſt doe imitate him, and the one deliuereth it to the other. So when *Saluſt* was in requeſt, the Sentences were curtalled, and words had their vnexpected cadence, and obſcure breuitie with the reſt was reputed Elegancie. *Aruncius* a man of rare frugalitie, who wrote the Hiſtory of the *Carthaginian* Warres, was a *Saluſtian*, and an excellent man in that kind. There is in SALVST, *Exercitum argento fecit*: that is to ſay, he made an Armie with ſiluer; that is, he aſſembled an Armie with money. This did *Aruncius*, he planted it in euery page: he ſaith in a certaine place, *Fugam noſtri fecere*, that is to ſay, our men made a flight: and in another place, *Hiero* King of *Syracuſa*, *bellum fecit*, maketh warre: and likewiſe in another place, *Quæ audita Panormitanos dedere Romanis fecere*, that is to ſay, which things being heard, they made that the Inhabitants of *Panormus* rendred themſelues to the *Romanes*. I thought good to giue thee a little taſte. All this whole Booke is compoſed of words. Thoſe words that were rare in *Saluſt* are vſuall in him, and almoſt continued: and not without cauſe; for the one lighted on them by chance, the other ſought for them. But thou ſeeſt what followeth him that taketh an errour for an Example: *Saluſt* ſaid, *Aquis hiemantibus*, whilſt the waters wintered. *Aruncius* in his firſt Booke of the *Carthaginian* Warre, ſaith, *Repentè hiemauit tempeſtas*, that is to ſay, the tempeſt ſuddenly wintered. And in another place, when hee would ſay that the yeare was colde, he ſaith, *Totus hiemauit annus*, that is, the whole yeare wintered. And in another place, *Inde ſexaginta oneratias leues præter militem, & neceſſarios nautarum hiemante Aquilone miſit*, that is, whilſt the *Aquilon* wintered, he ſent from that place ſixty ſhips of ſmall burthen, beſides the Souldiers and neceſſary Mariners. He neuer giueth ouer in all places to foiſt in this word. In a certaine place *Saluſt* ſaith, *Inter arma ciuilia æqui boni famas petit*, that is, amidſt ciuill Armes he ſought the renowne of a man good and iuſt. *Aruncius* tempered not himſelfe, but preſently in his firſt Booke hee inſerted this, *Ingentes eſſe famas de* REGVLO, that is, that the renownes of *Regulus* were great. This therefore and ſuch like vices, which imitation hath impreſſed into any other, are tokens of diſſolution, or a corrupt minde. For they

muſt be proper and conceiued by the vnderſtanding, by which thou oughteſt to eſtimate any mans effects. The ſpeech of a cholericke man is haſtie, and violent of a man that is mooued to much ſtirring, of a delicate and ciuill man ſmooth and pleaſant; which thou ſeeſt thoſe men follow that eyther pull and trimme their beards, that cauſe their Muſtachios to bee cut ſhort, that ſhaue their vpper lips very neere, and ſuffer the reſt to be as long as is poſſible, that weare their Clokes of an euill colour, and Gownes of pure ſtuffe, who will doe nothing but that which is ſeene publikely, although they offend and diſpleaſe the whole World. But they care not to be reprooued, prouided, that they be beheld. Such is *Mecænas* diſcourſe and all others elſe, which erre not caſually but willingly. This errour proceedeth from an euill conſcience. Euen as in drunkenneſſe the tongue falſereth not, except reaſon bee obſcured or betrayed: ſo this manner of ſpeech (which is a meere drunkenneſſe of the ſpirit) is tedious to no man, except the vnderſtanding of him that ſpeaketh be ſhaken. Therefore wee ought to heale the ſame, for from it the diſcourſe, the words, the countenance, the regard, the marching is deriued. If it bee whole and ſtrong, the Language is robuſt, ſtrong and manly: contrariwiſe, if it be deiected, all the reſt grow to wracke:

The King in health then all mens minds are one,
The King once loſt then all mens faith is gone.

Our minde is our King; if it be ſafe, the reſt continue in their dutie, they obey and are gouerned, if he be neuer ſo little ſhaken, they droope with him. But when he giueth place to pleaſure, his Arts and his actions alſo doe decay, & all his forces are feeble and fraile. Becauſe I haue vſed this ſimilitude I will perſeuer. Our minde is now a King, now a Tyrant: a King when he beholdeth and aymeth at honeſtie, maintayneth the health of the bodie committed to his charge, and commandeth no filthy or ſordid thing: but when he is cholerick, couetous and delicate, he aſſumeth a deteſtable and direfull name, and is called Tyrant. Then doe impotent affections lay hold of him, and ſollicite him inceſſantly, and in the beginning thoſe that moſt preſſe him ſeeme to yeeld him pleaſure; ſuch as the people is accuſtomed to reioyce at when a Tyrant maketh them any larges to intrap them: but this abundance is vaine vnto the vnderſtanding, which manageth that which he cannot diſ-ieſt, when the ſicknes hath conſumed his vigour more and more, and delights haue ſtolne into his nerues and marrow, the vnderſtanding being ioyful to behold theſe things (the vſe whereof is vnprofitable to him, becauſe hee hath ouer-earneſtly deſired them) for the ſatisfaction of his delights, he enioyeth the ſight of this or that, he is witneſſe and vnder ſeruant of other mens luſts, being depriued of all delights of the ſame, becauſe he is ouer-plunged therein: in briefe, the abundance of worldly pleaſures inſtead of conceiting him conſumeth him, when he ſees himſelfe depriued of the meanes to let downe by his throate into his belly all the pleaſant morſels he beholdeth, and to tumble himſelfe baſely amidſt the troop of Bawds and Harlots, he wonderfully grieueth becauſe hee is falne from the greateſt part of his felictie, hauing ſo ſtraight receipt in a bodie ſo little. Is not this a true furie, my *Lucilius*, that none of vs thinketh that he is mortall? That wee are inſenſible euery way, of our infirmitie? yea, that each one ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be more then one. Behold our Kitchins, and our Cookes trauerſing from on fire to another; wouldeſt thou thinke that for the refection of one only

onely belly ſo much ſtirre ſhould be made? Behold our Caues and Cellers repleniſhed with the vintages of many ages; thinkeſt thou that it is for one belly that the wines of ſo many Conſuls and Countries are ſtored vp? Behold in how many places the earth is turned vp, how many thouſands of Huſbandmen plough and digge the ſame; thinkeſt thou that it may ſeeme to be for one belly that Sicily and Africa are ſowed. We ſhall be healthfull and deſire little, if euery one of vs numbreth himſelfe, and meaſureth his bodie likewiſe, and know that it neither can receiue much, nor containe it long; yet is there nothing that will teach thee better to keepe a meaſure in all things, then an ordinarie meditation of the ſhortneſſe and vncertainty of this life, whenſoeuer thou doeſt looke backe vnto death.

Epist. CXV.

He argueth againſt thoſe that are too curious in their diſcourſe and Style, and ſaith it is a token of a weake minde; alledging that we ought to ſpeake and write confidently without affectation of ornament, and rather expreſſe our minde. O what a one is he when vertues haue adorned him? He will draw all men into admiration of him, if he might be ſeene. But this externall beautie is eyther falſe or nothing worth: as likewiſe Gold and Money are, which we ſo much admire. Theſe make not men happie or ſecure, nay, rather miſerable and to be pittied.

I Will not haue thee too curious, either in thy words or compoſition, my *Lucilius*, I haue greater matters for thee to care for, and thinke vpon. Seeke what thou ſhouldeſt write, and not how; and in ſtead of buſying thy ſelfe about words, cauſe thy ſelfe to haue a feeling of the ſubſtance thereof in thy heart, to the end thou mayeſt apply the ſame more and more, and as it were ſeale it in thy ſelfe. Whomſoeuer thou ſeeſt that vſeth an affected and laboured kinde of ſpeech, thinke that he hath his ſpirit occupied about vaine things. A vertuous man ſpeaketh more remiſſely, but more ſecurely: whatſoeuer he ſaith, hath more confidence in it then curioſitie. Thou knoweſt diuers yong men well barbed and frizeled, who ſeeme as if they came newly out of a boxe; expect thou nothing eyther firme or generous from ſuch kinde of men. The ſpeech is the Image of the mind: if a man mince it, diſguiſe and poliſh it ouer curiouſly, it is a ſigne that he which ſpeaketh it, is an hypocrite, and little worth. It is no manly ornament to ſpeake affectedly. If it were lawful for vs to prie into the ſoule of a good man, O the faire, O the holy, O the magnificent, gracious, and ſhining face which we ſhould behold! their iuſtice, their fortitude, their temperance, their prudence giue luſtre on euery ſide. Furthermore, frugality, continence, patience, liberty and curteſie, & that rare, and as it were incredible ornament in a man, that is to ſay, humanity, would reflect their light vpon them. Furthermore, how much grace, grauity, authority, diſcretion and magnanimitie (which is the higheſt of all other vertues) would annex themſelues vnto the reſt? No man would count him amiable that would not terme him venerable, if any one had ſeene this face more heauenly and reſplendent then mortall eies are accuſtomed to behold, would he not ſtep back, being ſtroken with aſtoniſhment, as if he had met with ſome God? Would he not pray in his heart that he might con-

contemplate the ſame? Then approching more neere, allured by the ſweetenesse of her eyes, would he not humbly kneele downe before her. And hauing aduiſedly conſidered it, how farre more excellent it were and incomparable aboue ours, with a gracious regard, yet ſparkling and filled with liuing light, wholly rauiſhed with zeale and amaze, would he not crie out with *Virgil*,

O by what Style, faire Virgin, ſhall I ſtriue
To ſet thee forth? for thine vnequal'd eyes
Are more then mortall, and thy words reuiue
Farre more then humane eloquence implies.
Liue happy, and vouchſafe vs of thy grace,
And end thoſe toyles which haue our life in chaſe.

She will aſſiſt and comfort vs, if we will honour her; but ſhe is not honoured or ſerued by the offerings of fat ſlaughtered and ſacrificed Bulls, nor by Gold, or ſiluer hung vp in the Temple, or by preſents caſt into her treaſury; but by a right and holy affection. There is not any man, as I haue ſaid, that would not be inflamed with her loue, if he could attaine to ſee her. For now there are many things that hinder and dim our eies, and dull them by their brightneſſe, or detaine them in obſcuritie. But euen as certaine medicines doe clenſe and ſharpen the ſight; ſo likewiſe if we will take away thoſe impediments that darken the eyes of our ſoules, we may behold vertue, although couered with a bodie, although pouertie, baſe condition, and infamie be as many couerts to conceale her from vs; although this beautie be clouded by an obſcure thing, yet ſhall we eſpie it. Contrariwiſe, we ſhall diſcouer from a farre the malice and ſtupiditie of a miſerable ſoule, although that riches doe abundantly ſhine and muſter about her, and that in regarding her we haue our eyes dazeled with the falſe light of power and honors. Then may we learne that this which we admire is contemptible in all ſorts, and that we reſemble little children that thinke euery trifle of great value; for they preferre their little bracelets, ſcarce worth a peny, before their fathers, mothers, or brothers. What difference then is there betwixt vs and them, ſaith *Ariſton*, but that we are madding after pictures and ſtatues more coſtly fooliſh? They are delighted with little partie coloured ſtones, that haue ſome varietie in them, which are found vpon the Sea ſhore, and we with pillars of Iaſpe and Porphyrie, brought from the ſands of Ægypt, or the deſerts of Africa, to ſuſtaine ſome porch or ſome dyning chamber to feaſt the Commons in. We wonder at the walls that are couered with thinne Marble, and yet we know what that is which is hidden, and wee couſen our owne eyes. And when we guild all the roofes of our houſes, what other thing reioyce we in but in counterfeit? for we know that worme-eaten wood lyeth den vnder that gold. Neither is it onely on our walls and houſe-beames that we beſtow this light ornament, but remember thy ſelfe alſo that the felicitie of all theſe great men whom thou ſeeſt march ſo proudly, is but a felicitie guilded on the out-ſide, and a ſimple leafe. Obſerue and thou ſhalt ſee, that vnder this thinne skinne of humane greatneſſe, there is abundance of miſerie and filthineſſe. Thoſe riches which at this day raiſe men to the greateſt magiſtracie and place of iuſtice, haue bewitched the hearts and ſenſes of the ſame men; and ſince money hath growne in requeſt, the true honour of things is made no reckoning of: and being become buyers and ſellers both at once, we aske no more what this is, but of what worth this is? In this traffique we are ſome-

times good, and ſometimes euill. As long as there is any hope of profit about vertue, we follow her: if vice promiſe vs better aduantage, we runne after it, and are for thoſe will giue vs moſt. Our fathers and mothers haue made vs admire gold and ſiluer; this couetouſneſſe being ſowed in our tender ſoules, hath taken deepe roote, and is growne with vs. Againe, all men that in all other things are of different opinions, accord in this poynt of auarice, euerie one embraceth the ſame, deſireth that he may haue a part, and pretending to ſhew himſelfe gratefull to the gods, he preſenteth them with Siluer and Gold, as the moſt excellent thing in the world. Finally, mans life is brought to that paſſe, that pouertie is held for a hatefull thing, and full of contempt, neglected by the rich, hatefull to the poore. Then haue the Poets annexed their inuentions, which are as it were matches to kindle our affections in prayſing Riches as the onely honour and ornament of this life, and that the immortal gods ſeeme to haue nothing better, neither can giue any thing more exquiſite. One of them ſpeaking of the Pallace of the Sunne, ſaith

The Pallace of the Sunne, moſt ſeemely to behold,
Was rais'd on pillars of the pureſt Gold.

Behold how he deſcribes his Chariot.

The axeltre, the beame, the outward bends,
That arme the wheele, were all of burniſht gold,
The ſpoakes of ſiluer.

To conclude, they call that the golden age, which they would haue reputed for the beſt. Amongſt the Tragique Poets, there are ſome that preferre profit before innocence, health, and good opinion.

Let me haue wealth and riches to be giuing,
Account thou me the wretchedſt miſer liuing;
All men enquire, if he be rich or no,
But no man learnes what goodneſſe he doth owe.
They aske not why, or whence, but what thou haſt,
And onely that; ſo each man is reputed
As he is landed, monied, and ſuted.
As'ſt thou me what; is loathſome to poſſeſſe?
Nothing; for getting doth diſgrace redreſſe.
I either wiſh to liue in rich eſtate,
Or die in pouertie, contempt, and hate:
Full well dies he, that dying getteth gaine,
Money the greateſt good of humane ſtraine:
The mothers comfort, and the Infants pleaſure,
The ſacred Parents are but toyes to pleaſures.
In VENVS *face nothing ſo ſweetly ſhines*
As money doth, nothing her power confines;
The gods themſelues are by her preſents mou'd,
And mortall men her ſight haue euer lou'd.

When theſe laſt verſes of *Euripides* Tragedie were pronounced, all the people aroſe

aroſe with great tumult,to fling out both the Actor and the Author, till *Euripides* himſelfe ſtepped forth into the midſt of them, beſeeching them to haue patience, and they ſhould ſee what end he had that ſo much admired gold. In this Tragedie *Bellerophon* receiued the chaſtiſement,which euery one receiueth in himſelfe. For no auarice is without puniſhment, although ſhee her ſelfe bee puniſhment enough of her ſelfe. O how many teares and toyles exacteth ſhe at their hands that ſerue her, how miſerable ſhe is both to thoſe that gape after her, and to thoſe that haue got her! Adde hereunto the continuall cares which torment euery man, according to the meaſure of that he hath: money is poſſeſt with greater torment then ſought. What bitter ſighes are vented from the hearts of couetous men,if they haue any loſſes, which ſometimes are great, and ſeeme alſo to be greater. Finally, although Fortune take nothing from them,yet all that which eſcapeth their fingers,is as much as loſt vnto them.But men ſay, ſuch a one is happie and rich,and deſire to haue as much goods as he. I confeſſe it. What then? Thinkeſt thou that any are in worſe caſe then thoſe which haue both miſerie and enuie? I could wiſh that they who deſire riches, ſhould conſult and take counſell of rich men. I could wiſh that they who affect honors, ſhould confer with ambitious men, and ſuch as haue gotten the height of dignitie, they would vndoubtedly change their vowes, which they do alſo, making new wiſhes, and conſequently condemning their former wiſhes. For there is no one man that contenteth himſelfe with his felicitie, although ſhee poſted forward to finde him. They complaine themſelues of their deſignes and ſucceſſe, and had rather haue that which they left behinde. But Philoſophie will giue thee content, which is the moſt great good thou canſt imagine, thou ſhalt neuer repent thy ſelfe. To this ſo ſolide felicitie which no tempeſt may ſhake, neither apt and choſen words, neyther a ſweete and flowing Style will bring thee. Let words paſſe as they may,prouided that thy ſoule be in his entire ſtate,that it be great, and deliuered from errors, pleaſing vnto it ſelfe,by reaſon of thoſe things that are diſpleaſing vnto others: who eſtimateth his proficiencie by his life, and iudgeth that he knoweth ſo much, as he neither deſireth nor feareth.

Epist. CXVI.

Againſt the Peripatetickes, that affections are to be cut off, not tempered, neither that they are induced by Nature. That the aduerſe opinion proceedeth from effeminateneſſe.

IT hath oftentimes beene demanded, whether it be better to haue moderate affections, or none at all. The Stoicks expell them, which are tempered and moderated by Peripateticks. For mine owne part I ſee now how a ſickneſſe may be moderate, healthful or profitable. Feare thou not, for I will haue none of thoſe things taken from thee,which thou wilt not haue denied thy ſelfe. I will make my ſelfe facile and indulgent to thoſe things which thou pretendeſt, and that either thou eſteemeſt neceſſarie,profitable,or pleaſing to thy ſelfe. I will only take from thee the vice. For when I forbid thee to deſire, I permit thee to will, to the end that reſolutely and aduiſedly thou mayeſt doe what thou pleaſeſt,and that thou mayſt taſte the ſweetneſſe thereof the more. Why not?

For

For they will come the more vnto thee, if thou command them, then if thou ſerue them. But thou wilt ſay, that it is naturall for a man to lament the death of his friend, that we ought to giue time to a ſorrow ſo iuſt: that it is naturall to be touched with the opinions of men, and to be ſorry in aduerſities: that it is not reaſonable to extinguiſh the honeſt apprehenſion of a danger. I anſwere, that there is no vice which findeth not an Aduocate, and whoſe beginning is not fitting and excuſable, but that it is which giueth him the meanes to extend it ſelfe euerie waies. If thou ſuffer it to begin, thou ſhalt neuer be able to make it end. In the beginning each affection is feeble, but afterwards ſhe inciteth her ſelfe, and getteth forces in hir progreſſe; ſhe is more eaſily excluded then expelled. Who denieth, but that affections flow, as it were, from a certaine naturall beginning? Nature hath committed the care of our ſelues to our ſelues, but when thou art too indulgent thereof, it is a vice. Nature hath intermixed pleaſure with neceſſarie things, not that we ſhould affect the ſame, but that the acceſſe thereof, ſhould make thoſe things more pleaſing to vs, without which we cannot liue; if of it ſelfe it come not, it is diſſoluteneſſe. Let vs therefore make head againſt affections which enter: becauſe, as I ſaid, they are not intertained ſo eaſily as they depart. Permit me in ſuch a meaſure to be ſorrowful, in ſuch a meaſure to feare: but that meaſure becommeth without meane, and endeth not there where thou wilt. It is ſafetie for a wiſe man not to keepe himſelfe ouer carefull, and let him when he liſteth arreſt his teares and his pleaſures. And becauſe it is not eaſie for vs to retire, it is the better that we ſet not forward at all. Me thinkes that *Panætius* anſwered very fitly to a young man that asked him, *Whether a wiſe man might loue*. *As touching the wiſe man* (ſaith hee) *we will thinke vpon it, but in regard of thy ſelfe and me, we are yet farre diſtant from the perfection of a wiſe man. Let vs keepe our ſelues carefully, leſt we become ſlaues of a thing turbulent, impotent, vnder the power of another, contemptible to it ſelfe*. For if ſhe eye vs, her humanitie incites vs; and if ſhe deſpiſe, wee burne in deſpite. The loue that is gracious, is as hurtfull as that which is rigorous: by the ones facilitie we are entangled, and with the rigor we ſtriue. Since then we know our owne weakeneſſe, let vs be quiet; neither let vs truſt our infirme minds to Wine, to Beautie, or Flatterie, nor to any other attractiue and flattering things. That which *Panætius* anſwered of loue to this young man, that ſay I of all other affections: Let vs reclaime our ſelues, as much as in vs lieth, from ſlipperie places, and let vs ſecurely ſtand aſſured in the drie. Thou wilt propoſe vnto me in this place, that reproach which all the world vrgeth againſt the Stoicks: You promiſe ouer great matters, you command that which is as it were impoſſible. We are poore and infirme men, who cannot in this ſort cut off all things, we will weepe but a little. We will couet but temperately, if we enter into choler, it ſhall be pacified. Wilt thou know why we cannot command our affections? It is in this reſpect, becauſe we beleeue that it is impoſſible for vs. Yea, but vndoubtedly there is another matter in it; we defend our vices becauſe we loue them, and we had rather excuſe them, then diſcuſſe them. Nature hath giuen vs force enough, if we will make vſe thereof, if we will gather our forces, and employ them wholly for our ſelues, and not againſt our ſelues. We pretend that we cannot, but the cauſe is that wee will not.

Epist. CXVII.

A queſtion, whether ſince wiſdome is good, it be good to be wiſe. The Stoicks commonly deny the ſame: Some affirme; and he is more inclined to their opinion. In concluſion, he impugneth theſe vnneceſſarie matters, and ſeriouſly exhorteth vs to reforme our manners.

THou wilt trouble me much, and thy ſelfe likewiſe, and ere thou art aware thruſt me into great ſtriſe and trouble, who propoſeſt me ſuch ſhort queſtions, in which, without offence, I dare not differ from the Stoicks, neyther can I conſent with a ſafe conſcience. Thou enquireſt of me, whether it be true which the Stoickes maintaine, that wiſedome is good, but to be wiſe is not. Firſt of all will I expound what the Stoicks thinke, then dare I boldly diſcouer my opinion. It is the opinion of our ſect, that that which is good is a bodie, becauſe that which is good acteth. But each thing that hath action is a bodie. That which is good profiteth, but he muſt doe ſomewhat, to the end he may profit; and if it doth, it is a bodie. They ſay that wiſedome is good, it followeth then of neceſſitie that it is corporall. But they thinke that to be wiſe is not of the ſame condition. It is a thing incorporal, and accidentall vnto wiſedome, and therefore it cannot produce any action, neyther profite any wayes. But ſay we not it is good to be wiſe? We ſay ſo in relation to that whereon it dependeth, that is to ſay, to wiſedome it ſelfe. Before I begin to retire my ſelfe, and to vnite my ſelfe with the contrary parties, heare that which ſome Stoicks anſwer vnto the reſt. After this manner ſay they, it is no good thing to liue happily: will they, nill they, they muſt anſwer that a bleſſed life is good, and that to liue bleſſedly is a good thing. Moreouer it is oppoſed againſt thoſe of our ſect, Will you bee wiſe? Therefore it is a thing to be deſired to be wiſe: it it be a thing to be deſired it is good. The Stoicks are conſtrained to wreſt words, and to require the interpoſition of one ſyllable, which our ſpeech permitteth not to be inſerted; I will, if thou wilt ſuffer me, annex the ſame: That, ſay they, is to be deſired which is good to be deſired, which is contingent vnto good, which good when we haue attained it, is not required as good, but is an acceſſion to the good that is required. I am not of this opinion, and I iudge that the Stoickes agree with me herein, becauſe the firſt poynt bridleth them, and they cannot lawfully change the manner of ſpeech: we are wont to attribute much to the common and vniuerſall opinion of men. Amongſt vs it is a teſtimony of truth, if it be alledged that all men beleeue that which is in queſtion. As for proofe that there are gods, we alledge that the beleefe that there are gods is ingraffed and planted in all mens mindes; neyther is there any Nation, how brutiſh ſoeuer, that beleeueth not that there are gods? When we diſpute of the eternitie of ſoules, the conſent of men eyther fearing Hell, or reuerencing the ſame, hath no ſmall moment and authoritie. I vſe this publique perſwaſion, thou ſhalt finde no man who thinketh not that both wiſedome and to be wiſe is good. I will not doe as they are accuſtomed that are ouercome, who ſeeing themſelues in danger to loſe their liues, appeale vnto the people; we will begin to fight with our owne weapons: whether is that which happeneth vnto any man without or within him to whom it happeneth? If it be in him to whom it happeneth, it is as well a bodie as that to which it happeneth: for nothing

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can happen without touch, and that which toucheth is a bodie. If it bee without, after it hath happened it departeth: that which retireth his ſelfe hath motion, and whatſoeuer hath motion is a bodie. Thou hopeſt that I will ſay, that the courſe is not one thing, and running another; neyther heate one thing, and to be hote another; neither light one thing, and to ſhine another. I grant that there is a diuerſitie in theſe things, but I ſay that the one are not of a different condition from the other. If health bee a thing indifferent, to be in health is a thing indifferent: likewiſe, if beauty be indifferent, to be beautifull is indifferent: if iuſtice be good, to bee iuſt is good: if villany bee euil, to be a villaine is euill. As much aſſuredly as if lippitude be euill, to haue purblinde eyes is euill. That thou mayeſt know this, can the one bee without the other? To be wiſe is wiſedome, and it is wiſedome to be wiſe. So farre is it from breeding doubt that the one reſembleth the other, that ſome men ſuppoſe that they are one and the ſame thing. But I would willingly aske this queſtion; Since all things are either good, or euill, or indifferent, in what ranke To be wiſe, ſhall be placed? They denie that it is good, and euill it is not; it followeth then that it is indifferent: but that repute wee to bee meane and indifferent that may as well befall an euill as a good man, as money, beauty, and abilitie. But to bee wiſe cannot befall any but a wiſe-man, and therefore it is not indifferent. An euill it is not that cannot betide an euill man, and therefore it is good: it is, ſaith he, the accident of wiſedome. This therefore which thou termeſt To be wiſe, whether maketh it wiſedome or ſuffereth it? Whether it doth make it or ſuffer it, in both kindes it is a body; for both that which is made and that which maketh is a bodie: if it be a body it is good. For this one thing was deficient in it, and detained it from being good, which was, becauſe it had no body. The Peripatetiques holde that there is no difference betwixt wiſedome and to be wiſe, when as the one is comprehended in the other. For thinkeſt thou that any man is wiſe except hee that hath wiſedome? And thinkeſt thou that wiſedome acompanieth him that is wiſe? The ancient Logicians diſtinguiſhed theſe things, & from them this diuiſion came vnto the Stoicks. What this is I will tell thee: The field is one thing, and to haue poſſeſſion of the ſame, another. Why not, when as to haue the poſſeſſion of the field appertaineth to him that hath the field, and not vnto the field? So wiſedome is one thing, and to be wiſe another. I thinke thou wilt grant mee this, that theſe are two; that which is had, and hee that hath the ſame: wiſedome is had, he that is wiſe hath it. Wiſedome is a perfect minde, or that which attaineth the fulneſſe of perfection; for ſhee is the act of life. What is to be wiſe? I cannot ſay a perfect minde, but that which befalleth him that hath a perfect minde. So the one is a good minde, the other as it were to haue a good minde. There are, ſaith he, diuers natures of the body: as for example; this is a man; that a horſe: theſe natures likewiſe are followed by the motions of the mind, which make ſhew of the body. Theſe motions haue ſome thing proper and conſidered apart from the bodies, as I ſee *Cato* walking; this doth the ſenſe ſhew, the minde beleeue. It is a body that I ſee, on which I haue fixed both mine eye and my minde. I ſay afterwards *Cato* walketh, I ſpeake not now of his bodie, but of ſomething denounced of the body, that is to ſay, of his motion, which ſome call pronounced, ſome ſignified, otherſome denounced. So when we ſay wiſedome, we vnderſtand ſome thing that is bodileſſe: when wee ſay hee is wiſe, wee ſpeake of the body. But there is a great difference whether thou ſpeakeſt this, or of that: for the preſent, let vs put the caſe that

wiſedome and to bee wiſe are two things; for as yet I publiſh not my opinion: what hindereth both the one and the other to bee good? Thou ſaidſt a little before that the field was one thing, and to poſſeſſe the field was another. Why not? for hee that poſſeſſeth the ſame is in one nature, and that which is poſſeſſed is another, the one is a man, the other is a fielde. But in this whereof we now make queſtion, wiſedome and to bee wiſe are things of the ſame nature. Furthermore, the field that is poſſeſſed is one thing, and the man that poſſeſſeth the ſame another; but wiſedome and to bee wiſe are found in one and the ſame man. The poſſeſſion of the field comes by right, that of wiſedome comes by nature. A man may aliene the field, and giue it vnto another man; wiſedome neuer departeth from him that poſſeſſeth the ſame: wee muſt not therefore compare things that are vnlike. I began to ſay that both theſe may be two, and yet both of them good. Wiſedome and a wiſe-man are two, and by thy confeſſion both of them are good. But euen as nothing hindereth but that wiſedome is a good thing, and he that hath wiſedome is good, ſo nothing hindereth but that wiſedome is good, and to haue wiſedome, this is to be wiſe and good. I will bee a wiſe-man to this end that I may bee wiſe. What therefore? Is not that good without the which the other is not good? Vndoubtedly, you ſay that wiſedome if it be without vſe is to be eſteemed as nothing. And what is the vſe of wiſedome? To bee wiſe. This is that which is moſt precious in her, which being taken from her ſhee is but meere illuſion: if torments be euill, it is euill to be tortured, yea, in ſuch ſort that if a man were neuer tormented, he ſhould neuer conſequently haue any torments. Wiſdome is an habitude of a perfect vnderſtanding; to be wiſe, the vſe of a perfect mind: how can the vſe thereof be good, which without vſe is not good? I aske thee whether wiſedome is to be deſired? Thou confeſſeſt it. I aske thee whether the vſe of wiſedome is to be deſired? Thou confeſſeſt it, proteſting likewiſe not to receiue the ſame if a man will barre thee of the vſe thereof: that which is to be deſired is good; to be wiſe is the vſe of wiſedome, as the vſe of eloquence is to ſpeake, the vſe of the eye to ſee; but the vſe of wiſedome is to be deſired, *Ergo*, to be wiſe is a thing to be deſired, and if it be to be deſired it is good. I condemne my ſelfe for times paſt, for following thoſe whom I accuſe, and for implying arguments in a thing that is manifeſt. For who can doubt but that extreame heate is euill, and to be extreamely hot is euill; and that if colde bee euill, it is an euill thing to be colde? If life be good, that to liue is good? All theſe things that are about wiſedome are not in the ſame, but we are to ſtay our ſelues vpon her, and if we will diſcourſe ſhe hath ample and ſpacious retreats to conuerſe in. Let vs inquire of the nature of the gods, of the nouriſhments and diuers motions of the Planets, whether our bodies bee diſpoſed according to their reuolutions, or whether their influences haue an hand in all mens bodies and mindes: whether thoſe things which are called caſuall are tied together in a certaine order, and if nothing bee done in this world without ſome ſpeciall prouidence. But theſe things haue no relation to the preſent reformation of manners, yet mount they the minde, and raiſe the ſame to the greatneſſe of thoſe things they intreate of. But thoſe diſputes whereof I ſpoke a little before, doe diminiſh and depreſſe the ſame, neyther as thou thinkeſt doe they whet, but dull the ſame. But why, I beſeech you, imploy wee ſo neceſſary a care reſerued for greater and better things, in a thing if not meerely falſe, yet truely vnprofitable? What ſhall it profit mee whether wiſedome bee one thing, and to bee wiſe bee another? What ſhall it auaile mee to know

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whether this be good, or that bee badde? At all aduentures ſee what I deſire; I wiſh thee wiſedome, and my ſelfe that I may be wiſe; ſo ſhall wee bee both equall. Rather doe this, that thou mayeſt ſhew mee the way how I may attaine vnto theſe. Tell mee what I muſt eſchue, and what I ſhould deſire, by what ſtudies I may confirme my infirme minde; how I may driue farre from mee thoſe vices that carrie and tranſport mee from the right; how I may ſurmount ſo many euils; how I may remoue theſe calamities that haue broken in vpon mee, and how I may thwart thoſe, in which I haue engaged my ſelfe. Teach mee how I may endure afflictions without grieuing, felicitie without other mens enuie or diſtaſte, how I may not expect the laſt and neceſſarie tearme of life, but of my ſelfe when I ſhall ſo thinke good, ſpeedily ſeeke it out and flie vnto it. Nothing in my iudgement is more abſurd and diſhoneſt then to wiſh for death. For if thou wilt liue, why wiſheſt thou to die? If thou wilt not, to what intent importuneſt thou the gods for that which they gaue thee when thou wert borne? For euen as it is decreed that thou muſt die one day whether thou wilt or no, ſo when thou wilt is in thine owne power: the one is of neceſſitie, the other of will. Some few dayes paſt I haue read a ſhamefull Preface of a certaine man otherwiſe learned and eloquent, where theſe wordes are: *So I may die* (ſaith hee) *incontinently*. O fond man, thou deſireſt that which is thine owne; *So I may die incontinently*. It may bee that in ſpeaking theſe wordes thou art become olde. Otherwiſe what ſtayeth thee? No man holdes thee; eſcape when thou wilt, chuſe ſuch a part of the inſtruments of nature, as ſeemeth good vnto thee, and command the ſame to giue thee iſſue: for theſe are the elements whereby this inferiour world is maintained, water, earth and ayre; all theſe are both the cauſes of life, and the high-wayes to death. *So I may die incontinently*: but when wilt thou die? What day wilt thou aſſigne to thine incontinent? It may come ſooner then thou wiſheſt. Theſe are the wordes of a weake minde, and of ſuch an one who by this proteſtation would obtaine mercie and lengthening of his life: hee will not die that wiſheth for death. Beſeech the gods to giue thee life and health: if thou haſt a minde to die, this is the fruite of death, to giue ouer wiſhing. Let vs ſpeake of theſe things my *Lucillius*, and by them forme our vnderſtandings: this is wiſedome, and to be wiſe, conſiſteth in this, not to debate impertinent queſtions of vnprofitable diſputes. So many queſtions hath Fortune propoſed vnto thee, yet haſt thou not ſatisfied her in them: now thou cauilleſt. How fond a thing is it to ſtand flouriſhing thy ſword in the ayre, when the ſignall is giuen thee to begin the skirmiſh? Giue ouer theſe armes of diſport, thou art to fight at ſharpe. Tell mee by what meanes no ſadneſſe or feare may trouble the minde? by what meanes I may disburden my ſelfe of this troubleſome weight of ſecret deſires? Let ſomewhat be done. Wiſedome is good, to bee wiſe is not good: be it ſo. Let vs denie that to bee wiſe is a good thing, to the end we may draw all that ſtudie into contempt, which is imployed in ſuperfluous matters. What if thou kneweſt likewiſe that this is in queſtion, whether future wiſedome be good? For what doubt is there, I pray you, whether the barnes doe already feele the harueſt that is at hand, that either childhood vnderſtand his future youth, being deſtitute of force and vigor? the health that is to come is nothing profitable to him that is ſick, no more then reſt doth which ought to follow the courſe and wreſtling, comforteth not a man as long as he is running or wreſtling. Who knoweth not that that which is to come is not good

for this onely cauſe, becauſe it is yet to come? For that which is good, profiteth and ſerueth without delay. No things can be profitable, but ſuch as are preſent: if a thing profit not, truely it is not good; if it profit, it is preſently good. I ſhall be wiſe; this ſhall be good when I ſhall be ſo: but in the meane while it is not. Firſt muſt a thing be, and afterwards it muſt be ſuch or ſuch. But tell me, I pray thee, how may that, which as yet is nothing, be perfectly good? For how wilt thou haue me better proue it vnto thee, that a thing is not, then if I ſhall ſay, it is to come? for it is manifeſt, that it is not yet come, that is comming. The Spring muſt follow. I know now that it is Winter, the Summer ſhall ſucceede: I know that it is not Summer time. The greateſt argument I haue, that a thing is not as yet preſent, is, that it is to come. I hope I ſhall be wiſe, yet in the meane ſpace I am not wiſe. If I had that good, I ſhould preſently want this euill. It may be hereafter that I ſhall be wiſe, although by this thou vnderſtandeſt that I am not yet wiſe: I cannot at one time be in that good and this euill. Theſe two things doe not agree, but are dis-ioynted; neyther are at once in the ſame, good and euill. Let vs paſſe ouer ſpeedily theſe ingenious trifles, and haſten our ſelues to attaine thoſe things which may giue vs any helpe. There is no man that carefully ſeeketh for a Midwife to come vnto his daughter that is in labour, that readeth vnto her the ordinance and diſpoſition of the publike Playes. There is no man that haſtily runneth to quench the fire that hath ſeized his houſe, that hath the leyſure to ſtudy how to ſaue his man that in a game at Cheſſe is hemmed in on euery ſide. But thou knoweſt, that from all parts there commeth newes vnto thee both of the burning of thy Houſe, and the death of thy Children, of the ſiege of thy Citie, of the pillage of thy goods. Adde hereunto Shipwracks, Earthquakes, and all other dreadfull accidents. Being in the midſt of ſo many troubles, haſt thou no other buſineſſe, but to giue thy ſelfe to pleaſure? Thou inquireſt what difference there is betwixt wiſedome, and to be wiſe? Thou knitteſt and looſeſt knots, hauing ſo great a mountaine of miſeries hanging ouer thy head. Nature hath not giuen vs ſo fauourable and liberall benefit of time, that we ſhould haue leyſure to loſe any part thereof; conſider alſo how much they loſe, who are moſt diligent. The ſickneſſe of our ſelues and of our friends carrieth away one part of vs, and neceſſarie and publique affaires another. Sleepe robbeth from vs the halfe of our life. Of this time ſo ſhort, ſo ſwift, and that carrieth vs away, to what purpoſe is it, to conſume the greater part thereof in vaine? Adde hereunto now, that the minde is accuſtomed rather to delight, then to heale it ſelfe; and that Philoſophy, which ſhould be the remedie of euils, ſerueth nothing but for paſtime. I know not what difference there is betwixt wiſedome, and being wiſe, yet know I well, that it profiteth me nothing, whether I know theſe things or know them not. Tell me, when I haue learned the difference betwixt wiſedome and being wiſe, if I ſhall be wiſe? Why rather detaineſt thou me amongſt the words then the workes of wiſedome? Make me ſtronger, make me ſecurer, make me equall with Fortune, make me ſuperiour: but I may be ſuperiour, if I doe all that which I learne.

EPIST. CXVIII.

That he will write no vaine Epiſtles, but rather ſuch as are full of profitable Leſſons. He perſwadeth to handle our priuate, not forraine buſineſſes; to require nothing of Fortune, neyther to depend vpon her. That the true good is to be ſought, and the definition what it is: and likewiſe, what it differeth from honeſtie. That enery good is according to nature, neyther yet is euery thing good which is according to nature.

THou requireſt me to write vnto thee oftentimes: if we enter into account, thou canſt not ſufficiently ſatisfie me. It was agreed betweene vs, that thou ſhouldeſt write firſt, and that I ſhould anſwer thee. I will not be behind hand with thee; I know that there is nothing loſt that is lent thee: I will pay thee therefore before thy day; neyther will I doe that which eloquent *Cicero* was wont to counſell *Atticus* to doe, that is, to write whatſoeuer came into his minde, although hee had no matter whereupon to write. I can neuer want matter to write vnto thee, although I omit all that diſcourſe wherewith *Cicero* ſtuffeth his Epiſtles, to wit, who it is that laboreth for Offices, who fighteth with his owne or forraine Forces, who laboreth for the Conſulat, either vnder *Cæſars* or *Pompeys* fauour, or of himſelfe: How hard a Vſurer *Cicilius* is, from whom his neighbours cannot wreſt a penny, but a hundreth vpon a hundreth. It were better for a man to ſpeake of his owne miſeries, then of another mans, to examine himſelfe, and to conſider how many things a man laboureth for, and obtaineth not one. This, my *Lucillius*, is a worthy thing, this a ſecure and free thing, to demand and purchaſe nothing, and to let Fortune poſſeſſe her eſtates, without bribing after any of them. How pleaſant a thing is it, thinkeſt thou, when the people are aſſembled, when ſuch as pretend Offices, giue Court to their well-wiſhers, and the one publikely proteſteth the money he will giue, the other ſolliciteth by his ſureties and priuat friends: when one man weareth and waſteth another mans hands with kiſſes; where, had he attained what he deſireth, he would loathe they ſhould touch his: when all men are aſtoniſhed, and expect the voice of the Cryer; to ſtand idle, and expect thoſe Fayres, neyther buying nor ſelling any thing? How great ioy enioyeth this man, who beholdeth not theſe aſſemblies, where choice is made of Pretors & Conſuls? but thoſe great Eſtates, where the one demaundeth yearely honours, others perpetuall power; the one happy ſucceſſe in battels, and triumphs, the other riches; the one marriages and children, the other long and happy life for themſelues and their parents. O how great a minde is it to demaund nothing, to make ſupplication to no man, and to ſay vnto Fortune, I haue nothing to doe with thee, I am not at thy commandement; I know, that with thee *Catoes* are repelled, and *Vatinians* aduanced; I demaund nothing at thy hands! This is to reduce Fortune into order. For this cauſe therefore ought we to entertaine one another, and to entreat continually on this ſubiect in our Letters, beholding on euery ſide of vs ſo many thouſands of men in trouble, who to caſt themſelues headlong into ſome mortall ruine, trauerſe one miſchiefe, to finde out another; and ſeeke thoſe things, which they incontinently flye as ſoone as they haue found them, or wherewith they ſhould be likewiſe diſguſted. For who is hee that hath contented himſelfe with that which was giuen him, or that

ſuppoſed any thing ouer great, when he wiſhed the ſame? Felicitie is not vnſatiable, as men beleeue, but it is weake and ſmall, and therefore ſatisfieth no man. Thou beleeueſt that theſe things are great, becauſe thou art eſtranged from them; but to him that hath gotten them, they are but baſe: I lye, if ſuch a one ſeeke not to mount higher. That which thou accounteſt higheſt, is but a Degree. But the ignorance of truth is the cauſe that men erre thus, and they run vnto that which hath but the appearance of good, being deceiued by common opinion. Afterwards, hauing by much trauell obtained that which they pretended, they ſee that thoſe things are euill, vaine, and leſſe then they expected, and the moſt part of them admireth at one time or another, this falſe luſtre of ſuch vanities. In briefe, the common ſort eſteeme thoſe things for good, which are greateſt. But leſt we fall into this error, let vs enquire that which is good. The interpretation thereof hath beene diuers: ſome haue defined the ſame in one ſort, otherſome in another. Some define it thus. Good is that which inuiteth our minds, and that calleth vs vnto him. Hereunto ſome pleaſantly obiect: But what if ſuch a good inuite a man vnto his ruine? Thou knoweſt how many euils there are that are attractiue. Truth, and that which ſeemeth true, differ thus. That which is good, is annexed vnto truth; for it is not good, except it be true. But that which inuiteth to it ſelfe, and attracteth by his appearance, hath a reſemblance of truth: it inſinuateth, it ſolliciteth, it draweth. Some haue defined it thus. Good is that which moueth a deſire of it ſelfe, or that inciteth the motion of the minde, that tendeth thereunto. And to this it is oppoſed in the ſame ſort. For many things incite the motions of the minde, which are deſired to their confuſion that deſire them. Better haue they done, who haue defined it thus. That is good, which draweth vnto it ſelfe, according to nature, that motion of the Soule; ſo that we ought to deſire it then, when it is worthy to be deſired. Let vs adde hereunto, that this good is honeſt and vertuous, for we ought not to purchaſe an vnperfect good. This place admoniſheth me to teach thee the difference that there is betwixt that which is good, and that which is honeſt. Some things they haue, mixed, and inſeparable betweene them: neyther can that be good, which hath not ſome honeſtie in it; neyther that honeſt, which is not good. What difference therefore is betwixt them both? Honeſtie is a perfect good, wherein a bleſſed life is accompliſhed, by whoſe attouchment other things are made good alſo. That which I ſay, is thus. There are ſome things which are neyther good nor euill; as Warfare, Embaſſage, and Iuriſdiction. Theſe things, when they are honeſtly adminiſtred, begin to be good, and become ſo, whereas before time they were indifferent. Good, by the ſocietie of honeſtie, is made good, and honeſtie by it ſelfe is good. Good floweth from honeſtie, honeſtie is of it ſelfe. That which is good, might haue beene euill; that which is honeſt, could not be but good. Some haue propoſed this definition. That is good, which is according to nature. Marke what I ſay. That which is good, is according to nature; yet is not that forthwith good, that is according to nature. Many things conſent vnto nature: yet ſo ſmall are they, that they deſerue not to be called good; for they are ſmall, and contemptible. No good, no, not the leaſt, is to be contemned: for as long as it is little, it is not good; when it beginneth to be good, it is not little. Whence is any thing knowne to be good? if it be perfectly according to nature. Thou doeſt confeſſe, ſayeſt thou, that this is good which is according to nature, this is his propertie. Thou confeſſeſt likewiſe, that there are ſome things which are according to nature, and yet not good. How therefore

is that good, when theſe are not? How attayneth it another propertie, when as both of them haue this propertie, to be according to nature? That is to ſay, in as much as they are great. Neyther is this a new thing, that ſome things are changed by encreaſing. He was an infant; now become a young man: hee hath had at that time ſome other proprietie. For the young man is endowed with reaſon, the infant is depriued of it. Some things become not onely more great in their encreaſe, but other things likewiſe. That (ſayth he) is not made another thing, which is made greater. It skilleth not whether thou fill a Bottle with Wine, or a Tonne, the propertie of Wine remaineth in both the Veſſels. A little weight of Honey, and a great, differ not in ſauour. Thou ſetteſt downe different examples: for in theſe the ſame qualitie remayneth, and though they be encreaſed, they are alwayes Honey and Wine. Some things, amplified in their kind, continue in their propertie: ſome things, after many encreaſings, are changed by the laſt, which imprinteth in them a new qualitie, other then that which they had before. One ſtone will make an arch, that is to ſay, that bindeth in and faſtneth in the declining ſides, and that tyeth them together. Why hath this laſt ſtone, although it be little, ſo great a vſe? becauſe it maketh the worke compleat, although it giue it not any great encreaſe. There are ſome things, which in aduancing themſelues, deſpoyle themſelues of their former forme, and inueſt a new. After that our vnderſtanding hath long time trauelled vpon any ſubiect, and that it is wearied in following the greatneſſe thereof, he beginneth to eſteeme it infinite, becauſe it is become farre different from that it was before, when it ſeemed great, but not infinite. In like caſe wee haue imagined, that a thing may not be cut, which is hardly cut: afterwards, the difficultie growing to be greater, wee finde, that the thing can no more be cut. In like ſort, of a thing which is hardly moued, wee come vnto a thing which is vnmoueable. According to the ſame reaſon, ſome thing hath beene according to nature, and afterwards, the greatneſſe of the ſame hath tranſported it into another propertie, and hath made it good.

Epist. CXIX.

That we may deſire Riches, and enioy them, without requiring them as vnneceſſarie. That the end of all things, which exceed not nature, is to be conſidered. She ſeeketh not ſuperfluitie, but ſufficient. At laſt, he ſheweth, that all they who commonly are reputed rich, are poore. Good God, they are both excellent and true.

AS oftentimes as I haue found any thing, I expect not till thou ſay I crie halfes. I ſay this vnto my ſelfe. Thou askeſt me what it is that I haue found out? Open thy Lap, it is meere gaine that I giue thee. I will teach thee how thou mayeſt become rich ſuddenly; which thou art very deſirous to heare of. And not without cauſe I will leade thee the ſhorteſt way to great riches. Yet haſt thou need of a Creditor, and to negotiate, thou muſt needes borrow; yet will I not ſuffer thee to haue any Sollicitor to borrow for thee, nor Broaker to publiſh thy name. I will beſtow a Creditor on thee, that ſhall be at thy commandement: That is to ſay, that ſentence of Cato, *Whatſoeuer it be, it will ſuffice,*

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prouided, that we require that of our ſelues, whatſoeuer we want. For theſe things (my *Lucillius*) are alike, not to deſire, and to haue. The effect of the matter in both is alike; thou ſhalt not be vexed. Neither doe I command thee this, to deny Nature any thing; ſhe is obſtinate, ſhe cannot be ouercome, ſhe requireth her owne: but ſo, that thou mayeſt know, that whatſoeuer exceedeth Nature, is but borrowed, and not neceſſarie. I am hungry, I muſt eatè: whether this bread be browne or white, it appertaineth nothing to Nature; ſhe will haue the belly not delighted, but filled. I am a dry: whether this water be fetched from the next Lake, or that which I haue cloſed vp in much Snow, that it might be cooled by forraine cold, it concerneth Nature no wayes. She commandeth this one thing, that the thirſt ſhould be quenched; whether the Pot be Gold, or Cryſtall, or Caſſidony, or a Pot of Tiuoli, or the hollow of the hand, it skilleth not. Fix thine eye vpon the end of all things, and thou ſhalt forſake ſuperfluities. Hunger preſſeth me: Let thy hand lay hold on whatſoeuer is next thee, the appetite ſhal make that toothſome, whatſoeuer I lay hold of. An hungry ſtomacke is glad of any thing. Thou demandeſt therefore, what thing it is that delighteth me? Me thinkes it is worthily ſpoken: *A wiſe man is a diligent ſearcher of naturall riches.* Thou payeſt me, ſayeſt thou, with an empty platter. What is that empty? I had already prepared my Banck, and looked about me vpon what Sea I ſhould embarke my ſelfe to follow traffique, what publike eſtate I might rent, what merchandize I ſhould ſend for. It is a deceit in thee, to teach me pouertie, when thou haſt promiſed me riches. Doeſt thou then eſteeme him poore, that wanteth nothing? Thou anſwereſt, that it is by his owne meanes, and by the benefit of his patience, not of Fortune. Doeſt thou therfore iudge him not to be rich, becauſe his riches cannot ceaſe? Whether hadſt thou rather haue much, or ſufficient? he that hath much, deſireth more, which is an argument that as yet he hath not ſufficient: he that hath enough, hath attained the end, which neuer befalleth a rich man. Doeſt thou therefore thinke, that theſe are not riches, becauſe for them no man is baniſhed, becauſe for them no ſonne hath giuen his father poyſon, nor wife her husband? becauſe in warres they are ſecure, in peace at reſt? becauſe it is neither dangerous to enioy them, nor troubleſome to diſpoſe them? Hath he but a little, that hath neither cold, nor hunger, nor thirſt? *Iupiter* himſelfe hath no more. Neuer is that little, which is ſufficient; neuer is that much, which is not ſufficient. *Alexander* of Macedon after he had conquered Aſia, and the Indians, is poore: he ſeeketh what he may make his owne, he ſearcheth out vnknowne Seas, he ſendeth out new Nauies vpon the Ocean; and if I may ſay ſo, paſſeth and preſſeth beyond the bounds and limits of the World. That which ſufficeth Nature, contenteth not a man. And ſome there haue been found, that hauing all things, haue notwithſtanding coueted ſomewhat. So great is the blindneſſe of our minds, and ſo great the forgetfulneſſe of men, that they remember not themſelues of their beginnings, when they ſee themſelues aduanced. This Prince, that was Lord of a little Angle of Greece, and that not without ſome oppoſition, is ſorry, that after he hath diſcouered and conquered ſo many Nations, to heare ſay, that he muſt returne vnto his owne. Money neuer made any man rich: contrariwiſe, there is not any man that hath gathered ſtore of it together, that is not become more couetous. Wouldeſt thou know the reaſon hereof? Hee that hath much, beginneth to haue a will to haue more. In ſumme, although thou ſet before me whom thou wilt, of thoſe who are reputed as rich as either *Craſſus* or *Licinius*; let him ſet downe his reuenewes, and account whatſoeuer hee hath, and whatſoeuer hee hopeth

hopeth, together? yet this man, if thou beleeueſt me, is poore, or if thou truſt thy ſelfe, may be poore. But hee that hath compoſed himſelfe to that which Nature requireth at his hands, is not onely without the ſence, but alſo without the feare of pouertie. But to the end thou mayeſt know how hard a thing it is to reſtraine a mans affaires according to the meaſure of Nature; this man, whom we ſuppoſe to be moulded and faſhioned according to his will, and whom thou calleſt poore, hath ſomething which is ſuperfluous. But riches attract and blinde the common ſort, when great ſummes of money are carried out of any mans houſe, when his roofes are enriched and garniſhed with gold, when his family are either comely in body, or courtly in apparrell. All theſe mens felicitie is in publike oſtentation: but he whom we haue exempted both from the eye of the People, and the hand of Fortune, is bleſſed inwardly. For as touching thoſe, with whom pouertie hath taken place, and is ſeized of them vnder the ſuppoſed name of riches, they haue their goods in ſuch ſort, as we are ſaid to haue the Ague, when the Ague hath vs. Contrariwiſe, we muſt ſay, the Ague hath hold of him: and in like manner we ought to ſay, Riches hold and poſſeſſe him. There is nothing therefore that I would haue thee remember more then this, that no man is ſufficiently admoniſhed, to the end thou mayeſt meaſure all things by naturall deſires, which content themſelues with nothing or with little. Onely beware thou mixe not vices with deſires. Askeſt thou me vpon what Table, in what ſiluer Veſſell, by what ſeruices and ſeruants Nature preſenteth thee thy meat? Know that ſhe requireth nothing but meat.

When parching thirſt doth burne thy iawes throughout,
Seek'ſt thou for gold therein to quench thy drought?
When hunger tempts thee, doſt thou loath each meate,
Except thou Peacocks fleſh or Turbot eate?

Hunger is not ambitious, ſhe is contented to ceaſe, ſhe careth not much by what meanes. Theſe are the torments of vnhappie exceſſe: he ſeeketh how, after he is glutted, he may get an appetite; how he may not fill, but force and ſtuffe his bodie; how he may reuoke his thirſt againe, which is pacified by the former potion. *Horace* therefore wittily denyeth that it appertaineth to thirſt, in what pot or in how cleane a hand water be miniſtred. For if thou thinkeſt that concerneth thee, how well frizeled the page is, and how cleane and neat the pot is which he preſenteth thee with, thou art not adry. Amongſt other things, Nature hath eſpecially fauoured vs herein, that ſhe hath taken all diſdaine from neceſſitie: ſuperfluities take pleaſure in varietie; this is ſcarce ſeemely, that not well dreſt, this offendeth mine eyes. The Creator of all things, who hath ſet downe vnto vs the Laws of our life, hath giuen order to maintaine vs in health, and not to entertaine vs in delight. All things are ready and at hand for the conſeruation of our healths: if the queſtion be of delights, all that which concerneth them, is not recouered, but with much miſerie and difficultie. Let vs therefore make vſe of this benefit of Nature, which is to be numbred amongſt the greateſt, and let vs thinke, that the greateſt matter wherein we are moſt obliged vnto her, is, that ſhe hath effected this in vs, That whatſoeuer is deſired in neceſſitie, is entertained and embraced without loathing.

Epist. CXX.

How the knowledge of goodneſſe came vnto vs by obſeruation and conference, as alſo by the aſſiſtance of nature. And it commeth likewiſe by the contrary, that is, by the deteſtation of vice. Hee deſcribeth a wiſe man, who not only ſpurneth againſt thoſe things which are commonly to bee required or feared, but death: Alſo in concluſion ſuch an one as is alwayes one, and conſtant to himſelfe.

THy Epiſtle hath wandred about many pettie queſtions, yet hath ſtaied it ſelfe vpon one, and deſireth to haue my reſolution herein: how the firſt notice of good and honeſt things came vnto vs. Theſe two things in ſome mens opinion are diuerſe, but with vs that are Stoicks, they are only diuided. I will tell thee what this is; Some men thinke that that is good which is profitable, and therefore they impoſe this name vnto riches, to a horſe, to wine, to a ſhooe; ſo abiect is the name of good amongſt them, and ſo vnduly applyed vnto ſeruile vſes. They ſuppoſe that honeſt which conſiſteth in the diſcharge of a wel-gouerned duety, as to haue a charitable care of a mans father in his age, to comfort and relieue the pouertie of a mans friend, to behaue himſelfe valiantly in a warlike expedition, to deliuer a mans opinion wiſely and modeſtly. Theſe make wee two, but out of one. Nothing is good except it be that which is honeſt, that which is honeſt is good alſo. I ſuppoſe it a ſuperfluous matter to annexe what difference there is betwixt them, when as I haue oftentimes expreſſed the ſame. I will onely ſay this, That nothing ſeemeth good vnto vs, which a man may vſe badly. But thou ſeeſt how many there bee that vſe their riches, nobilitie, and ſtrength badly. I now therefore returne vnto that which thou deſireſt me to reſolue thee in, how the knowledge of that which is good and honeſt came firſt vnto vs. This nature could not teach vs, for ſhee gaue vs but the ſeedes of ſciences, and not ſcience it ſelfe. Some ſay that wee caſually come to the knowledge thereof, which is incredible, that the image of vertue ſhould caſually appeare vnto any man. But wee ſuppoſe that by diligence, obſeruation, and frequent conference of things, eſtimated by that which is good and honeſt, we haue attained to this knowledge. And ſince the Latine Grammarians haue made this word a Citizen of Rome, I will not condemne it nor returne it to the Citie from whence it came. I will therefore vſe the ſame, not only as a receiued but as a vſuall word: I will ſet downe what the Analogie is; Wee haue knowne that there is a health of the bodie, and thereby haue we gathered that there is ſome health and vigor of the minde. We haue knowne the ſtrength of the body, and by theſe inferre wee that there is a ſtrength of the minde likewiſe. Some benigne actions, ſome humane, ſome ſtrong, haue amazed vs; theſe began wee to admire as if perfect. Theſe were trauerſed by diuers defaults, which the appearance and brightneſſe of ſome notable deede did couer, by meanes whereof wee haue made a ſhew that we ſaw them not. Nature commandeth vs to amplifie thoſe things which are praiſe-worthy, whereupon euery one hath raiſed glory aboue the truth. From theſe things therefore wee haue drawne the appearance of an excellent good. *Fabricius* refuſed King *Pyrrhus* gold, and iudged it a greater matter then a Kingdome, to bee able to contemne Kingly riches. The ſame man

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when a Phiſitian promiſed to poyſon *Pyrrhus*, gaue him notice thereof, and wiſhed him to beware of treaſon. It was the ſame vertue in *Fabricius*, neither to be ouercome with golde, nor to ouercome with poyſon. Wee haue admired this great perſonage, who neither ſuffered himſelfe to be wonne by the Kings preſents, nor by the Phiſitians promiſes againſt the King; conſtant in his vertuous reſolution, innocent in warre, which is a rare thing in a ſouldier: who though that a man might bee wicked euen againſt an enemy; who in his greateſt pouerty whereby he had gotten himſelfe the moſt honor, no otherwiſe fled from riches then from poyſon. Liue, ſaid he, by my meanes, O *Pyrrhus*, and reioice, although thou wert diſpleaſed therewith, that *Fabricius* could not be corrupted. *Horacius Cocles* himſelfe alone cloſed vp, and defended the ſtrait paſſage of a bridge, and commanded a Trench to be made behinde him, to the end that his enemies might be hindered from entrance. And ſo long reſiſted hee thoſe that aſſailed him, vntill ſuch time as he heard the noyſe of the prop and timber that fel vnder him. And after he had looked behinde him, and perceiued that by his danger his countrie was freed from danger: *Let him come*, ſaith he, *whoſoeuer will follow me thither whither I goe.* And hauing ſaid thus, he caſt himſelfe deſperately into the water; and hauing no leſſe care in this violent channel of the riuer to ſaue his conquering armes as his life, and hauing maintayned the honour of his victorie, he returned into the Citie, as ſecure as if hee had entred by the bridge. Theſe and ſuch like acts haue expreſſed vnto vs the image of his vertue. I will adde that which haply may ſeeeme admirable: Euill things ſometimes haue preſented themſelues in the ſhape of honeſty, and that which was the beſt hath beene manifeſted by his contrary. Some vices as thou knoweſt, haue ſome reſemblance of vertues, and thoſe men that are moſt vicious and diſhoneſt, haue ſome appearance of goodneſſe. So doth the prodigall man counterfeite the liberall, although there bee a great difference betwixt knowing how to giue, and how to keepe. Many there are, my *Lucillius*, who giue not but caſt away their money; for I call him not liberall that is angry with his money. Negligence imitateth facilitie, and raſhneſſe fortitude. This ſimilitude hath conſtrained vs to conſider things, and to diſtinguiſh thoſe things which are neere in appearance, but farre different & contrary in effect: whilſt wee obſerue theſe whom ſome noble exploit hath made famous, we haue begun to note what he might be that at one time onely had reſolutely, and nobly executed ſome enterpriſe. We haue ſeene this man valiant in war, fearefull in the iudgement ſeate, enduring his pouerty conſtantly, his infamy abiectly: wee haue praiſed the act, but contemned the man. Wee haue ſeene another curteous towards his friends, temperate towards his enemies, managing both publike and priuate affaires, both piouſly and religiouſly, not wanting patience in thoſe things which he was to ſuffer, nor prudence in thoſe things he was to performe: we haue ſeene ſuch an one that gaue bountifully where neceſſitie required, that was diligent and induſtrious where hee was to labour, and that relieued the wearineſſe of his bodie with the conſtancie of his minde. Beſides, he was alwaies one, and like himſelfe in euery action, not onely good in words and counſaile, but by cuſtome brought to this paſſe, that beſides that, that hee could not doe ill, hee could not alſo doe but that which was good. Then vnderſtanding that vertue was perfected in ſuch an one, wee haue diſtinguiſhed it into ſome parts. Deſires ought to bee reſtrained, feare repreſſed, actions foreſeene, duties diſtributed; wee comprehended temperance, fortitude, prudence, iuſtice, and gaue euery one of them their

their particular office. Whereby therefore came wee to the knowledge of vertue? It was the order thereof, the ſeemelineſſe, and conſtancie, and the vniformitie of all actions, within themſelues, and the greatneſſe thereof that exalted it ſelfe aboue all things, that ſhewed the ſame. Hereby was that bleſſed life vnderſtood that hath a proſperous courſe, and dependeth wholly of it ſelfe. How therefore appeared this thing vnto vs? I will tell thee: neuer did that perfect man who was poſſeſſed of vertue curſe Fortune, neuer entertayned hee any accidents with diſcontent. Beleeuing himſelfe to bee a Citizen and Souldier of the world, hee vnderwent labours, as if they had beene enioyned him. Whatſoeuer happened hee refuſed it not as euill, or that caſually fell vpon him, but as ſome charge committed vnto him. This, ſaith hee, whatſoeuer it bee is mine, bee it eyther difficult or dangerous, let vs trauaile therein: of neceſſitie therefore hee appeared great, who neuer groaned vnder the burthen of afflictions, neuer complained of his deſtinie, gaue vnto many a taſte of himſelfe, and no otherwiſe then a light ſhined in darkeneſſe, and drew all mens minds vnto him, by reaſon hee was curteous and gentle, entertayning in good part all affaires both diuine and humane. Hee had a perfect minde, drawne to the height of his perfection; aboue which there is nothing but the minde of God, a parcell whereof is deriued into this mortall bodie, which is neuer more diuine then when it thinketh on his mortalitie, and knoweth that man is borne to this end, to forſake this life; neither that this body is an houſe but an hoſtrie, yea and a ſhort hoſtrie which muſt be forſaken, when thou perceiueſt that thou art diſpleaſing to thine hoſt. I tell thee, my *Lucillius*, it is a great argument of a minde that is deriued from a higher place, if it repute thoſe things humble and abiect wherein hee conuerſeth, and if he feareth not to forſake them: for he knoweth whither he ſhall depart that remembreth himſelfe from whence he came. See we not how many incommodities doe torment vs, how badly this mortall body doth agree with vs? Sometimes we complaine of our bellies, afterwards of our heads, then of our breaſt and throat: ſometimes wee are tormented in our nerues, ſometimes vexed in our feete: to day the fluxe, to morrow the rheume: ſometimes too much bloud, ſometimes too little, euery way are wee troubled and driuen from one place to another. This befalleth them who are lodged in another mans houſe, but we that poſſeſſe ſo rotten a bodie, yet notwithſtanding propoſe vnto our ſelues an eternitie, and as farre as humane age may extend it ſelfe, ſo farre are we ſeized with hope, contenting our ſelues with no money or power. What can bee more impudently or more fooliſhly done then this? There is nothing that contenteth vs that are to die, nay, that die euery day: for wee daily approach our laſt houre, and there is not a day or houre that driueth vs not into the graue where wee muſt reſt. See into what blindneſſe our mindes are driuen: a greater part of that which I haue ſaid muſt come, is already come, and threatneth vs euery minute, for the time wee haue liued is in the ſame ſtate where it was before wee were liuing. But it is a great folly for vs to feare the laſt dayes of the ſame, becauſe the firſt contribute as much vnto death as the laſt. The degree in which we breath our laſt, is not that which leaueth vs, but onely it ſheweth vs our laſſitude. The laſt day maketh vs touch death, all the reſt to approch. Shee rauiſheth vs not at once, but ſnatcheth vs away by little and little. A greater mind therefore that knoweth that hee muſt bee partaker of a better life, endeuoureth it ſelfe in this ſtation wherein hee is placed, to demeane himſelfe honeſtly and induſtriouſly.

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Moreouer, he iudgeth nothing of theſe things that are about him to bee his owne, but like a ſtranger, and ſuch a one as muſt ſuddenly forſake them, v-ſeth them as lent him. When wee ſhould ſee a man of this conſtancie, why ſhould we not conceiue in him the image of an vnuſuall vnderſtanding; if, as I ſay, he ſhould make ſhew of ſo true a greatneſſe? True qualities continue in their entire, falſe are flitting. Some men at ſometimes are *Vatinians*, at other times *Catoes*; and ſome whiles *Curius*, in their opinions, is a little too ſeuere. *Fabricius* not ſufficiently poore, *Tubero* ſcarce frugall enough, and content with a little: they prouoke *Licinius* in riches, *Apicius* in ſuppers, *Mæcenas* in delights. Inconſtancie and a continuall agitation betwixt the diſſembling of vertues, and the loue of vices, is a great token of an euill minde.

Oft-times two hundred men did him attend,
Oft-times but ten: ſometimes his ſpeech did tend
To Kings, to Tetrarches, and to great Eſtates,
Sometimes his Fortunes he more baſely rates:
I will, ſaith hee, haue a three-footed table,
A homely ſalt, a gowne that ſhall be able
(Though homely) to withſtand the Winter cold.
Hadſt thou committed to this Niggards hold,
That is contented with ſo little pelfe,
Ten thouſand Crownes to feed and cloathe himſelfe;
Within few dayes, nor he, nor all his meney
Could pay thee one, or bleſſe thee with a peny.

All theſe are ſuch as *Horace* deſcribeth this man, who was neuer himſelfe, or euer like himſelfe; ſo diuerſly changed he. Said I diuers, ſcarcely is there one but is ſuch. There is no man that doth not daily change both his counſaile and his vow: now will he haue a Wife, then a Lemman: now will he gouerne, preſently he laboureth for this, that no man may be a more officious ſeruant. Sometimes he exalteth himſelfe ſo much, as he contracteth enuie: Sometimes he abaſeth himſelfe vnder euerie one, and becommeth more miſerable then thoſe that are truely wretched: now ſcattereth he his money abroad, preſently after he engroſſeth all other mens. Hereby eſpecially is an imprudent mind diſcouered, euerie one betrayeth him, and that which in my opinion is moſt baſe, he is vnlike himſelfe. Repute thou it to be a great vertue for a man to be one. But no man but a wiſe man doth one thing, all the reſt of vs haue many ſhapes. To day we will ſeeme to be modeſt and graue, to morrow prodigall and vaine: we ofttimes change our maske, and oftentimes take a contrarie to that we haue put off. Exact thou therefore this of thy ſelfe, that to thy laſt breath thou maintaine thy ſelfe ſuch, as thou haſt reſolued to ſhew thy ſelfe. Doe this, that thou mayeſt be prayſed, or approued at the leaſt. A man may iuſtly ſay of him whom thou ſaweſt yeſterday, what is this man? So much is a man changed in a little.

Epist. CXXI.

He pretendeth ſomewhat for the wittier ſort, and then propoundeth the ſame. Whether euery liuing creature hath a ſence of his conſtitution, that is, whether they willingly and by nature intend thither, whither they ought, and were made. He ſaith that it is ſo, and by diuers reaſons and examples teacheth the ſame.

THou wilt chide with me, I ſee, when I ſhall reſolue thee of that queſtion, wherein this day I ſpent no little time. For once more wilt thou exclaime, what concerneth this manners? But exclaime at thy pleaſure, whileſt I firſt of all oppoſe thoſe againſt thee, with whom thou mayſt contend, I meane *Poſidonius* and *Archidamus*, for theſe ſhall debate the matter with thee; and afterwards I wil ſay, that whatſoeuer is morall reformeth not good maners. There is one thing that appertaineth to a man to nouriſh him, another thing to exerciſe him, another thing to clothe him, another thing to teach him, another thing to delight him: yet all theſe things doe appertaine vnto a man, although not all of them make him better. Certaine inſtructions concerne manners in ſome ſort, certain in another. Some correct & gouerne them, ſome ſearch out their nature & beginning: when it is demanded why Nature brought forth man, why ſhe preferred him before all other liuing creatures. Thinkeſt thou that I haue left manners a farre off? Thou art deceiued. For how ſhalt thou know what manners are to bee ſought after, except thou findeſt out what is the beſt for man, except thou examine his nature? Then at length thou ſhalt vnderſtand what thou art to doe, and what to auoid, when as thou haſt learned what thou oweſt to thy nature. I, ſayeſt thou, will learne how I may deſire leſſe, how I may feare leſſe. Shake off from me this ſuperſtition: teach mee that this which is called felicitie, is but a ſlight and vaine thing, and that the acceſſion of one ſyllable will make it infelicitie. I will ſatisfie thy deſire, and exhort thee vnto vertues, and will whip vices: and although ſome men repute me too immoderate in this kind, yet will I not deſiſt to perſecute wickedneſſe, to reſtraine vnbridled affections, to temperate deſires and pleaſures that ſhould terminate in ſorrow; and to oppoſe my ſelf againſt wiſhes. Why not? When as we haue deſired the extreameſt of euils, and that from the ioy which we haue, our ſorrow hath proceeded. In the mean while ſuffer mee to vnfolde thoſe things which ſeeme ſomewhat too much remoued from vs. The queſtion was, whether in all creatures there were a ſence of their conſtitution. But that they haue a ſence, it hereby moſt manifeſtly appeareth, becauſe they fitly and readily moue their members, as if they had bin faſhioned thereunto. Euery one of them hath an agilitie in his parts. A workman handleth his tooles readily. The maſter of a ſhip knoweth how to ſteere the helme of his ſhip fitly. A Painter doth quickly diſcerne thoſe diuerſities of colours which are laid before him, to the end he may apply them in his worke, and with a readie hand and eye he paſſeth betwixt the waxe, and the ſimilitude or reſemblance which he would draw: ſo liuing creatures moue themſelues in euery ſort, according as it becommeth them. We are wont to wonder at theſe cunning actors, who haue their hands ſo nimble, that they are able to repreſent all things, and effect readily by their geſture, whoſe fingers are as nimble as their tongues. That which Art vouchſafed them, Nature alloweth theſe. There is no man but ſtirreth his members without paine; there is no one reſtrayned, when

when he hath need to moue himſelfe,being borne vnto this motion: they performe it readily; they comeinto this world with this ſcience, and are borne ſo inſtructed. Therefore, ſaith he,ſhal liuing creatures moſt fitly moue their parts, becauſe if they moued them otherwiſe,they ſhould feele paine. So as you ſay, they are compelled and feare and not will maketh them moue aright, which is falſe. For they are ſlow which are enforced by neceſſitie, agilitie is a voluntarie motion. But ſo farre off is it that feare of paine drieth them hereunto,that they endue themſelues in their naturall motion, although paine doe prohibite them. So the infant that meditateth how to ſtand, and is accuſtomed to keepe himſelfe on his feete,as ſoone as he beginneth to trie his forces, he falleth, and crying riſeth againe, ſo often vntill by meanes of griefe he hath exerciſed himſelfe in that which Nature requireth at his hands. There are ſome liuing creatures of a harder back, which turned vpon the ſame,ſo long time tumble themſelues,and ſtretch out their feete and bow them in, till ſuch time as they haue recouered their ordinarie cuſtome and place. The Tortuiſe beeing caſt vpon her backe feeleth no torment, notwithſtanding ſhe ceaſeth not to ſtruggle and ſtirre her ſelfe, vntill ſuch time as ſhe feeleth her ſelfe in her naturall eſtate, and that ſhe hath recouered her feete. Each of them therefore hath a ſence of his conſtitution, and thereby a readie vſe of their members: neyther haue wee any more greater token that they came to liue with this knowledge, then for that there is no liuing creature that is ignorant how to vſe his bodie. Conſtitution, ſaith he, as you define it,is the principal and faireſt part of the ſoule,that in ſome ſort hath ſome power ouer the body. This definition ſo perplexed and ſubtill, is ſuch as you your ſelues can ſcarcely diſcouer. How doth an Infant vnderſtand it? All liuing creatures ſhould haue beene borne Logicians, to the end that they might vnderſtand this definition, which might ſeeme obſcure to the chiefeſt and wiſeſt part of the Citizens. True it were which thou oppoſeſt, if I ſaid that the definition of conſtitution were vnderſtood by brute beaſts: for conſtitution it ſelfe is more eaſily vnderſtood, then taught by Nature. Therefore that infant knoweth not what conſtitution is, yet knoweth he his owne conſtitution,and what an Animall is, he knoweth not, yet feeleth he himſelfe to be an Animal. Beſides that,he vnderſtandeth his Nature groſſely, ſummarily,and obſcurely. We alſo know well that we haue a ſoule,but what the ſoule is,where it is, of what qualitie it is, and whence it is we know not. Such ſence of our minde as we haue attained vnto, although wee are ignorant of the nature and ſeat thereof, ſuch ſence haue all liuing creatures of their conſtitution. For they muſt needs feele that, by meanes whereof they haue ſence of other things, and they muſt of neceſſitie haue a ſence of that thing which gouerneth them, and which they obey. There is not any one of vs but knoweth that there is a certain thing which ſtirreth his affections; but no man knoweth what it is: and each man knoweth that he hath an endeuor, but what it is, or whence it is he knoweth not. Euen as infants, ſo other liuing creatures haue a ſence of their principall part, but this reſentiment is obſcure and not manifeſt. You ſay (ſaith he) that a liuing creature is aboue all things accommodated to his nature and conſtitution, but that mans conſtitution is to be a reaſonable ſoule, and therfore that man is accommodated to himſelfe, not as to a liuing creature onely, but as to a reaſonable liuing creature, for he is deare and precious vnto himſelfe, as he is a man. But how therfore may an infant be accomodated to his reaſonable conſtitution, when as yet he is not reaſonable? Euerie Age hath his conſtitution, an infant hath one, a ſtripling another, an old man another; for all

of them are accommodated to the conſtitution wherein they remaine. The infant is without teeth, this is a conſtitution that agreeth with him; his teeth grow out, and this is agreeable to his age. For euen that herbe that muſt grow to a ſtalke and eare, hath one conſtitution when it is tender, and ſcarce appeareth aboue the furrow; another when it waxeth ſtronger, and hath a tender ſtalk, yet ſufficiently able to beare his burthen: another when it waxeth yellow and is ready for harueſt, and the eare thereof is hardened into whatſoeuer conſtitution it commeth, it maintaineth the ſame, and accommodateth it ſelfe thereunto. The age of an infant is one, of a little lad another, of a yong man another, of an old man another: yet am I the ſame, who both was an infant, a yong lad, and a yong man. So although each ones conſtitution be different, yet the accord thereof is alwaies one. For Nature commendeth vnto me not a boy, not a yong man, or an old man, but my ſelfe. And therefore an infant is accomodated to that conſtitution which he hath in beeing an infant, not which hee ſhall haue when he is a yong man: becauſe not onely the eſtate wherein hee is, but that eſtate which remaineth as yet more great, whereunto he ought to attaine, dependeth vpon his nature. Firſt of all, the liuing creature hath care of himſelfe, for there muſt be ſomewhat whereunto the reſt are referred. I ſeeke pleaſure: for whom? for my ſelfe, therefore haue I a care of my ſelfe. I flye from paine; for whom? for my ſelfe: therefore haue I care of my ſelfe. If I doe all things for the care I haue of my ſelfe, I haue a care of my ſelfe aboue all things. This is in all liuing creatures, it is not inferred, but innate: Nature bringeth out her fruit, but caſteth them not out: and becauſe the moſt aſſured guard is that which is neereſt, each one is committed to the charge and conſideration of himſelfe. Therefore, as I haue ſaid before, the moſt tendereſt creatures, which either from their dam, or otherwiſe haue been brought to light, doe preſently know what that is which is hurtfull vnto them, and flie from thoſe things that threaten them with death; and chickens and ſmall fowle, which are expoſed for a prey to the greater Fowle that liue by rapine, feare the ſhadow of all thoſe which paſſe and houer ouer them. There is no creature that entereth life, but hath a feare of death. How (ſaith he) can a liuing creature that is new borne know that which is healthfull or harmefull to him? Firſt, the queſtion is, whether he vnderſtand not how he vnderſtandeth. And that they haue vnderſtanding, hereby it appeareth, that they wil do nothing more then they vnderſtand: why is it that the Heron flyeth not from the Peacocke, or a Gooſe when ſhe is much leſſer, and yet vnknowne to both, and yet hideth her ſelfe when ſhe eſpieth a Hawke? Why doe Chickens feare the Cat, and not the Dog? It appeareth that they haue a certaine knowledge of that which is hurtfull vnto them, not gathered by experience, for they take heed before they can make triall of the danger. Furthermore, leſt thou ſhouldſt ſuppoſe that this hapneth by chance, they feare none but thoſe whom they ought, neither forget they that ſuch and ſuch are their enemies, and are to be auoided. Beſides, they are not made more feareful by liuing, whereby it appeareth that they attaine the ſame, not by vſe, but by a naturall loue of their ſafetie. That which vſe teacheth is diuers, and encreaſeth by little and little. But all that which Nature propoſeth is equally and readily cõmunicated to all: Notwithſtanding, if thou wilt, I will ſhew thee how each liuing creature inforceth her ſelfe to know that which is harmful vnto her. She feeleth that ſhe conſiſteth of fleſh, and conſequently knoweth, that by meanes thereof her fleſh may be cut, burnt, or bruiſed. She reputeth thoſe beaſts her cõtraries & enemies that are armed to hurt. Theſe things are vnited

toge-

together. For euerie liuing creature hath a preſent care to conſerue her ſelfe, ſhe ſearcheth that which may ſolace her, and feareth that which may offend her. If ſhe repulſe thoſe things which are contrarie vnto her, Nature teacheth her the ſame, and that which ſhe teacheth, ſhe knoweth without diſcourſe, and without reſolution of will. Seeſt thou not what ſubtiltie Bees haue in building their Hiues, how maruellous accord they haue in diſtributing and doing their buſineſſe. Seeſt thou not how no mortall Creature can imitate the Spiders webbe? what cunning ſhe hath in diſpoſing her threeds? the one are wouen out-right, in ſtead of the foundation, the other are twiſted round and ſmall, to the end ſhe may ſurpriſe and catch, as it were in a net, thoſe flies, for whom ſhe layeth her ſnares, and on whom ſhe maketh her prey. This art is borne with the Spider, and not learned. Therefore no creature is more learned then another. Thou ſhalt ſee that the Spiders webs are all alike; that the hiues wherein the Bees reſt haue entrances alike. That which Art teacheth is vncertaine and vnequall, but that which nature teacheth is alwaies vniforme: Shee hath not trained liuing creatures in other ſort, but to keep themſelues, to know and follow their nature, by meanes whereof alſo their ſcience and their life begin both together. Neither is it to be wondered at, that theſe liuing creatures are borne with their naturall ſcience, conſidering, that without the ſame, they ſhould take their life in vaine. Nature hath furniſhed them with this firſt inſtrument, to arreſt them in the communion and loue of themſelues. They could not maintaine themſelues except they would, neither could this of it ſelfe profit; but without this nothing had profited. But in no creature ſhalt thou finde the contempt of her ſelfe, or the neglect. In thoſe likewiſe which are ſilent and brutiſh, although in reſpect of the reſt they be dull, yet in regard of life they are cunning. Thou ſhall ſee that thoſe things which are vnprofitable for others, forget not the care that they ought to haue of themſelues.

EPIST. CXXII.

That the nature of exceſſe is contrarie to manners. He pleaſantly deſcribeth the nature of ſupping, drinking, ſleeping, riſing, and ſuch like indirect delights.

THe dayes alreadie haue felt ſome detriments, they are ſomewhat diminiſhed; yet ſo, as there is time enough as yet, if ſo be a man (if I may ſo ſpeake it) will riſe more officious and better with the day it ſelfe, then if he ſhould expect the ſame to go and court others vpon the day light. Baſe is that man that lieth ſlumbering long time after Sunne riſe, that awakeneth at noone, and this time to ſome is early day. There are many that peruert the offices both of day and night, and that neuer open their eyes (being ouer-burthened by ouer-nights drunkenneſſe) before the euening diſcouereth it ſelfe. Such as their condition is ſaid to be, whom Nature (as *Virgil* ſaith) hath placed ſubiect, and oppoſite to our feete:

And when to vs the day-ſpring doth appeare,
And bluſhing morne ſhowes PHŒBVS *Steedes are neere;*
To them the ruddie euen with weaker light,
Kindles the lightſome Tapers of the night.

Such is not the Region, but their life, ſo contrarie and oppoſite to that of ours. There are certaine Antipodes in the ſame Citie, who, as *Cato* ſaith, *Neuer ſaw eyther the riſing or ſetting Sunne*. Thinkeſt thou that theſe men know how to liue, that know not when they liue? And theſe are they that feare death, in which they haue buried themſelues aliue; as fatall are theſe as night-runners. Although they paſſe their night in Wine and Perfumes, although they imploy the time of their intemperate vp-ſitting in Feaſts and varietie of many diſhes, yet thoſe which they ſolemnize are not Feaſts but Funerals. Vndoubtedly by day time men are wont to celebrate the Obſequies of the dead; but aſſuredly there is no day too long to him that trauelleth. Let vs extend our life; the office and argument hereof is action, and let ſomewhat thereof be reſerued to the day. Thoſe Birds which are bought to celebrate a Feaſt are kept darke, to the end that by ſitting ſtill they may more eaſily become fat; ſo ſuch as lie without any exerciſe, a ſluggiſh ſwelling inuadeth their bodies, and a ſoft fat groweth about their members; ſo deformed doe their bodies ſeeme that haue dedicated themſelues to darkneſſe. For their colour is no leſſe pleaſing then theirs that are wearied and made pale with ſickneſſe; they languiſh, looke bleach, and are diſcoloured, and in their life their Fleſh is corrupted. Yet will I ſay that this is the leaſt of euils in them, how farre greater darkeneſſe is there in their minde? The one is ſtupid, the other is almoſt blinde, and ſeemeth to enuie thoſe that ſee not a whit. Who euer had eyes to vſe them in darkeneſſe. Askeſt thou mee how this depraued-neſſe of the minde groweth, by loathing the day, and transferring the whole life into night? All vices fight againſt Nature, all of them leaue their owne order. This is the purpoſe of exceſſe, to reioyce in peruerſe things, and not onely to depart from the right, but to flye a farre off from it, and to bee at length oppoſite vnto it. Doe not theſe men in thy iudgement liue contrarie to Nature that drinke faſting, that poure in wine into their emptie veines, and ſit downe drunke to their dinners? But this is an ordinary errour in young men who exerciſe their ſtrength, who almoſt in the very entrance of the Bath, do not only drinke but gull downe wine amongſt thoſe that are naked, to the end they might reſtraine the ſweate which they haue mooued by their hote and often quaffings. It is an ordinarie matter to drinke after Dinner or Supper; Our Countrey Houſe-keepers doe the like, who are ignorant of true pleaſure. That Wine delighteth which ſwimmeth not vpon our meates, which freely pierceth vnto the nerues. That drunkenneſſe delighteth that comes vpon an emptie ſtomacke. Seeme they not in thy iudgement to liue contrary to nature who are as effeminate in their garments as women? Liue they not againſt nature, who ſtudie to haue childiſh beautie vpon a wrinckled forehead? What thing can be more miſerable or more horrible? He will neuer be a man becauſe he may long time ſuffer a man, and when as his ſex ſhould repriue him from contumely, his age it ſelfe cannot diſcharge him. Liue they not againſt nature, that in winter long for a Roſe, and by the nouriſhment of warme waters, and the fit change of heat in winter-time cauſe a Lilly and ſuch flowers as are deſtinated to the Spring to flouriſh? Liue they not againſt Nature that plant Orchards on their higheſt Towers, that haue whole Forreſts ſhaking vpon the tops and Turrets of their houſes, ſpreading their rootes in ſuch places, where it ſhould ſuffice them that the tops of their branches ſhould touch? Liue they not againſt nature that lay the foundations of their bathes in the ſea? Neither ſuppoſe that they ſwim delicately enough, except their warme bathes be inuiro-

inuironed with tempeſtuous billowes? When as they haue reſolued to intend all things againſt the cuſtome of nature, at laſt they wholly reuolt from her. Is it day? It is time to goe to bed. It is night, now let vs exerciſe our ſelues, now let vs be coached, now let vs dine. Doth the morning approch? It is time to goe to Supper. We muſt not liue according to common cuſtome, it is a baſe, ordinary and vulgar courſe of life. Let the common day be relinquiſhed, let the morning be proper and peculiar vnto vs. For mine owne part I ranke theſe men amongſt the dead: for how little are they diſtant from their Funerals, and they moſt fatal, that liue by Torch and waxe light? I remember that at one time diuers men led this life. Amongſt others *Attilius Buta* a Prætorian, who after he had ſpent all his goods in gluttony, which were very great, when he complayned him of his pouertie to TIBERIVS; *Too late* (ſaid the Emperour) *art thou awakened.* MONTANVS IVLIVS an indifferent Poet, well knowne thorow the fauour and repulſe hee had at *Cæſars* hands, tooke pleaſure to enterlace in his Verſes theſe words *Ortus* and *Occaſus*, which ſignifie the riſing and ſetting of the Sunne. One day a certayne friend of his, beeing diſpleaſed becauſe *Montanus* had not giuen ouer for the ſpace of a whole day to recite ſome of his compoſitions, ſayd that a man ſhould not giue eare to a man, ſo importunate: *Natta Pinarius* taking fit oportunitie, ſaid, *Can I vſe him more courteouſly? I am ready to heare him from the Sunne riſe to the Sunne ſet.* When he had recited theſe Verſes,

PHŒBVS *begins to ſhew his burniſht light,*
And bluſhing day to ſpread his ſhining face,
And now begins the Swallow with delight
To feed her young, within her Neſt a ſpace,
And to her wings, breed by one and one
Yeelded from her neb their food to feed vpon:

Varus a Romane Knight, a companion of *Lucius Vinicius* an ordinary Smelfeaſt, who was the better welcome by reaſon hee wittily and bitterly ieſted at thoſe whom he thought fit, cryed out aloud, BVTA *beginne to ſleepe.* Againe, when after that he had recited,

Now haue the Shepheards cloſed their fruitfull Kie
Within their ſtalles, now dull and darkſome night
Beginnes to ſpread her ſad and ſilent eye
Vpon the dulſome Earth depriu'd of light:

The ſame *Varus* ſaid, *What ſaith he? It is now night, I will goe and ſalute* BVTA. There was nothing more notorious then this prepoſterous life of *Buta*, whereunto diuers applyed themſelues in that time, as I haue ſaid. The cauſe of this diſorder is not in that they thinke that the night hath any thing more pleaſing in it, becauſe nothing hindereth them, and for that the day is diſpleaſant to an euill conſcience; and becauſe the light coſteth nothing, it contenteth not him that coueteth or diſdayneth all things, according as they coſt more or leſſe. Beſides, theſe vnbridled perſons will haue their immoderate life ſpoken of whilſt they liue; for if it be obſcured, they thinke they loſe their labour. They are diſpleaſed therefore as often as they doe not that which may make them bee ſpoken of: many of theſe deuoure their goods, many of them haue their Harlots;

lots; and if thou wilt haue credit amongſt theſe men, thou muſt needs commit ſome laſciuious or notable folly. In a Citie ſo poſſeſſed with ſinne a common and ordinarie error is not looked after nor talked vpon. I haue heard *Pedo Albinouanus* report (which was a man of a very pleaſant diſcourſe) that he dwelt a little aboue *Spartus Papinius* houſe, who was one of the company of the night-Owles and light-ſhunners: About the third houre of the night, ſaith hee, I heare the laſhing of the Whips, and I aske what he doth? They anſwer me that he calleth his Seruants to account. About the ſixt houre of the night, I heare a ſhrill voyce, and I aske what it is? and they anſwer me that hee exerciſeth his voyce. I aske about the eighth houre of the night what that ratling of wheeles meaneth? they anſwere, that hee will take the Ayre. About day light I heare running vp and downe, the Pages are called for, the Butlers and Cookes make a ſtirre; I aske what that meaneth? they anſwer me, that hee was come out of his Bath, and required Broth and Drinke. What did his Supper, ſaid he, exceed the day? No; for he liued very frugally, and ſpent nothing but the night. And therefore he oftentimes anſwered thoſe that called him couetous and a ſlouen; *You would likewiſe call him, Lichnobius*, that is to ſay, ſuch a one as liueth by the Lampe. Thou muſt not wonder, although thou findeſt ſo many properties of vices, they are diuers, and haue innumerable faces, their kindes cannot bee comprehended. The managing of that which is good is ſimple, and that which is euill manifold, and is diſpoſed in all ſorts as a man liſt. The ſame befalleth manners, ſuch as follow Nature are facile and free, and haue ſmall differences; the reſt are extrauagant and neuer accord amongſt themſelues: but the eſpecial cauſe of this ſickneſſe in my opinion, is the hatred of common life. As they diſtinguiſh themſelues from other men in their Garments, as in their great and coſtly Suppers, and in the richneſſe of their Coaches, ſo will they be ſeparated from other in the diſpoſition of times; they will not ſinne ordinarily, whoſe reward in ſinning is Infamy. This doe all they ſeeke after, who (if I may ſay ſo) liue ſiniſterly. Therefore my *Lucilius*, wee are to follow that way, which Nature hath preſcribed vs; neyther muſt we wander out of the ſame. They that doe this, find all things facile and expedit, but they that ſtriue againſt the ſame, their life is no otherwiſe then theirs who ſtriue againſt the ſtreame.

EPIST. CXXIII.

That a thinne and ſimple dyet by the decree of the minde and hunger, are made deſirable. That rich men are to vſe the ſame likewiſe; for who knoweth whether he ſhall haue need thereof? Let neyther cuſtome or forreine manners ſeduce vs. Deſpiſe all contrary iudgements or opinions.

BEing ſpent by my iourney more incommodious then long, I came to my *Albanum* very late in the night; I find nothing ready but my ſelfe. For this cauſe I layd mee downe in my bed to eaſe my wearineſſe, and take in good part this negligence of my Cooke and Baker: for thus debate I vpon this matter with my ſelfe; There is nothing ſo grieuous that can diſtaſte thee if thou endure it patiently, neyther any thing that may diſpleaſe thee except thou thy ſelfe cauſe it by thy fretting. My Baker hath no Bread, but my Farmer hath, my Porter hath, my Plough-man hath. But thou wilt ſay, it is courſe Bread: ſtay a while it will

will bee made good; hunger, I tell thee, will make it more pleaſing vnto thee then thy white bread. Therefore ought wee not to eate any thing before hunger command vs. I will therefore ſtay and refrayne eating till ſuch time as eyther I beginne to haue good, or forbeare to loathe bad. It is a neceſſary thing to accuſtome our ſelues to frugality: many difficulties of time and place doe ſometimes hinder the moſt richeſt and greateſt Lords from their long deſired Dinners. No man can haue whatſoeuer he will, yet may he not will that which he hath not, and vſe thoſe things that are preſented him thankfully. A great part of libertie is a well-gouerned belly, and patient in all wants. Thou canſt not imagine what pleaſure I take in this, that my wearineſſe is appeaſed of it ſelfe. I ſeeke neyther Vnction nor Bath, nor any other remedie, but onely time: for that which labour hath bred reſt taketh away. This will bee more pleaſing then a Supper prepared for the gods. Sometimes I haue made a ſudden experiment of the forces of my minde, and I finde it to be the moſt ſimple and aſſured; for if the ſpirit be prepared, and enioyneth himſelfe patience, a man cannot ſee how much firmitie it hath. The proofes that are inſtantly made are the moſt aſſured, when the ſpirit hath beheld not only with an equall but a temperate eye all that which diſpleaſeth it, when it is neyther angry, nor yet conteſteth; when that which ſhould bee giuen, himſelfe miniſtreth to himſelfe by not deſiring, and thinketh that there is ſomewhat wanting to his cuſtome and not vnto himſelfe. We neuer vnderſtood that many things were ſuperfluous, but when they began to be miſſing: for we vſed them not becauſe we ought, but becauſe we had them. But how many things doe wee prepare, becauſe other men haue prepared them? becauſe they are vſuall amongſt many? Amongſt the cauſes of our euils, this is one, that wee liue by example; neyther are we gouerned by reaſon, but led away by cuſtome, which if few men did, we would not imitate: when as many haue begunne to doe the ſame, we follow it as if it were more honeſt, becauſe it is more frequent; and errour with vs ſupplyeth the place of that which is right, when it is made publike. All men now adayes trauaile in ſuch ſort, that a troope of Numidian Horſemen leades them the way, and a company of Foot-men attends vpon their ſtirrop. It ſhould be an indignitie vnto them if they had not ſome attendants to thruſt thoſe out of the way that meet them, and that ſhould ſhew in rayſing much duſt, that an honeſt man came after them. In theſe dayes all men haue Moyles that beare their Veſſels of Cryſtall, and ſuch as are made of Caſſony, and enameled by the hands of great Artiſts: it is a ſhame for thee if thou ſeeme to haue thoſe carriages as might not be broken. All the Litters wherein they carry their Minions are couered, and they themſelues haue their faces annoynted, leſt eyther the Sun or cold ſhould harme their tender skinnes; it is ſhame that there is no one in the company of their Minions, that hath a face ſo faire that it needeth not to be farded. All theſe mens conference is to be auoyded; theſe are they that teach vices, and conuey them from one place to another. They were repured the worſt ſort of men that were Tale-carryers, but ſome there are that beare vices. Theſe mens ſpeech doth much miſchiefe; for although it inſtantly hurteth not, yet leaueth it ſome ſeeds in the minde, and it followeth vs euen then when we haue left them, likely hereafter to enkindle a new euill in vs. Euen as they who haue heard ſome excellent Muſicke beare away with them in their eares that harmony and ſweetneſſe of Song, which hindereth the thoughts, and ſuffereth them not to be intended to ſerious matters; ſo the ſpeech of Flatterers, and ſuch as prayſe vice, ſticketh longer time in our

our memories, then it is heard: neyther is it an easie matter to extinguish so sweet a sound in the minde; it followeth, and continueth, and returneth againe some-whiles after into our remembrance. It becommeth vs therefore in the beginning to stop vp our eares against euill voyces, for when they haue gotten entrance, and are admitted, they are more audacious. From thence men grow to this Language: Vertue, Philosophie, and Iustice, is but the bruite of vaine words. The onely felicitie is to make good cheere, to liue at pleasure, and to haue an ample patrimony. This it is that is called life, this is to remember that a man is mortall. The dayes fleete from vs, and our life so posteth away, as we may neuer recouer it. Why are we doubtfull to frame our selues according to our fantasie, and to satisfie our flesh her desires, whilst shee demandeth them, whilst she will and can take them? Why take we care to spare for the time after our death, and to forbid our selues that for the present, which it will carry away? Thou hast no shee friend, no Boy, that may moue iealousie in thy Mistris. Each day walkest thou out of thy house sober; so suppest thou, as if thou were accountable to thy Father for the expence thou makest euery day. This is not to liue, it is to assist and keepe company with the liuing. What folly is it to heape vp riches for thine heire, and to deny thy selfe all things, that the great goods thou possessest might make thy friend thine enemie? for the more hee enioyeth by thee, the more he reioyceth at thy death. Set not a farthing by these seuere and bold Censors of a another mans life, enemies to their owne, such men as would regent the whole World, neither doubt thou to make choice of a merry life before a good fame. These speeches are no otherwise to bee fled, then the Songs of the Syrens, which *Vlysses* would not sayle by, before he had tyed himselfe to the Mast of his Ship. They haue the same power; they take from those that giue eare vnto them, their Countrey, their Parents, their Friends, their Vertues, and dragge these miserable creatures thorow the ordures of a shamefull and infamous life. How farre better is it to follow the direct way, and to ayme at this end, that those things at length may onely seeme pleasing vnto thee which are honest? Which wee may attayne, if we shall conceiue two kinds of things, the one whereof draw vs, the other driue vs away. Those that inuite vs, are Riches, Pleasures, Beautie, Ambition: in briefe, all that which flattereth vs, and is agreeable vnto vs. They that driue vs away are trauaile, death, dolour, ignominie, and want. We must therefore exercise our selues, least we feare the one or desire the other. Let vs make head against that which is contrarie, and let vs depart from those things which inuite vs, and make Warre against those that importune vs. Seest thou not how diuers the habite is of those, that ascend and descend? Those that descend from a steepe place, bend their bodies backward; they that ascend an high place lye vpon their bellies. For if in descending thou swayest thy selfe forward, or in ascending thou leanest backward: this (my *Lucilius*) is to consent with vice. We descend into pleasures, wee must mount in the incommodities and aduersities of this life. Let vs presse forward in these, and restrayne our selues in the other. Thinkest thou now, that I say this, that they are only preiudicious to our eares, who praise voluptuousnesse, who increase the apprehension of paine, a thing that of it selfe is dreadfull enough? Those men likewise, in my opinion, are hurtfull vnto vs, who vnder pretext of being Stoicks, exhort vs vnto vices: that a Wiseman only is both learned, and a louer, that only hee is practised in this Arte. The Wiseman is as skilfull in drinking, as in banquetting. Let vs enquire vntill what yeares young men

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are to bee beloued. Let theſe things bee allowed to Grecian cuſtome. Let vs rather addreſſe our eares to thoſe things that follow. No man is caſually good; vertue is to bee learned; voluptuouſneſſe is a vile and baſe thing, and of meane price: common to man, with bruite beaſtes, and whereunto the leaſt, and moſt contemptible doe flye. Glory is vaine, and ſwiftly flyeth, and is more inconſtant then the winde. Pouertie is diſpleaſing to no man, except to him that beareth it impatiently. Death is no euill. Why complayneſt thou? She it is alone that dealeth iuſtly, and carryeth her ſelfe equally towards all humane kind. Superſtition is a mad errour, it feareth thoſe whom ſhe ſhould loue, and violateth her Maſters. For what difference is there, whether thou denyeſt the gods, or defraudeſt them? Theſe things are to bee learned, yea, they are to bee kept continually in remembrance. Philoſophie muſt not ſuggeſt excuſes vnto vice. That ſicke man hath no hope of his health, who is counſelled by his Phiſicians to intemperance.

Epist. CXXIIII.

Againſt the Epicures, that good conſiſteth in reaſon, not in ſence. And therefore that Infants are not as yet capable thereof: neyther is it complete, except it be where reaſon is complete. How ſhall I vnderſtand that it is in me, if I ſeeke nothing without my ſelfe?

I Can recount, if ſo thou liſt to heare,
Full many Precepts of the ancient wiſe,
Except thou loathe to lend thy liſtning eare,
To know from whence the leſſer cares ariſe.

But thou art attentiue, neither doth any ſubtiltie diſguſt thee. Thy gentle ſpirit diſdaineth not the ſmalleſt things, although it comprehend the greateſt. I likewiſe approue this in thee alſo, becauſe thou reduceſt all things to ſome vſe, and there is nothing offendeth thee more then when a thing is not radically diſcouered, which I will not now endeuour to doe. The queſtion is, whether good bee comprehended by ſence or vnderſtanding. Hereunto it is annexed, that it is neither in bruit beaſts, nor in Infants. They that hold voluptuouſnes for the chiefeſt good, doe iudge good to be ſenſible. We contrariwiſe conſidering it in the ſoule, mayntayne that it is intelligible. If they did ſpeake of the good of ſence, wee ſhould reiect no voluptuouſneſſe, becauſe all of them are both attractiue and pleaſing. And contrariwiſe, there ſhould be no griefe which we would not willingly accept, becauſe there is none but offendeth the ſence. Beſides, they ſhould not be worthy of reprehenſion, who are too much affected to voluptuouſneſſe, and are too exceedingly afraid of paine. But we miſlike thoſe that are addicted to their belly and luſt, and contemne thoſe, who for feare of paine dare attempt nothing couragiouſly. But wherein doe they offend, if they obey their ſences, that are the iudges of good and euill? For to theſe Maſters haue you giuen the power to deſire and flye. But reaſon in their iudgement hath charge of this, and muſt order as well good and euill, as vertue and honeſty. For by theſe men the preheminence is giuen to the baſer part, to iudge of the better; and their meaning is, that the ſence which is a dimme and dull thing, and more ſlow in men then in other liuing creatures, ſhould cenſure

ſure what the true good is. What if a man would diſcerne the ſmalleſt things by ſight, and not by touch? To diſcerne euill from good, a man cannot finde a more ſharpe and better intended ſight then that of the eie. Thou ſeeſt in what ignorance of truth he remayneth, and with what ignorance hee hath trodden thoſe things vnder foot which are diuine, who will make the touch to bee the iudge of good and euill. Euen as, ſaith hee, euery Science and Art ought to haue ſomething in it, which is manifeſt, and comprehended vnder ſence, from whence it may be deriued and encreaſe: euen ſo a bleſſed life hath for his foundation and beginning, ſomething which is both apparant and ſenſible. But you ſay that a bleſſed life taketh her beginning from manifeſt things. Wee ſay that thoſe things are bleſſed, which are according to nature; but what is according to nature appeareth cleerly and at the firſt ſight, as that alſo which is entyre. What is that which is according to nature? It is that which befalleth him who is newly borne, I ſay not good, but the beginning of good. Thou attributeſt pleaſure vnto Infancie, as if it were his chiefeſt good, and wilt that a childe from the time of his birth hath that which hee obtayneth onely after he is become a man. Thus putteſt thou the top of the Tree into the place of the roote. If a man ſhould ſay, that an Infant lying in his Mothers Wombe, and ſcarce begun, tender, imperfect, and without forme, is alreadie in poſſeſſion of any good, ſhould he not ſeeme to erre manifeſtly? But what difference is there betwixt an Infant that doth beginne to be, and one which is as yet but a hidden burthen in his Mothers wombe? Both theſe, in reſpect of the vnderſtanding of good and euill, haue equall maturitie: and no more is an Infant capable of good as yet, then a Tree, or any dumbe beaſt? But why is not good in a Tree or dumbe Beaſt? Becauſe reaſon is not in them, and therefore is it not in an Infant, becauſe that hee wanteth reaſon, whereunto when he hath attayned, he ſhall approch more goodneſſe. There is ſome creature which is not reaſonable, and ſome other which is not as yet endued with reaſon; if it be it is imperfectly. Goodneſſe is neither in the one, nor in the other. Reaſon bringeth that good with himſelfe. What difference then is there betwixt the things aboue mentioned? Neuer ſhall good bee in a liuing creature which is depriued of reaſon, neither can it be in him that is not as yet endued with reaſon, as long as hee remayneth in that eſtate; ſhee may be, but ſhee is not as yet. So then I ſay (my *Lucilius*) that good is not found in euery body, or in all Ages, and is as farre eſtranged from the Infant, as that which is laſt is diſtant from that which is firſt, and the beginning of a thing from the accompliſhing and perfection of the ſame; and conſequently, good is not in a bodie which doth but newly receiue forme in his Mothers wombe: no more is there in the ſeed whence the body hath forme: as if thou makeſt mention of the good of any Tree or Plant, it is not in the firſt leafe that buddeth forth. The Corne hath ſome good which is not in the tender blade, nor in the ſtraw, but in the graine which is readie to bee reaped. Euen as all nature, except it bee conſummate, bringeth not forth his good, ſo the good of a man, is not in a man, except he be poſſeſſed of perfect reaſon. But what this good is, I will tell thee: It is a free and vpright minde, that ſubiecteth all other things vnder him, and is himſelfe ſubiect to nothing. So farre is Infancie from partaking this good, that the childiſh age hopeth it not, and youth doth weakly hope the ſame. Happy is old-age if it attayne thereunto by long and diligent ſtudie, when this is both good and able to be vnderſtood. Thou diddeſt ſay, ſayeſt thou, that there is a certayne good of a Tree, another of an Herbe; therefore may an Infant haue ſome good.

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The true good neither is in Trees, nor in dumbe Creatures; that good which is in theſe is called but a borrowed good: and what is that, ſayeſt thou? That which is according to the nature of euery thing. There is not one brute beaſt that may in any ſort participate good, which belongeth to a better and more happy nature: there is no good but there where reaſon hath place. Theſe foure Natures are diſtinct; that of a Tree, that of a Beaſt, that of a Man, and that of a God. Theſe two which are without reaſon are of the ſame nature; the other two are diuers, the one immortall, the other mortall. Of theſe the one maketh his owne good accompliſhed, and that is God; and a mans diligence addreſſeth the other. The reſt are perfect in their nature, but not truly perfect if reaſon be abſent from them. For that is finally perfect which is perfect according to cõmon nature: but common nature is reaſonable, the reſt may be perfect in their kinde. That wherein happy life cannot be, cannot haue that thing which cauſeth happy life; but a bleſſed life is made by good things, and in a dumbe beaſt there is not that wherby bleſſed life is effected, and therfore good cannot be in a dumbe beaſt. A dumbe beaſt comprehendeth things that are preſent, by ſenſe he remẽbreth thoſe things that are paſt at ſuch time as that which awakeneth the ſenſe, awakneth it ſelf, as an horſe remẽbreth himſelfe of his way when he is ſet into the beginning of it; whilſt he ſtandeth in the Stable he hath no remembrance thereof, although he hath trod it ouer many times. But the third time, that is to ſay, that which is to come, appertayneth not to dumbe beaſts: how then can their nature ſeeme to be perfect who haue no vſe of perfect time? For time conſiſteth of three parts, of that which is paſt, of that which is preſent, of that which is to come. That which is onely preſent and ſhorteſt, and paſſeth ſooneſt is giuen to beaſts: as touching that which is paſt, they haue eyther none or little remembrance thereof neyther, but caſually thinke they on things that are preſent; thus the good of a perfect nature cannot be in an imperfect nature. Or if by nature ſhe hath it, ſhee hath it as herbes haue; neither doe I deny but that bruit beaſts haue their motions very rude and violent towards thoſe things which ſeeme to be according to nature, but ſuch motions are confuſed and diſordered, yet there cannot bee any confuſion or diſorder in good. Why then, ſayeſt thou, do brute beaſts moue themſelues confuſedly and diſorderly? I would ſay that they moued themſelues confuſedly and diſorderly, if their nature were capable of order: but they haue a motion according to nature. For we call that thing confuſed, which ſometimes may not bee confuſed, and that carefull which may not bee aſſured; vice is in nothing wherein vertue may not be; dumbe beaſts haue by nature that motion which they haue. But leſt I detaine thee ouer-long, there ſhall bee ſome good in a dumbe beaſt, ſome vertue, ſome perfection; but what ſhall it be, but what good? Neyther abſolutely good, neither vertue, neither perfect, for theſe priuiledges doe onely appertayne vnto thoſe that are endowed with reaſon, who haue the knowledge giuen them, why, how farre, and how. Thus good is not in any thing, except it be endewed with reaſon. Doeſt thou aske mee whereunto this Diſputation tendeth, and what profit it ſhall yeeld vnto thy mind? I will tell thee, it exerciſeth the ſame, it whetteth it, and detayneth it in ſome honeſt Meditation, ſince it muſt both be employed and occupyed. But that which reſtrayneth the mind that runneth after vice, is profitable. But this I ſay, that the greateſt good I can doe thee, is to teach thee thy good, to ſeparate thee from bruit beaſts, and to lodge thee with God. Why doeſt thou entertaine and nouriſh the forces of thy body? Nature hath granted brute and ſauage beaſts grea-

ter then theſe: Why doeſt thou ſo carefully mayntayne thy beautie, when as thou haſt done thy vttermoſt thou ſhalt be ouercome by many bruit beaſts in comelineſſe? Why doeſt thou trim thy haire with ſo great diligence? when thou haſt either ſcattered it after the *Parthian* manner, or tyed it vp in knots after the *Germane* faſhion, or let it grow long as the *Scythians* are woont; in euerie Horſe thou ſhalt find a thicker Creſt, in euery Lion a goodlier. When thou ſhalt addreſſe thy ſelfe to run, the Hare will outſtrip thee. Wilt thou leaue theſe forreine aduantages in purſuit whereof thou haſt alwaies the worſt, & returne vnto thy good? And what is this? vndoubtedly it is a reformed mind, pure & imitating God, extolling himſelf aboue human things, placing nothing of himſelf without himſelfe. Thou art a reaſonable creature: what good is there therefore in thy ſelfe? Perfect reaſon. Summon thou that to his chiefeſt perfection, & let it increaſe as much as it may. Then ſuppoſe thy ſelfe to be bleſſed when al thy ioy ſhall proceed from thy ſelfe, when in theſe things which men long after, wiſh and deſire, thou findeſt nothing I ſay, not that thou wouldeſt rather haue, but that thou wouldeſt haue. I will giue thee a ſhort Leſſon, whereby thou mayeſt meaſure thy ſelfe, whereby thou mayeſt perceiue that thou art perfect. Thou ſhalt poſſeſſe thy true good, when thou ſhalt know that thoſe are moſt vnhappy who are happy.

The end of SENECAES *Epiſtles.*

THE MEMORABLE AND FAMOVS TRACTS:

Both MORALL and NATVRALL.

Written

By

Lucius Annæus Seneca.

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1620.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SNECA HIS DISCOVRSE OF PROVIDENCE:

OR

VVhy good men are afflicted, ſince there is a Diuine *Prouidence*.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis little Booke is a golden Booke, and was written, as I conceiue after CALIGVLAS *time, and I iudge it by his fourth Chapter: I heard a Fencer, in* CAIVS CAESARS *time, complayning of the ſcantnes of Rewards. He ſpeaketh of the time paſt, & of the man and the time which was. I think therfore that he wrote it vnder* CLAVDIVS, *and preſently vpon his returne. Yea but what if he wrote ſome of theſe Philoſophicall Diſcourſes in his Exile? For hee continued there a long time, about ſome eight yeares, and vpon iuſt cauſe made choice hereof to comfort himſelfe. For the Argument is, that there is a Prouidence, and yet notwithſtanding, that ſome euils, (but they externall,) doe befall good men. He firſt of all in generality auoweth the ſame, by the motion, order, and conſtancy of the World, all which doe teſtifie that there is a Gouernour. Afterwards hee more particularly examineth the queſtion: Why therefore doe misfortunes happen to good men? Firſt of all he ſayth, that God loueth good men, and that therefore hee ſendeth them not afflictions. That like a Father he correcteth and checketh them. Againe, that theſe ſeeme no afflictions vnto good men, neither that they are ouercome, but exerciſed by them, and made conſtant by their tribulations. That God is, as it were, a Iudge of the game, and taketh delight in theſe his ſtrong and confident Wraſtlers. This handleth he generally, and as it were in way of induction to the third Chapter. From thenceforth he more diſtinctly goeth forward, to ſet downe fiue Reaſons, why they happen. Firſt, that it is for their good, to whom they happen. Secondly, for all mens. Thirdly, for ſuch as would haue them happen. Fourthly, that they happen by Fate and eternall Law. Hee handleth the firſt reaſon in the third and fourth Chapter, and teacheth that it is for their good to whom they chance, as a Medicine is to thoſe that are ſicke. They are likewiſe confirmed by God by this*

meanes, who bringeth those forth to Battell, who are worthy of him: that hee suffereth the rest of baser Mettall to liue in idlenesse and obscurity. He handleth the second in the 5. Chap. that it is for all mens good, that good men, and such as are so reputed, might cry out vnto others, and shew them that those things are not good or euill, which the common sort esteemeth such. He counselleth them therefore to haue an eye to those that are true, and to affect them, and flye the other. In that place he entreateth of the other, of such as are willing to entertayne the same, for they giue themselues to God and Fate. The fourth concludeth that there is Fate, and that it is constituted from Eternity, what thou shouldest reioyce and grieue at. Againe, hee repeateth this, that these things are not euill, and bringeth in God most excellently exhorting and exciting them to constancie. Hee concludeth Stoically, if thou dislike it, and canst not abide it, who holdeth thee? the doore is open, get thee out.

Chap. I.

Hauing apparanced that there is a Prouidence, he sheweth in generall, by consideration of all creatures both high and low, that it is impossible that they should be without a most wise moouing cause, since the effects they haue are so admirable.

THou hast demanded of mee, my friend *Lucilius*, how it should come to passe (if so bee the World were gouerned by any Prouidence) that so many euils befall good men? I might more readily and fitly giue thee an Answere hereunto in a place of this Discourse, where I intend to proue that Prouidence hath a power ouer all things, and that God is alwayes present with vs. But since it is thy pleasure that I diuide this part from the whole, and that I satisfie thee in this one contradiction, permitting the rest of the question to remayne vntouched; I will performe it, since I know it is no hard matter to pleade the cause of the Gods. It should be labour lost at this present, to make proofe, that this great frame of the World could not be sustained without some Gouernor & Super-intendent. That those so certaine motions, & courses of the Planets & Starres, haue not this violent vehemencie, by casualtie or accident, and that which is pushed on by Fortune, and peraduenture is oftentimes troubled, and hindereth it selfe. That this swiftnesse which is neuer interrupted by any obstacle, is gouerned by the coramandement of an eternal Law. That this goodly order and gouernment, that beareth and sustaineth all things in the Earth, and in the Sea, so many cleare lights which shine in the heauens, wherein they were disposed, is not by the order of a wandering and inconstant matter. That that which should be assembled rashly and casually, could not remaine suspended, with so wonderfull workmanship. To shew also how the weight of the Earth remayneth vnmoueable, beholding the swift motions of the Heauens, which whirleth about her incessantly. How the Seas being spred thorow the deepe Valleyes, mollifie the Earth, and receiue no increase by the entry of all other Riuers. How from a very little Seed, there groweth out a body of wonderfull greatnesse; and how euen those things which seeme most incertayne and confused, I speake of Clouds and Raines, of the claps of Thunder and Lightning, of fires and flames that enforce their passage thorow the toppes of the highest Mountaynes, of the Earth-quakes which sinke and open the ground, and other accidents, which that part of Nature which is most stormie and tempestuous,

peſtuous, may moue about the earth, how ſudden and vnexpected ſoeuer they be, are neuer raiſed without reaſon. They haue their cauſes as well as they, which, as we ſee, doe ſuddenly and miraculouſly breake forth in ſome ſtrange and vnaccuſtomed places, ſuch as are the ſources of hot waters in the midſt of ſome riuers, and new Iſles that raiſe themſelues out of the depth of a large ſea. Furthermore, if a man will obſerue it, how the ſea-ſhores vpon the ebbe of the waters, become naked and diſcouered; and how anone after, vpon the floud, the waters returne and couer them againe, he will beleeue that by a certaine blinde volutation, the waues are contracted and buried one within another, ſometimes enlarged, and with ſwift ſtreames returne into their bed. Although, in truth, they increaſe by little and little, and at a certaine day & houre become more great and ſmall, according to the eſtate & diſpoſition of the Moon, which cauſeth the flux and reflux of the ſea. But leaue we this diſcourſe vntill another time, and the rather becauſe thou doubteſt not, but complaineſt of Prouidence. I wil reconcile thee to the gods, who are fauorable to thoſe that are good men: for Nature ſuffereth not, that thoſe things which are good, ſhould be hurtfull to the good. *Vertue hath contracted an amiable friendſhip betwixt good men and God. Say I friendſhip? Nay rather a kindred, and likeneſſe, becauſe a good man onely differeth from God but in time; he is his ſcholler, his follower and his true childe, whom that magnificent parent, a ſeuere exactor of vertues, bringeth vp to hardneſſe, as auſtere fathers doe their children. When as therefore thou ſhalt ſee good men, and ſuch as are acceptable to the gods, trauaile, ſweat, and aſcend high places: and contrariwiſe, the euill play the wantons, and flow in pleaſures: thinke with thy ſelfe, that we are delighted with the modeſtie of our children, and the libertie of our gibing ſlaues: that the one are reſtrained vnder a ſeuere diſcipline, whileſt the other are ſupported and maintained in their impudence. Know thou that God doth the like. He maketh not a good man a wanton: he proues him, he hardens him againſt afflictions, he poliſheth and faſhioneth him to the end he may ſerue him.

*A Stoicall Paradox, which cannot be vnderſtood, nor well expreſſed in the Schooles of humanitie, but in that of the holy Ghoſt. Examine it iudicially.

Chap. II.

Vpon the entrance of the matter, he proueth by moſt ſtrong arguments, enriched with excellent ſimilitudes, and notable examples, that afflictions are honorable, pleaſant, proptable and neceſſary to vertuous men; and that they are no waies to be eſteemed pernicious.

But why doe many aduerſities befall good men? No euill may happen vnto a good man: contraries cannot be mixed together. Euen as ſo many riuers, ſo many ſhowers powring from the heauens, ſo many ſprings of medicinable fountaines, ſweeten not the ſaltneſſe of the ſea, much leſſe alter it: ſo the ſhocke of aduerſitie peruerteth not the courage of a vertuous man. He continueth one, & whatſoeuer happeneth, he turneth it to his good. For he is more powerfull then all externall things; nay more then this, he apprehendeth them not, but ſurmounteth them, and continuing peaceable in himſelf, he reſiſteth all contrarie incumbrances. He accounteth his aduerſities, his exerciſes. What man is he that hath his minde intended and ſetled vpon honeſtie, that is not deſirous of conuenient labor, and is not ready voluntarily to expoſe himſelfe to dangers? What induſtrious man reputeth not idlenes to be a puniſhment? We ſee that wraſtlers, who haue a care of their ſtrength, doe contend with the ſtrongeſt whatſoeuer, & importune them, who faſhion themſelues to thoſe exerciſes, to vſe their vttermoſt forces againſt them: they ſuffer themſelues to be beaten and bruiſed, and if they finde no ſingle man that may equall them, they offer themſelues

ſelues to encounter with many at once. Vertue hath no vertue, if it be not impugned; then appeareth it how great it is, of what value and power it is, when by patience it approueth what it may. Thou art to conceiue that good men ought to doe the like, that the greateſt and ſharpeſt aduerſities muſt not aſtoniſh them, and that they ought not to complaine of Fate. Whatſoeuer befalleth them, let them take it in good part, and turne it to their good. It importeth not what burthen thou beareſt, but with what courage thou endureſt it. Seeſt thou not what difference there is betweene the fathers loue, and the mothers cockering. The Fathers command them to riſe early, to follow their ſtudies diligently, and on holy dayes likewiſe they ſuffer them not to be idle; ſometimes they enforce ſweate from their browes, and teares from their eyes. But their mothers neſtle them in their boſomes, and keepe them out of the Sunne; they neuer ſuffer them to crie, to be ſad, or to labour. God hath a fatherly mind towards good men, and he loueth them ſtrongly. And let them, ſaith he, haue labours, loſſes, and paines, to the end they may recouer a true ſtrength. The bodies that are ouer-fattened doe languiſh in idleneſſe, and not only too much eaſe, but alſo their owne greaſe and weight maketh them ſinke vnder it. Vntainted felicitie can ſuffer no affliction, but if a man ſtriueth continually againſt his owne calamities, he accuſtometh and inureth himſelfe to aduerſities, neyther giueth he place to any dolor, but although he be caſt downe, yet fighteth he on his knee. Doeſt thou wonder that God, who loueth good men ſo intirely, who would that they ſhould be the beſt and moſt excellent aboue all others, doe aſſigne them fortune to fight withall? I, for mine owne part, wonder not, that the gods ſometimes take pleaſure to behold worthy men wraſtling againſt ſome aduerſitie. Sometimes it delighteth vs, if we behold a young man of a conſtant reſolution, that encountreth a wilde beaſt with his huntingſtaffe, that dreadleſſe withſtandeth the incurſion of a Lion, and the more pleaſing is the ſpectacle vnto vs, the more valiantly he behaueth himſelfe. Theſe are not thoſe things that may conuert the face of the gods towards vs, but childiſh paſtimes of humane leuitie. But wilt thou ſee a ſpectacle that meriteth, that God ſhould intentiuely behold the worke? fix thine eye vpon it, behold a couple of combatants worthie the preſence of God: that is to ſay, a generous man planted before aduerſe Fortune, challenging her hand to hand. I ſee not, ſay I, what thing *Iupiter* hath more admirable vpon the earth, if he would fix his mind vpon the ſame, then to behold *Cato* remaining firme and reſolute, after his confederates had been more then once defeated; and inuincible amidſt his countries ruines. Although, ſaith he, that one only man be Lord of the whole world, although he haue legions and garriſons in euery Prouince, though the Seas be couered with his ſhips, and *Cæſars* troups ſtop vp all the paſſages; *Cato* hath a meanes to worke his libertie, with one hand hee ſhall make a broad way to his liberty. This * ſword, which during the ciuill warres, hath remained iuſt and innocent, ſhall finally performe ſome good and noble actions, and giue *Cato* liberty, who could not giue his countrie freedome: my ſoule execute thou that act which thou haſt long time meditated vpon; deliuer thy ſelfe from theſe worldly buſineſſes.* *Petreius* and *Iuba* haue already encountred, and each are ſlaine by one anothers hands. A ſtout and worthie conuention of deſtinie, but ſuch as becommeth not our greatneſſe. It is as ſhameful a thing for *Cato* to require death, as to beg life at any mans hands. I aſſure my ſelfe, that the gods with great ioy beheld, when this great and worthie perſonage, a powerfull protector of himſelfe, trauelled to ſaue others, and gaue them meanes to eſcape: who likewiſe in that

But this which Seneca praiſeth ſo highly in a man that ſlew himſelfe, is but a Paradox of the Stoicks, refuted expreſſely by Nature, by the law of Nations, and condemned by the expres word of God: for it is vnlawfull for a liuing man to forſake this priſon of his bodie, at his owne indirect pleaſure.

**The ſoueraigne Captaine and Lord of our liues, is to aſſigne vs the day, the houre, and the meanes. Neither is it the act of a generous man to loſe courage, and to thinke that his affaires ſtands ſo deſperate, that he muſt ſo diſcharge himſelfe of buſineſſe, as thereby he preiudice his owne ſoule, and his neighbors eſtate.*

that laſt night of his life, followed his ſtudie, whileſt he thruſt his ſword into his belly, whileſt he ſcattered abroad his bowels, and with his hands drew out of his bodie that ſo bleſſed ſoule of his, vnworthie to be contaminated by the ſword. Whereupon I am driuen to beleeue, that the wound was not large and deepe enough. It ſufficed not the immortal gods to behold *Cato* once, vertue was retained and reuoked, to the end that in a greater difficultie ſhee might approue her ſelfe. For there is more greater reſolution in dying the ſecond or third time, then in dying at the firſt. And why ſhould they not willingly behold their darling eſcaping by ſo noble and memorable a death? Death conſecrateth thoſe whoſe end they praiſe, who feare to vndergoe the like.

CHAP. III.

But now in the proceſſe of my diſcourſe I will ſhew how far they are from miſeries that are reputed ſo to be: for the preſent I tell thee that thoſe which thou calleſt difficulties, aduerſities, & abominable, are firſt of all for the good of thoſe to whom they happen, & afterwards for other mens good of whom the gods haue more care then of euerie one in particular. Secondly, that nothing befalleth good men but that which they would, and that they ſhould deſerue that euill ſhould light vpon them if they would not. Hereunto will I annexe, that theſe things are done by Fate, and in as much as vertuous men are good, all that which befortuneth them is good: conſequently I will teach thee, and make thee confeſſe that thou oughteſt neuer to ſay, I haue pittie of ſuch a good man, for a man may terme him miſerable, but indeed he is not, nor cannot be. That which I ſpake firſt, ſeemeth to be the moſt harſheſt of all that which I haue propounded; that thoſe euils which we quake and tremble at, turne to their good, to whom they happen. Is it for their good, ſayeſt thou, to be baniſhed, to be brought to pouertie, to be depriued of their wiues and children, and to be inforced to burie them, to be defamed, and weakened? If thou be aſtoniſhed hereat, thou wilt wonder more if I approue it to be for their good, that ſome are cured by Iron and Fire, and by hunger and thirſt likewiſe; but if thou bethinke thy ſelfe that for remedie ſake, ſome haue their bones ſcaled and ſcarified, their veines taken out, and ſome of their members cut off, which without the hazard of the whole bodie could not be left on; thou wilt ſuffer this likewiſe to be proued, that ſome incommodities are for their good to whom they happen, as much in truth as there are ſome things which being praiſed and deſired are hurtfull to thoſe that long after them, as ouer-eating and drinking, and ſuch like pleaſures, which engender crudities, trouble the braine, and kill the bodie. Amongſt diuers notable ſayings of *Demetrius* the Stoick, I remember me of one, which as yet ſoundeth and tingleth in mine eares; *There is nothing*, ſaith he, *more vnhappie then that man that hath neuer beene touched with aduerſitie*: for he hath not had the meanes to know himſelfe. Although all things he could deſire had befalne him, yea, before he could deſire; yet haue the gods thought euill of him. He ſeemed to be vnworthie that fortune ſhould at any time be ouercome by him, which diſdaineth to attempt any recreant or coward: as if ſhe ſaid, Why ſhould I admit of ſuch an aduerſarie? he will preſently lay downe his weapons, what need I imploy all my power againſt him? A ſlight threat will make him flie; he cannot abide to looke vpon me. Let another

Secondly, he proueth that euill, that is to ſay, affliction turneth to their good who are vertuous. The firſt reaſon is, That as to heale the bodie we ſometimes torment and maime the ſame, ſo doth God in regard of the righteous. Secondly, that thoſe that are alwaies in proſperitie, are in worſt account with God, in that they haue not the courage to encounter fortune.

nother man be ſought for, with whom I may enter combate. I am aſhamed to encounter with a man that is readie to be conquered. The Fencer thinketh it a diſgrace for him to be matched with his inferiour, and knoweth that he is ouercome without glorie, that is conquered without danger. The like doth fortune, ſhe ſeeketh for the ſtrongeſt to match her, ſome paſſeth ſhe ouer with a ſcorne, ſhe attempteth the moſt confident and couragious ſort of men, againſt theſe employeth ſhe her forces: ſhe tryeth her fire vpon **Mucius*, pouertie in [a] *Fabricius*, baniſhment in [b] *Rutilius*, torments in *Regulus*, poyſon in *Socrates*, death in *Cato*. Euill fortune ſeekes out no man except he be a great one. Is *Mucius* vnhappie, becauſe with his right hand he graſped his enemies fire, and chaſtiſed the errour he committed by burning of his hand, putting that enemie to flight by his ſcorched fiſt, whom with his armed hand he could not vanquiſh? What then? ſhould he haue beene more happie, had he warmed his hand in his Miſtreſſes boſome? Is *Fabricius* vnhappie for digging vp his garden, at ſuch time as he had no publique charge? for waging warre as well againſt riches as againſt *Pyrrhus*? for ſupping by the fire vpon thoſe rootes and hearbes which he himſelfe being an old man, who had triumphantly entred Rome, had gathered in cleanſing and weeding his garden? What then? ſhould he haue beene more happie if he had filled his belly with fiſhes, fetched from a farre and forraine ſhore, and of Fowles fetched from a ſtrange Country? If he had whetted the dulneſſe of his lothing ſtomack with ſhell-fiſh, fetched from the higher and lower Seas? If he had inuironed with a great heape of apples the moſt hugeſt ſauage beaſt, which coſt many men their liues before ſhe was killed. Is *Rutilius* vnhappy, becauſe they that haue condemned him ſhall bee condemned in all ages, who more willingly ſuffered himſelfe to bee rauiſhed from his Countrey, then to be remitted of his exile? becauſe he alone oppoſed himſelfe againſt the Dictator *Scylla*, and when he was recalled, not onely kept backe, but fled farther off. Let they, ſaith he to *Scylla*, whom thy great fortune entangleth in Rome, thinke this, that they behold a riuer of bloud in the Market-place, and aboue the Lake of *Seruilius* (for that was the place where they diſpoyled thoſe whom *Scylla* by publike Proclamations had condemned to die) the heads of Senators, and the troupes of Murtherers, running thorow the ſtreetes of the Citie, and diuers thouſands of Romane Citizens, murthered in that place after thou haſt ſhopt them vp, with promiſe to ſaue their liues, and notwithſtanding trayterouſly cauſing them to be ſlayne; let thoſe that cannot endure to be baniſhed, feed their eies with ſuch ſpectacles. What then? is *Lucius Scylla* happy, becauſe that in comming down to the market-place, his guard made him way with their weapons? becauſe he ſuffered the heads of Conſuls to be hanged vp, and maketh the Quæſtor pay him the price of euery head which is taxed in his Proclamations; and all theſe things doth he that made the Law *Cornelia*. Let vs come to *Regulus*; what harme did Fortune to him in making him the patterne of fidelitie and patence? The nayles faſten and pierce his skin, and on what ſide ſoeuer he turneth his wearied body, he lies vpon his wounds; neyther can he cloſe his eies, but watcheth inceſſantly. The more torment he hath, the more glorie ſhall bee his. Wilt thou know how farre off he is from repenting himſelfe for eſtimating vertue at ſo high a rate? Cheere him vp, and ſend him backe againe to the Senate, he wil be ſtill of the ſame opinion. Thinkeſt thou therefore that *Mecænas* is more happie, who could not ſleepe but by the harmonie of pleaſing muſique that ſoundeth a farre off by reaſon of his iealouſie, and becauſe he was ſtrangely tormented

* *See* Liuie *and* Plutarch *in the life of* Publicola.

a *See* Plutarch *in* Pyrrhus *life, and* Titus Liuius.

b *See the Epitome of* Titus Liuius. lib. 70. *and* Valerius Maximus lib. 2. cap. 10.

Titus Liuius, Publius Valerius Maximus, *and* Cicero *doe all of them make honorable mention of this man, to whoſe magnanimitie* Seneca *oppoſed* Mecænas delicacie.

ted with the croſſes of his fantaſtique wife, which vpon euerie ſlight occaſion threatned him with diuorce. Although he drowne himſelfe in wine to make him drowſie, and by the noyſe of water, poured out of one baſon into another intice his eyes to ſleepe: be it that hee charme his ſorrowes with a thouſand paſtimes, he ſlept as little on his feather-bed, as *Regulus* on the gibbet. But the one comforted himſelfe, becauſe he ſuffered for honeſtie that affliction he endured, and his patience regarded the cauſe of thoſe torments. The other ſpent in delights, and broken with too much eaſe, is more tormented with the occaſion then the euill it ſelfe, which he endureth; vices haue not gotten ſo ſtrong a poſſeſſion of mortall men, that it is to be doubted, if ſo be the deſtinie would giue them their choice, whether diuers had not rather reſemble *Regulus*, then be borne *Mæcenas*. Or if there were any that durſt ſay that he would be borne *Mecænas* and not *Regulus*; the ſame man, although he hold his peace, had rather be borne * *Terentia*. Thinkeſt thou that *Socrates* was badly handled becauſe he drunke that potion which was publikely mixed, no otherwiſe then if it had beene a medicine of immortalitie, and diſputed of death till death ſeaſed him? Thinkeſt thou that he was ill dealt withall, becauſe his bloud was congealed, & that by little and little the force of his veines failed him? whilſt cold in the extremitie ſtole vp to his heart by little and little? how much more rather ought we to enuie his felicitie, then thoſe who are ſerued in precious ſtones, wherein an olde and decayed Minion of his trimmed vp to endure all things, poureth vp from aboue the melted Snow into his golden cup? Theſe men, whatſoeuer they drinke, they vomit and caſt it vp againe, with a certaine loathing, and are conſtrained to retaſt their bitter ſpittle. But *Socrates* ſwalloweth the poyſon voluntarily and ioyfully. As touching *Cato*, there is ſufficiently ſpoken, and the whole conſent of men wil confeſſe that he attained the greateſt felicity, whom God made choiſe of to cruſh & conquer thoſe things that were to be feared. Are the diſpleaſures of great men grieuous? Oppoſe him alone to *Pompey*, *Cæſar* and *Craſſus*. It is a grieuous thing to be outſtripped by men of no worth in dignity and honor, but *Cato* diſdaineth not to come after *Vatinius*. It is a grieuous thing to be an actor in ciuill warres; but *Cato* in a iuſt quarrell will fight in euery corner of the world, although the iſſue be both ſtrange and miſerable. It is a grieuous matter for a man to murther himſelfe, yet will he doe it. What ſhall I, ſaith Nature, get hereby? This, that all men may know that theſe are not euils, which I thought *Cato* worthie of.

This was Mecænas fantaſticall and troubleſome wife.

Chap. IV.

In the third place he ſheweth, that afflictions are honourable, and that the greatneſſe of men is as it were circumſcribed.

PRoſperitie falleth into the hands of the common ſort, & betideth thoſe of baſeſt ſpirit: but to yoake and maſter calamities and mortall terrours, is the propertie of a great man. But to be alwayes happy, and to paſſe away life without any preſſure of the minde, is to be ignorant that affliction is one part of mans life. Thou art a great man; but how ſhall I know it, if Fortune giue thee not leaue and meanes to make proofe of thy vertue? Thou wenteſt to the Olympian games, but no man but thy ſelfe: thou haſt the crowne, but not the victorie. I applaude not thy fortune as if thou wert a great and valiant man, but as if thou hadſt gotten ſome Conſulate or Prætorſhip. Thou art increaſed in honour. The like can I ſay to a good man; if ſome misfortune hath not giuen him any occaſion,

occaſion, whereby to make ſhew of the liuely forces of his mind. I repute thee wretched becauſe thou wert neuer wretched, thou haſt paſt thy life without an aduerſary. No man, no not thy ſelfe ſhall bee able to know thy value: for to the end a man may well know himſelfe, hee ought to make proofe of himſelfe. No man knoweth his owne ability except he make tryall thereof. And therefore ſome men haue wilfully and vnprouoked expoſed themſelues to miſeries, and ſought an occaſion to make their vertue (already declining and growing to obſcurity) more glorious & eſteemed. Great men, ſay I, doe reioyce as much in aduerſities as valiant Souldiers doe in War. I heard a Fencer in *Caius Cæſars* time, complaine of the rareneſſe of rewards: How faire an age, ſaith he, is paſt; vertue gapeth after danger, and thinketh on that which ſhe intendeth, not that which ſhe is to ſuffer, becauſe that which ſhe is to ſuffer is a part of her glory. Valiant Souldiers glory in their wounds, & ioyfully ſhew the bloud that runneth from them, if it be ſpent in a good cauſe. Although they doe the like who returne in ſafety from the battel, yet is he more reſpected that returneth wounded. God, ſay I, hath a care of thoſe men whom hee deſireth to make the moſt honeſt, as often as hee giueth them an occaſion to doe any thing ſtoutly and manfully, to the performance whereof there needeth ſome difficulty and danger. Thou ſhalt know a Maſter of a Ship in a Tempeſt, and a Souldier in the Battel: how can I know how thou art addreſſed againſt pouerty, if thou aboundeſt in riches? How can I know what conſtancy thou haſt againſt ignominy, infamy, and popular hate, if thou grow olde amidſt the applauſes of euery man? if an inexpugnable fauor ſeconded by a certaine inclination of mens minds towards thee, attendeth thee perpetually? Whence know I that thou wilt patiently endure the loſſe of thy children, if I ſee thee laugh when they come into the World? I haue heard thee comfort others, but then would I willingly haue ſeene thee, if thou haſt comforted thy ſelfe, if thou haſt commanded thy ſelfe to grieue no more. Feare not theſe things, I beſeech you, which the immortall gods vſe as ſpurres to quicken and awaken our mindes. Calamitie is an occaſion of vertue. Iuſtly may a man terme them miſerable, that are ſurfetted with too much felicitie, who are detayned in an idle tranquillity, as a Ship in a calme Sea; whatſoeuer ſhall befall them will bee new vnto them. Calamities preſſe them moſt ſhrewdly, that haue neuer had experience of them. A tender necke hardly brooketh the yoke. A yong Souldier waxeth pale vpon the feare of a wound. An old beaten Souldier doth boldly ſee himſelf bleed, who knoweth that oft-times in loſing his bloud he hath conquered his enemy. God therefore animateth, reknowledgeth, and exerciſeth thoſe whom he approueth and loueth: but thoſe whom he ſeemeth to fauour and ſpare, hee reſerueth them by reaſon of their weakneſſe, for the euils to come; for it is a folly to thinke that any one is exempt. He whom thou thinkeſt ſo aſſured in his happineſſe, ſhall haue his turne, and taſte the ſame cup; whoſoeuer ſeemeth diſmiſſed, is but deferred. Why doth God afflict the beſt men with ſickneſſe, and other incommodities? Why in the Campe are the Souldiers of greateſt value, commanded to execute the exploits of greateſt danger? The Generall ſendeth out the moſt choſen troops to charge the enemy with an onſlaught by night, either to skout the way, or to driue ſome forces from their trenches. None of thoſe who ſally out, ſaith, *The Generall hath done me wrong*, but *he hath honoured mee*. Let them ſay the like, whoſoeuer are commanded to ſuffer that, for which fearefull men and cowards weepe. *We haue beene thought worthy by God to be eſteemed ſuch, in whom he might make tryall, how much humane nature may ſuffer*. Fly delights,

The reaſon why God afflicteth good men.

flye

flie from effeminate felicitie, whereby our mindes are mollified, except ſomething happen that may admoniſh them of their humane condition, who are, as it were benummed with perpetuall drunkenneſſe. He that hath been alwaies defended from the winde by his glaſſe-windowes, whoſe feete are kept warme by much wrapping, who ſuppeth not except it be in his ſtoue, is not without danger of catching colde vpon the ſmalleſt breath of winde. Since all exceſſe is hurtfull, an vnmeaſurable proſperitie is moſt dangerous: It moueth the braine, diſtracteth the minde with vaine reſemblances, and ſpreadeth many miſts betwixt truth and falſhood. Why ſhould it not be better to endure perpetuall infelicitie, which animateth vnto vertue, then to burſt with infinite and immoderate proſperitie? Death is not ſo tedious as too long fatting, and too much cruditie cracketh the bodies. The gods therefore behaue themſelues towards good men, as the Maſters doe towards their Schollers, who require more labour at their hands, of whom they haue the greateſt hope. Beleeueſt thou that the Lacedemonians hated their children, who make trial of their diſpoſition and nature, by whipping them publiquely? Contrariwiſe, thoſe fathers exhort their children to ſuffer the iercks of their whips confidently, and entreat them, being torne and halfe dead with their ſcourgings, to perſeuere, and to endure wounds vpon wounds. Wonder we that God maketh triall of the moſt generous ſpirits by aduerſitie? Vertuous inſtructions are neuer delicate. Doth Fortune beate and rent vs? Let vs ſuffer it. This is no crueltie, it is but a conflict. The more we aduenture it, the ſtronger ſhall we be. The hardeſt part of our bodie is that which trauaileth moſt: wee muſt offer our ſelues to the hands of Fortune, to the end ſhe may make vs more confident to encounter her. By little and little ſhe will make vs as ſtrong as her ſelfe. To be continually in danger, maketh a man ſet light by danger. So are Sailers bodies inured to brooke the Sea; ſo are Huſbandmens hands hardened; ſo are ſouldiers armes ſtrengthened to dart their weapons, ſo are their members made nimble that runne races. That in euerie thing is moſt ſtrongeſt, which is moſt exerciſed. By contemning the power of euils, the minde attaineth patience, which thou ſhalt know what it can effect in vs, if thou conſider how much labour effecteth in naked bodies, and ſuch as are ſtrengthened by neceſſitie. Conſider all Nations which liue vnder the peace and confines of the Romane Empire. I mean the Germaines, and all thoſe that dwell about Iſter, and thoſe wandring nations of the Scythians, where perpetual winter, & a thick aire continually preſſeth them; a barren and malignant ſoile ſuſtaineth them: they defend themſelues from ſhowers, with leaues and ſheds of thatch, they trauell ouer riuers hardened with ice, and take their repaſt vpon the fleſh of wilde beaſts. Seeme they wretched vnto thee? Nothing is miſerable that Nature hath brought into a cuſtome, for by little & little thoſe things become pleaſant vnto them, which began vpon neceſſitie. They haue no houſes, they haue no biding place, but that which wearineſſe hath allotted them for a ſeaſon. Their meate is homely, and gotten by their owne hands: the aire is extreamely cold, and their bodies are naked; this which ſeemeth calamitie vnto thee, is the life of ſo many Nations. Why wondreſt thou that good men are ſhaken, to the end they may be confirmed? There is no ſolide or ſtrong tree, that hath not beene often ſhaken by the winde, for by the often ſhaking thereof it is ſtrengthened, and faſtneth his roote more aſſuredly. They that grow in the low valleyes are the weakeſt. It is therefore profitable for good men, to make them more aſſured to be alwaies conuerſant amongſt dangers, and to endure thoſe

A perpetuall felicitie, is attended by a ſodaine misfortune.

Exerciſe maketh dangers ſlight.

The laſt proofe enriched with an excellent ſimilitude.

accidents with a constant minde, which are not euils, except to him that supporteth them badly.

Chap. V.

For the fourth principall consideration, wee shew that the vertuous are affiled, for the good and instruction of all men.

LEt vs adde now, how for the good of all men, euerie one of the better sort (if I may so speake it) beare armes and performe actions. God hath the same intention that a wise man hath, which is to shew, that those things which the common people long after, and which they are afraid of, are neither good nor euill. But they shall appeare to be good, if he bestow them on none but good men; and to be euill, if he hath reserued them only for euill men. Blindnesse were detestable, if no man should lose his eyes, except they were pulled out. Let therefore* *Appius* and *Metellus* want their sight, and be miserable herein. Riches are not the true good, & therefore let *Ellius* the bawd enioy them in such sort, as they who haue giuen him money in the temples, may see it in the brothel-house. God can by no better meanes traduce those things, which we so much couet, then in bestowing them on men most infamous, and detaining them from men most vertuous. But it is an iniust thing, that a good man should be weakened, hanged vp, or imprisoned; and that euil men should walke, with whole, healthfull, and effeminate bodies. What then? Is it not an vnreasonable matter, that valiant men should take armes, should watch in the trenches, and hauing their wounds but newly bound vp, should maintaine the breach, whilst lasciuious men, and such as professe wanton lust, sleepe securely in the Citie? What then? Is it not a most shamefull matter, that the most noblest Virgins should be awakened at mid-night to celebrate the sacred ceremonies, and that Harlots should enioy their quiet sleepes? Labor summoneth the best. The Senate oft-times is all day long in counsell, when at that time the basest companions whatsoeuer, eyther take their pastimes in the fields, or lie hidden in an Alehouse, or lose their time in chatting amongst their companions. The like is done in this great Cõmonweale of the world, good men must labor, they imploy their time, and are imployed by others, and are not inforcedly drawne by Fortune, but they follow her, and walke by her, step by step, and had they knowne it, they had outstript her. And I remember likewise, that I haue heard this manly speech of *Demetrius* that worthy fellow: *In this one thing, O immortall gods, I can complaine of you, that you haue not made knowne vnto me what your will was. For, of my selfe, I had first of all come vnto these things, to which being now called I present my selfe.* Wil you take my children from me? I haue brought thẽ vp to that end. Wil you haue a part of my bodie? Take it to you. I promise no great matter, I shal shortly leaue the whole. Will you haue my spirit? Why not? I will not deferre to restore that vnto you, which you haue bestowed vpon me. I will willingly satisfie whatsoeuer you request. * What is it then? I had rather present it you, then deliuer it vnto you. What need had you to take away the same? you might haue commanded it, neyther now shall you take it away, because nothing is taken away, but that which is taken from him that detayneth the same. I am not compelled, I suffer nothing vnwillingly; neyther am I a slaue vnto God, but assent vnto his will, and so much the rather, because I know that all things happen by an eternall and vnchangeable ordinance of God. Destinie leadeth vs, and the first howre of euerie mans birth, hath gouerned all the rest of his life.

* The one of these by name was called blind, and the other lost his eyes by fire.

* *A paradox of the Stacks, touching Destinie, for the vnderstanding whereof, the Reader may haue recourse to S. Augustine in his ninth Booke De Ciuitate Dei, and fifth Chapter, and other that haue written after him.*

life. One cauſe dependeth vpon another, and the long order of things draweth with it all that which is done in publique or in priuate. Therefore is each thing to be endured conſtantly, becauſe all things fall not out (as we *imagine) but come. Long ſince it was decreed, whereat thou ſhouldeſt ioy or ſorrow, and although euery mans life ſeemeth to be diſtinguiſhed in different and great varietie, yet notwithſtanding all commeth to one poynt, we haue receiued thoſe things which will decay, and we our ſelues muſt dye. Why are we ſo diſpleaſed? Whence groweth our complaint? We are ordained hereunto. Let Nature vſe our bodies how ſhe liſt. Let vs merrily and conſtantly thinke thus, that we loſe nothing of our owne. *What is that which is proper and beſeeming in a good man? to commit himſelfe to the hands of Deſtinie. It is a great ſolace to be carried away with the whole world. Whatſoeuer it be that hath commanded vs to liue thus, and to die thus, by the ſame neceſſitie tieth the gods. An irreuocable courſe carrieth away together both humane and diuine things. The ſame Creator and Gouernour of all things hath written the Fates, and he himſelfe followeth that which he hath written, he hath once commanded, and alwaies obeyeth. Why therefore was God ſo vniuſt in diſtributing Fate, that to good men he allotteth pouertie, wounds, and crueil death? The work-maſter cannot change his matters, it is ſubiect to ſuffer this. Some things there are that cannot be ſeparated from other things, they cleaue the one vnto another, and are indiuiſible. The ſpirits that are weake, or like to grow dull, or to fall into a watchfulneſſe like vnto ſleepe, are framed of ſlow elements. To frame a man that ſhould make himſelfe ſpoken of, there needeth a ſtronger Fate. His iourney muſt be no ordinarie way. He muſt trauell high and low, he muſt haue ſtormes, and muſt gouerne his ſhip in a ſwolne Sea; hee muſt ſhape his courſe againſt Fortune. He ſhall haue many hard and dangerous accidents to confront him, but ſuch as he himſelfe may ſmooth and make plaine. Fire trieth gold, and aduerſitie valiant men. Behold how high vertue ſhould aſcend, and thou ſhalt know that ſhe muſt not goe in ſecuritie.

*That is, things happen not by chance, but are made and come by an immutable decree.

*To anſwere this obiection, he relieth on the Paradox of the Stoickes, who tye the firſt cauſe, which is God, to ſecondarie cauſes, whereas Chriſtian Philoſophie teacheth vs the contrary, and himſelfe heretofore hath ſufficiently anſwered hereunto

The firſt which with vnwearied Steedes I clime,
Is ſuch a iourney, that their ceaſeleſſe toyle
Can ſcarcely reach before the morrowes prime:
The next in higheſt heau'n, from whence the ſoyle
And ſpacious ſeas, I ſee with dreadfull eye,
And fearefull heart: the next whereto I hie,
Is ſteepe, and prone, and craues a cunning guide;
And then doth THETIS *ſhake her ſelfe for dread,*
Leſt headlong I ſhould fall, and downward glide,
And burie in her waues my golden head.

2. Metamorph.

When the generous yong man had heard theſe things, I like, ſaith he, the way, and wil attempt it. Is it ſuch a matter to ſhape ſo faire a courſe, and to fall afterwards? The father notwithſtanding deſiſted not to terrifie his too forward minde, thus:

And that thou maiſt continue in the way,
Be carefull leſt thy poſting Steedes doe ſtray:
Yet ſhalt thou paſſe by Taurus who will bend
His hornes to croſſe thee, whither thou doſt tend:

Th'Æmonian Archer, and the Lion fell
Shall ſtay thy courſe, and fright thee where they dwell.

After this he ſaith, *Coople thy granted teame.* I am animated by theſe things, wherewith thou thinkeſt to affright me. I am reſolued to ſtand there, where the Sunne it ſelfe ſhall tremble. It is the part of a baſe and recreant minde to trauell in ſecuritie : Vertue alwaies climeth hard and difficult pathes.

CHAP. VI.

The fift and ſtrongeſt point, wherein he ſheweth that there is no euill but in vice. Whence it followeth, that the vertuous endure no euill, and that this name ought not be giuen to afflictions.

BVt why doth God permit that good men ſhould ſuffer wrong? Vndoubtedly he permitteth it not. He remoueth all euils from them, hainous ſinnes and offences, curſed cogitations, greedie counſels, blind luſts, and auarice that coueteth another mans fortunes, he defendeth and reſtraineth them. Doth any man require this at Gods hands, that he ſhould take paine alſo to keep good mens budgets? They acquit God of this care, they contemne externall things. *Democrates* caſt away riches, ſuppoſing them to be the burthen of a good minde. Why wondereſt thou therefore, if God ſuffer that to happen to a wiſe man, that a good man ſometimes would wiſh, that he might ſometimes light vpon? Good men loſe their children. Why not? When as the time will come that they themſelues muſt die. They are baniſhed : Why not? When as ſometime they forſake their Countrie, with this reſolution, neuer to ſee it againe. They are ſlaine : Why not? when as ſometimes they themſelues will lay hands on themſelues. Why ſuffer they ſome aduerſities? To the end they may teach others to ſuffer the like. They are borne to be a patterne. Thinke therefore that God ſaith : What cauſe haue you, who haue taken pleaſure in vertue, to complaine of me? I haue enuironed ſome with deceiuable goods, and haue mocked their vaine mindes with a long and deceitfull dreame. I haue decked them with Gold, Siluer, and Iuorie, but inwardly there is nothing good in them. Theſe whom you admire for their happineſſe, if you looke into them, not according to their exteriour greatneſſe, but their interiour weakeneſſe, they are miſerable, baſe, filthie, and like their walls, onely painted on the outſide. This is no ſolide and ſincere felicitie, it is but a cruſt, and that a thinne one. Therefore as long as they may ſtand vpright, and not ſhew themſelues but where they liſt, they ſhine and abuſe the common eye. But if any thing happeneth, that troubleth and diſcouereth them, then ſhalt thou ſee a ſea of villanie and filth hidden vnder their borrowed brightneſſe. I haue giuen you true and permanent goods. The more you examine and looke into them euerie waies, the better and the more greater will they appeare to be. I haue permitted you to contemne thoſe things which are to be feared, to loath thoſe things that are to be deſired; you ſhall not ſhine outwardly, *your goods are turned inward. So the World contemneth his exteriour parts, and contenteth himſelfe with the contemplation of himſelfe. I haue placed all good inwardly. It is your felicitie, not to want felicitie. But diuers pittifull, dreadfull, and intollerable things fall out. Becauſe I could not deliuer you from theſe euils, I haue armed your minds againſt all things. Suffer manfully, this is the way whereby you may walk before God, he is without the patience of euill, you aboue the patience. Contemne pouertie, no man liueth ſo poore

* *Againe, hee returneth to his Paradox, tying God vnto ſecondarie cauſes.*

as

as he was borne. Contemne paine, it will either be ended, or end vs. Contemne Fortune. I haue giuen her no weapon to wound the minde. Contemne death, which either endeth you, or transferreth you. * Aboue all things I haue taken order that no man should keepe you liuing against your will. If you will not fight you may flie: therefore of all things which I would haue necessarie for you, I made nothing more easie then death. I haue planted the soule in a declyning place, whence a man may deliuer it: consider now and you shall see how short the way is vnto libertie, and how readie it is. I haue not prefixed you so long delayes in your departure, as I haue giuen at your entrance; otherwise Fortune had held a great dominion ouer you, if a man should die as slowly as he is borne. Let euerie time and place teach you how easie a thing it is to renounce Nature, and to returne her that fauour she hath bestowed vpon you: learne you death amidst the altars, and the solemne rites of those that sacrifice whilst life is wished for. The bodies of the fattest Bulls are slaine with a small wound, and the stroake of a mans hand murthereth the Beasts of the greatest strength. The ioynt that ioyneth the necke to the head, is diuided with a thinne Knife, and when the nerues that tie them both together are cut, that great masse of the bodie falleth downe. * The spirit is not hidden ouerdeepe, neither need we to draw it out with hookes: we need not inflict deepe wounds in our entrailes, death is at hand. I haue destinated no certaine place for these strokes: life may finde issue by any place whatsoeuer. Euen that which is called death, whereby the soule departeth from the bodie, is so short, that the most sodaine swiftnesse thereof cannot bee apprehended. Whether a man strangleth himselfe, or stop his breath by drowning himselfe, whether falling vpon the pauement, a man dasheth out his braines, whether by swallowing downe quicke coales of fire, he intercepteth the course of the departing soule, whatsoeuer it be it hasteneth. What doe you blush? why feare you that so long, which is done so soone?

(***)

* *Another Paradox, placing death in the power and will of a man, whereas man ought to attend the same from the ordinance of God: Esteeme this as an Ethnique error, gather the flowers, let the weedes passe.*

* *Death is easie indeed, but aduisedly adde hereunto, if it happen in such sort, and at such time as pleaseth God.*

The end of the Booke of Prouidence.

A TREATISE OF ANGER.

VVritten by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SNECA,

To his Friend NOVATVS.

The first Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THe Bookes of Anger seeme to be written amongst the first Bookes of Philosophy, vndoubtedly amongst those which we haue: we gather the same out of SENECAES *owne word in his third Booke and eighteenth Chapter; At this time* CAIVS CAESAR *caused* SEXTVS PAPINIVS, *whose father was Consul, and* BELENIVS BASSVS *who was Treasurer, to be whipped. Hee saith at this time, euen now but newly done, nay more, whilest* CALIGVLA *himselfe was liuing, out of the Chapter following: That which thou so much admirest was vsuall and ordinary with this Beast; he liueth for this, he watcheth for this: vndoutedly all these things were spoken by a man that is, not that was. He wrote at that time therefore, but he published it not, the more his wisdome, although as I suppose he did it shortly after his death.*

The Argument is as the Title testifieth; How to know Anger, and afterwards to eschue it. The first Booke therefore hath the description thereof, and the lothsome habit and face of such as are angry: then certayne definitions: then questions, whether man onely be subiect thereunto? He maintayneth it: Whether it bee according to Nature? He denyeth it with the Stoicks. Whether it be profitable, especially if it be tempered? This likewise denyeth he, and diuersly disputeth against the Peripatetiques: that neyther the minde nor the strength is whetted thereby. That we ought not to be angry, no not with those that are euill; neyther at the death of our Father, nor at the ranishing of our Mother; yet that they are to

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bee defended and reuenged. To conclude, that this is a ſigne, not of a great, but of a weake minde. The Bookes art in part very excellent and eminent in the whole, ſcarce diſtinct, but confuſed in repetitions and digeſtions.

CHAP. I.

* Nouatus *was* Iunius Gallus *his adopted Son.*

THOu haſt required of me, * *Nouatus*, to write vnto thee how wrath might bee pacified, neither without cauſe ſeemeſt thou vnto mee to haue feared this affection eſpecially, which is the moſt cruell and enraged of all others: for in the reſt there is ſomewhat that is pliant and pleaſing, but this is alwayes violent and full of immoderate ſorrow, of armes, of bloud, of puniſhments, incenſed with more then humane deſire, neglecting her ſelfe ſo ſhe may hurt another, ruſhing in vpon the ſharpeſt weapons, and greedie of reuenge, and complotting murthers. Some therefore of the wiſer ſort haue ſaid, that * Anger is a ſhort madneſſe, for ſhee is as little Miſtris of her ſelfe as the other: ſhe forgetteth all reſpect, neglecteth friendſhips, intent and obſtinate in that ſhee hath vndertaken, and neglectfull of reaſon, and incapable of counſaile: ſhee is tranſported by vaine pretexts, ſtupid in the preſence of equitie and veritie, properly reſembling the ruines of Houſes, which breake themſelues vpon that ruine which they themſelues haue beaten downe. And to the end thou mayeſt know that they who are ſurpriſed with Anger are truely madde, conſider a little their countenance, and the manner of their behauiour. For euen as theſe are certaine ſignes of confirmed madneſſe, to haue a bold and threatning countenance, a heauie brow, and dreadfull face, a ſwift and diſordered gate, vnquiet hands, changed colour, and frequent and deepe ſighes: ſo thoſe that are angry haue the ſame ſignes. Their eyes ſparkle and ſhine, their face is on fire thorow a refluxe of bloud that boyleth vp from the bottome of their breaſts, their lippes quiuer, their teeth grate, their haire ſtartleth and ſtandeth vpright, their breath is inforced and wheeſeth, they wreſt and cracke their fingers, their ſpeech is interrupted with plaints and grones and muttering, which a man may hardly vnderſtand. They often clap their hands, and ſtampe the ground with their feet; their whole bodie ſtartleth, and is ſhaken, their actions are full of furious menaces. In briefe, they haue a dreadfull and horrible countenance, reſembling ſuch men that diſfigure and puffe themſelues vp after a ſtrange faſhion. Thou canſt not ſay whether it be a more deteſtable or deformed vice: the reſt wee may hide and nouriſh in ſecret; Anger diſcouereth her ſelfe and appeareth in the countenance, and the greater it is, the more manifeſtly diſcouereth ſhe her impatience. Seeſt thou not in brute beaſts whatſoeuer, that as ſoone as they are addreſſed to hurt, there are certaine ſignes as fore-runners of their intention; how all their bodies giue ouer their peaceable and accuſtomed habit, and how they exaſperate their naturall fiercenes? The Boares ſome and gnaſh their teeth: the hornes of Buls are toſſed in the Ayre, and by the trampling of their feet the ſand is ſcattered: the Lions roare, the incenſed Serpents haue ſwelling neckes, mad dogs haue a dreadfull look. There is no liuing creature ſo cruell and pernicious

* *He deſcribeth choler in this place very fitly according to* Themiſtius.

cious whatſoeuer, that diſcouereth not ſome new furie, as ſoone as diſpleaſure hath ſeized him; neyther am I ignorant that other affections alſo are ſcarſly hidden; and that luſt, feare, and boldneſſe make ſhew of themſelues, and may be fore-knowne. For there is none ſo vehement and inward thought, that bewrayeth not it ſelfe in the countenance. What difference then is there? but that other affections doe appeare, this is eminent.

CHAP. II.

That choler and anger is hurtfull to vs, he approueth by example, and by the effects and diſcommodities thereof, ſetting Syllaes cruelties, and the Triumuirates tyrannie for an example of hatred thereof to all men.

BVT now if thou wilt conſider the effects and damages thereof, there is no plague that hath ruined and coſt the World more then this. Thou ſhalt ſee Murthers, Impriſonments, ſhamefull and mutuall reproches of guilty men, ſacking of Cities, ruines of whole Nations, heads of Princes and great Lords taxed and ſold to him that offereth moſt; houſes burned, and fire not reſtrayned within the wals of a Citie, but whole ſpaces of Regions ſhining with hoſtile flame. Behold the foundations of the nobleſt Cities, now ſcarcely knowne, theſe hath wrath ouerturned. Behold the Deſert and vnhabited, extended to many thouſand paces; theſe hath wrath diſpoyled. Behold ſo many great Chieftaynes, whoſe memorie remayneth as yet ſeruing for examples of humane miſerie: one of theſe hath wrath murthered in his bed, another hath wrath ſlaine at the Table, without any reſpect of the ſacred rites of the ſame, another hath ſhe ſtabbed in the midſt of the lanes, and in the market-place in the ſight of all men: ſhe hath commanded another to offer his throate to the murtherous hands of his ſonne; another to haue his kingly throate cut by the ſword of his ſlaue, another to haue his members diſtended vpon the Gibbet. And as yet haue I but reckoned vp ſome particular mens puniſhments. But if thou pleaſe (pretermitting thoſe whom Anger hath thus maſſacred man by man) to behold whole Armies put to the ſword, the people of a City murthered by ſouldiers, expreſly ſent to that purpoſe, and whole Nations exterminated without ſparing great or ſmall, as if the gods cared not for vs, or they contemned their authority. But as touching the Fencers, why is it that the people are ſo iniuſtly incenſed againſt them, that they repute it to be an iniurie done vnto them, if the Sword-players kill not one another ſpeedily? ſhewing by their countenances, geſtures, and heate, that they ſuppoſe themſelues to be neglected, making themſelues by this meanes of Spectators mercileſſe Enemies. Whatſoeuer it be, this is not wrath, but a paſſion reſembling wrath, ſuch as is that of children, who if they haue falne will haue the Earth beaten, and ofttimes they know not with whom they are angry; yet are they onely angry without cauſe and without iniury, and yet not without ſome appearance of iniurie, nor without ſome deſire of reuenge. They are deluded therefore with counterfeit beatings of the Earth, and are pacified by the fayned teares of thoſe that would ſtill them, and by a diſſembled forme of reuenge their fayned ſorrow is extinguiſhed.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

WE are oftentimes diſpleaſed (ſaith hee) not with thoſe that haue hurt vs, but with thoſe who hereafter are like to hurt vs, to the end thou mayeſt know that Anger proceedeth not onely from an iniurie already done. True it is, that we are angry with thoſe that ſhould hurt vs, but thoſe that harm vs in their very thought and he that is to doe vs an iniury, hath alreadie done it. To the end thou mayſt know (ſaith he) that wrath is not a deſire of reuenge, oft-times the weakeſt are diſpleaſed with the ſtrongeſt. Neither wiſh they for reuenge, which they hope not to ſee. We haue formerly ſaid that wrath was a deſire, and not a power to reuenge; but men deſire ſuch things as they cannot effect. Furthermore, no man is ſo humble and baſe, who cannot hope to ſee Iuſtice done vpon his greateſt aduerſary: we haue power enough to hurt. *Ariſtotles* definition differeth not very much from ours; for he ſaith, That wrath is a deſire to diſpleaſe thoſe that haue diſpleaſed vs. It were a long matter to diſcourſe what difference there is betwixt this definition and ours: againſt both it is ſaid that beaſts are incenſed, yet are they not prouoked by any iniurie, neither deſire they the puniſhment or paine of any other beaſt: for although they reuenge themſelues, yet is it not with a deſire of vengeance. But we muſt anſwer, that wild beaſts, and all other creatures, except man onely, doe want Anger. For whereas it is oppoſite to reaſon, yet doth it neuer grow in any one, but ſuch in whom reaſon hath place. Brute beaſts haue their aſſaults, their rage, their fierceneſſe and incurſion; yet haue they Anger no more then lecherie, and in ſome pleaſures they are more intemperate then man is. Thou muſt not giue credit to him that ſaith:

1. De Anima, cap. 1.

The Beare remembers not his wrathfull ire,
The Hind doth ſcarſly truſt her ſwift retire:
Nor Beares to prey vpon the mighty heards.

By this word Anger, he intendeth emotion, or incitation. They know no more to be angry, then how to pardon. Dumbe beaſts want humane affections, but they haue certaine impulſions which reſemble the ſame. Otherwiſe if loue were in them, hatred ſhould be in them alſo: if friendſhip, enmitie: if diſſention, concord: whereof ſome markes doe appeare in them. But good and euill are onely proper to the hearts of men. Wiſdome, diligence, and cogitation, are only granted to a man, and brute beaſts are not only not partakers of humane vertues, but are alſo exempted from their vices. All their forme both exterior and interior is vnlike vnto mans. Their vnderſtanding is groſſe and imperfect, their voyce ſtrange, confuſed, and without any ſignification; their tongue is tyed, and hath no diuerſities of ſounds, neither can it diſtinctly ſpeake and pronounce. The beaſt then receiueth the obiect of that which ſhee ſeeth, and the kinds of all things that incite her vnto furie, but ſhee receiueth them troubled and confuſed. Thence commeth their ſpringings and vehement aſſaults, which may not bee called either feares, or cares, or ſadneſſe, or diſpleaſures, but ſome things like vnto theſe. Therefore is it that they are quickly appeaſed and are changed into a contrarie eſtate, and after they haue moſt inragedly executed their crueltie, they returne vnto their paſture and fodder, and after a cry and furious courſe, they ſeeke out their reſt and ſleepe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

WE haue ſufficiently declared what choler is, whereby it appeareth that betwixt it and inueterate wrath there is ſuch a difference as is betweene a man that is drunke, and a drunkard: betweene a man that is frighted and a coward: A man may bee diſpleaſed, yet not cholerike, but choler can neuer bee voyd of Anger. As touching the other kinds of choler, which the Græcians expreſſe by diuers other names, I let them paſſe becauſe wee haue no proper words to expreſſe them, although that we ſay, Behold ſuch a one is implacable and auſtere, is alſo quarrelſome, furious, a brawler, reuengefully wrathfull, implacable. All which are kinds and differences of Anger: amongſt theſe thou mayeſt ranke the peeuiſhneſſe, which is a delicate kind of Choler. For there are ſome diſpleaſures which are appeaſed with brawling, ſome that are ordinary and no leſſe obſtinate, ſome ſparing in words and violent in execution, ſome that diſcouer their bitterneſſe in the multitude of words and curſes; ſome paſſe not further then plaints and reproches, ſome others are profound and weighty, and are fixed deeply in the thought. There are a thouſand ſorts of euils in this euill, ſo diuerſe, and ſpread into ſo many branches.

Differences of Anger.

CHAP. V.

WE haue examined what wrath is, and whether it might ſeize any other creature then a man, wherein it differed from diſpleaſure and of the kinds of the ſame. Let vs now enquire whether wrath be according to nature, whether it be profitable, & whether in any ſort we ought to reſtraine the ſame. It will manifeſtly appeare whether it be according to nature if we conſider a man, for there is nothing ſo peaceable, and gouerned as he is, as long as his minde is gouerned and pacified: but what is more cruell then Anger? what creature, is more louing toward his like then man is? what is more hateſull then wrath? A * man is borne to helpe other, wrath for the general ruine of all. A man deſireth nothing more then company, wrath ſearcheth ſolitude; the one will aſſiſt, the other will hurt; this deſireth to ſhew himſelfe kinde, though it be but to ſtrangers, the other to endanger familiars. A man is ready to hazard his owne life to ſecure anothers. Wrath is ready to hazard danger, prouided, ſhee may hazard ſome other with her ſelfe. Who therefore is more ignorant of the nature of things, then he that to her beſt and commendableſt worke which is man, aſſigneth this ſo ſauage and pernicious a vice? Wrath as we ſaid is greedy of vengeance, and that deſire of reuenge ſhould be in the moſt peaceable heart of a man, is a thing which is not conſonant to his nature. For humane life conſiſteth vpon benefits and concord, it is not then by threats but by mutuall amitie that men are allied and tyed to aſſiſt one another. What then? Is not chaſtiſement ſometimes neceſſary? Why not? but this muſt be ſincere and with reaſon. For it hurteth not but healeth vnder a reſemblance of hurting. Euen as to ſtraighten the ſtaues of our Iauelings, which are waxen crooked, wee burne them and ply them in a vice of Iron or Wood, not to the intent to breake them, but make them more euen and ſtraight: ſo correct we our wits being depraued with vice, with

Whether Anger be a thing naturall, profitable, and to be rectified.

* *It is not naturall.*

An excellent Similitude.

with the paine both of bodie and minde. And in like ſort, as the Phyſician, hauing ſome light infirmities in cure aſſayeth: Firſt, to change ſome little of the ordinarie cuſtome of the ſicke, to preſcribe his Dyet, his drinke, his exerciſes, and to confirme his health by the only changes of the order of his liſe. Secondly, hee endeuoureth to bring this to paſſe that this meanes may profit, and if it happen other wayes, hee diminiſheth and cutteth off ſome things; and if this be not enough he forbiddeth the ſick-man all meates, and rectifieth his bodie by enioyning him abſtinence: and if theſe gentle remedies haue effected nothing, hee openeth a veine, and if any members be harmefull one vnto another that cleaue vnto the ſame, and ſpread their euill thorow the bodie; he diuideth them, and there is no cure that the ſick-man ſuppoſeth grieuous, if the effect of the ſame bring him health: In like ſort it behoueth the Magiſtrate, who is the conſeruer and maintayner of the Law, to heale mens mindes, by gentle words and perſwaſions as much as in him lyeth, perſwading his ſubiects to doe that which is commanded them, and imprinting in their thoughts the loue of Iuſtice and honeſtie; in briefe, propoſing for the reward of Vertue, the hatred of vice: and afterwards hee ought to vſe ſharper words, contenting himſelfe as yet to aduertiſe and threaten. Finally, he muſt haue recourſe to puniſhments, and yet ſuch as are light and reuocable. The extremeſt puniſhments hee ought to inflict for the greateſt faults: to the end that no man may periſh except it be he that is put to death, and for whom it is expedient to dye.

The cure of the Magiſtrate, properly applyed to that of the Phiſician.

CHAP. VI.

The difference betwixt a Magiſtrate and a Phiſician.

IN this one thing hee differeth from the Phyſicians, becauſe they ſuffer thoſe to depart in peace, whoſe life they could not ſaue and recouer; the other contrariwiſe condemneth the Malefactour diſgracefully, and forcibly drieth him out of the World, not becauſe he taketh pleaſure to put any man to death, (for far off is a Wiſeman from ſuch barbarous crueltie) but to the end that thoſe who are condemned to death, ſhould ſerue for an example to the liuing, and that the Common-wealth might make vſe of their death, who during their life, would be profitable to no man. The nature of man therefore is not to delight or affect puniſhment, and therefore is not wrath according to the nature of a man, becauſe it is deſirous of reuenge. I will propoſe in this place an Argument of *Platoes*. For who forbiddeth vs to make vſe of other mens reaſons, in as much as they make for vs? A good man (ſaith he) doth not hurt, it is the puniſhment that hurteth, puniſhment therefore doth not become a good man. And conſequently, neyther choler, becauſe puniſhment is agreeable to the ſame: If a good man take no pleaſure in puniſhing, neyther will hee take pleaſure in that affect, to which puniſhment is a pleaſure. Therefore wrath is not naturall.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

He proueth now that Anger is not profitable.

IS not wrath therefore to be admitted, (although it be vnnatural,) becauſe that oft-times it hath beene profitable? It rayſeth and inciteth mens minds, neither doth Fortitude performe any worthy action in warre, except hereby mens hearts be inflamed, and this inſtigation hath whetted and animated valiant men to attempt dangers. Some therefore thinke it requiſite to temper wrath, and not to extinguiſh it, and that being taken away which is exuberant, to reduce it into a laudable forme; and to retayne that without which the action would languiſh, and the force and vigour of the ſpirit be reſolued. Firſt, it is more eaſie to exclude ſuch things as are pernicious, then to gouerne the ſame, and not to admit them rather then to moderate them when they are admitted. For when they haue put themſelues into poſſeſſion, they are more powerfull then their guide, and ſuffer not themſelues eyther to bee diminiſhed or cut off. Againe, reaſon it ſelfe to whom the reines & authority are deliuered, is ſo long powerfull, as long as ſhe is ſeparated from paſſions; But if ſhee intermixeth her ſelfe, and be defiled with them, ſhe cannot reſtraine thoſe whom ſhe might haue remooued. For the minde being once mooued and ſhaken, is addicted to that whereby it is driuen. The beginning of ſome things are in our power, but if they bee increaſed, they carry vs away perforce, and ſuffer vs not to returne back, euen as the bodies that fall headlong downe-ward, haue no power to ſtay themſelues. Euen as thoſe that are caſt downe, retayne or ſtay themſelues in their fall, but an irreuocable precipitation hath cut off all counſaile, and all meanes of remedie, neyther is it poſſible to keepe themſelues from attayning thither, whither had they their choice they would not arriue. So the minde if it hath plunged it ſelfe in wrath, loue, and ſuch like affections, is not ſuffered to reſtrayne the fall, but it muſt needſly fall out that the weight of his wickedneſſe, and his nature prone and inclined to vice, muſt needſly carry and precipitate him to the bottome.

A fit Similitude to confirme his ſecond proofe.

CHAP. VIII.

The remedie of the precedent difficulty. A reaſon that ought to be carefully obſerued and marked.

IT is beſt therefore forthwith to deſpiſe the firſt aſſault, and reſiſt the beginnings. And to endeuour that we fall not into Anger, for if ſhe beginneth to tranſport vs, it is a hard matter to recouer the right way. Becauſe reaſon hath no place, as ſoone as paſſion hath gotten the vpper hand, and Will hath giuen him any intereſt; then will ſhe afterwards do, not what thou permitteſt, but what ſhe pleaſeth. Firſt of all ſay I, the Enemy is to be driuen from our borders, for when he is entred and hath gotten the gates, hee taketh no condition with his Captiues. For at that time the minde is not retyred, neyther exteriorly examineth ſhee affections, to the intent ſhee ſuffereth them not to haue further progreſſe then they ſhould, but is changed her ſelfe into paſſion; and therefore can ſhe not reuoke that profitable and wholeſome vigor, which is already betrayed and weakned. For as I ſaid, theſe haue not their diſtinct and ſeuerall ſeates, I meane paſſion (which is a change in the Soule from good to euill) and reaſon (which is a change from euill to goodneſſe. How therefore ſhall reaſon which hath giuen

place vnto Anger, and is seized and oppressed with vices, rise againe? Or how shall she deliuer her selfe from confusion, she is falne into; by reason of those violent passions wherewith she is intermixed and oppressed? But some (saith he) contayne themselues in Anger. Is it in such sort that they accomplish nothing which choler commandeth, or doe they obey the same some wayes? If they doe nothing, it appeareth that wrath is not necessary in humane actions, whom you preferred as if she had somewhat more greater efficacy then reason. In conclusion, I aske this question, whether shee bee stronger or weaker then reason? If stronger, how may reason giue her a Law and restrayne her, considering that they are but feeble things which obey? If weake, reason of her selfe is sufficient without her to effect things, neither desireth shee the helpe of so powerlesse a passion. But some that are angry, are their owne men, and contayne themselues. How? Then when Anger is already pacified, and remitteth of her owne accord. Not when she is in height of her feruour, for then is she stronger. What then? Doe not some men in the height of their displeasure, suffer those to depart safe and secure whom they hate, and abstaine from hurting them? But how? After that a second passion hath repulsed the former, or feare or pleasure hath commanded this or that, wrath stayeth it selfe, not for the reuerence she oweth vnto reason, but by reason of a feeble and euill accord which the passions haue amongst themselues.

CHAP. IX.

A continuation of the obiection and answere.

TO conclude, it hath nothing profitable in it selfe, neyther doth it whet the courage in Warlike exploits. For Vertue which is contented with her selfe, must neuer bee assisted by vice. As oftentimes as she is to attempt any thing, shee is not angry, but rayseth her selfe so farre forth as she thinketh it necessary; shee is both intended and remitted no otherwise then those Arrowes which are shot out of Engines, are in the power of him that shooteth, how farre they shall bee shot. Anger saith *Aristotle* is necessary, neyther can any thing be atchieued without her, or shee encourage the minde, and enkindle the spirit: But wee are to vse her not as a Captaine but as a Souldier: which is false. For if she giue eare to reason, and follow the way shee is directed, then is it not Anger whose propertie is contumacie: but if she resist and is not quieted when she is commanded, but passeth further with pride and fury, she is as vnprofitable a Minister of the minde as is the Souldier that retyreth not to his colours when the retreat is sounded. If therefore she suffer her selfe to be kept in measure, she must be called by another name, she ceasseth to be wrath, that is to say, vnbrideled and vntamed. If she suffer it not, she is pernicious, neither is she to be reckoned amõgst the number of helpes: So that either she is not Anger, or else she is vnprofitable: For if any man exacteth punishment, not being greedy of the punishment it selfe, but because he must, he is not to be numbred amongst those that are Angry. That man shall be reputed a profitable Souldier, who knoweth how to obey counsell; as for affections, they are as euill Ministers as they are Captaines. Reason therefore will neuer take to her assistants, improuident and violent passions ouer whom she hath no authority, and whom she neuer may restraine except she oppose their equals and likes vnto them, as feare to Anger, Anger to cowardise, desire to feare.

Learne here the vse of Anger.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

FArre be it from vertue to be reduced to this extremity, that reaſon ſhould be conſtrained to haue her recourſe to vices. Here cannot the mind remayne in any certaine ſecurity; he muſt needs bee in perpetuall agitation and trouble, who is ſecure in his euils, who cannot be ſtrong except he be wrathfull, nor induſtrious except he deſire, nor quiet except he feare; he muſt liue in a Tyranny that becommeth a ſlaue to any paſſion. Are you not aſhamed to thruſt Vertues vnder the protection of vices? Moreouer, reaſon loſeth her power if ſhe can do nothing without paſſion, but beginneth to be equall, and like vnto her. For what importeth it, whether paſſion bee an inconſiderate thing without reaſon, or that reaſon be feeble, and of no force without paſſion? All comes to one, the one cannot be without the other. But who will endure that paſſion, ſhould bee equalled with reaſon? Choler (ſaith he) is a profitable paſſion, if it be ſmall and little: yea if ſhe be profitable by nature: but if ſhe be incapable both of gouernment and reaſon, ſhe ſhall attaine this only thing by her moderation; that the leſſer ſhe is, the leſſe hurtfull ſhe ſhall be. Therefore a light paſſion is nothing elſe but a ſmall euill.

An anſwer to Ariſtotles opinion, who in his Ethikes ſaith that choler is neceſſary.

CHAP. XI.

BVt againſt our Enemies (ſaith he) Anger is neceſſary. At no time leſſe then that, wherein our paſſions ſhould not be vnbridled, but obedient and moderate. For what other thing was it, that cruſhed and confounded the Barbarians ſo ſtrong in their bodies, ſo patient in their labours, but Wrath which is moſt pernicious to her ſelfe? Arte likewiſe defenceth the Sword-players, Wrath layes them open to danger. Furthermore what need wee Wrath, where Reaſon may doe the ſame? Thinkeſt thou that the Hunter is angry with wilde beaſts, eyther when hee chaſeth them as they flye, or aſſayleth them when they draw neere him? Reaſon doth all theſe things without Wrath. What hath ſo confounded ſo many thouſand *Cimbrians* and *Teutons* that were ſpread vpon the Alpes, that the notice of ſo great an ouerthrow was not related to their friends by a Meſſenger but by Fortune, but that Wrath in them had the place of Vertue? Which as ſometimes ſhee hath defeated and ouerthrowne thoſe that met her, ſo oftentimes is ſhee the cauſe of her owne confuſion. May a man finde out a Natiou more couragious, more forward and readie to incurſions and charges, more deſirous of Warre, then the *Almaines*, who are borne and brought vp to Armes: who are onely diligent herein, and negligent in the reſt? Is there a people more hardned vnto labour, and that endureth trauell better? For the moſt part they care not to make prouiſion of garments for their bodies to keepe them warme: neyther ſtriue they to retyre themſelues from the perpetuall fury of the Froſt, which is in that Country; yet are they defeated and put to flight vpon the firſt charge, and before the Legions were ſeene, by *Spaniards, French, Aſians*, and *Syrians*, who are but cold Souldiers in the Warre: being ſubiect by no other meanes to this diſaſter, but by reaſon of their wrath. So then, to theſe bodies, to theſe mindes that are ignorant

The continuation of the confutation of Ariſtoties opinion.

See Marius *life in* Plutarch.

of delights, exceſſe, and riches, giue reaſon and diſcipline to guide them. But without farther debating in this kind, I muſt call to remembrance in this place the ancient cuſtome of the old Romanes. By what other meanes did *Fabius* reſerue the decayed forces of the declining Empire, but that hee knew how to delay, how to lengthen out matters, and dally with the time? all which angrie men cannot doe. The Common Weale had beene vtterly ouerthrowne, that then ſtood in great extremitie, if *Fabius* had dared ſo much as wrath perſwaded him vnto; but hauing for counſaile the conſideration of the eſtate of Rome, and the forces he had vnder his gouernment, which had they beene defeated eyther in the whole or in part, all the reſt was vtterly ruinated, hee layd wrath aſide, and deſire of vengeance; and hauing his minde fixed vpon the good of the Common-Weale and vpon the preſent occaſion, he firſt of all ſurmounted choler, and after that *Hanibal*. What did *Scipio?* Hauing forſaken *Hanibal*, and the Carthaginian Armie, and all theſe with whom hee ſhould be angry, did he not tranſlate the War into Africa in ſo ſlow a manner that they who enuyed his Vertue, reputed him for an idle & diſſolute man? What did the other *Scipio?* did he not beleager Numantium for a long time, and patiently diſgeſted both this his priuate griefe, and the diſcontent of the whole State, by reaſon that Numantium kept out longer then Carthage? Which while he trencheth about and ſhutteth vp his Enemy, he drew them to this extremitie, that they murthered one another.

See Liuie *of the Punicke Wars, and* Plutarch *in the liues of* Fabius Maximus *and* Hanibal.

CHAP. XII.

WRath then is neither profitable in Skirmiſhes or in Warre; for it is too prone to temeritie, and whileſt ſhe endeuoureth to harme others ſhe hazardeth her ſelfe. That Vertue is moſt aſſured, that hath long time examined and gouerned her ſelfe, and hath beene guided by good and wiſe counſell. What then (ſaith he) ſhall not a good man be angry, if he ſee his father ſtrooken, his Mother rauiſhed? Hee ſhall not be angry, but reuenge and defend them. What, feareſt thou that his piety towards his Parents is not an occaſion more pregnant to incite him thereunto then wrath is? We ſay after the ſame ſort. What therefore? ſhall not a good man when he ſeeth his father or his ſonne cut in pieces, weepe or fall in a ſound? as we ſee it falleth out in women, as often as any ſlight ſuſpitiō of danger doth awake them. A good man executeth his offices without confuſion or feare, and in ſuch ſort will performe thoſe things that are worthy a good man, that he will doe nothing that is vnworthy a man. Shall my father bee murthered? I will defend him. Is he ſlaine? I will bury him, not becauſe I am ſorrie therefore, but for that I am bound thereunto. When thou ſayſt thus, *Theophraſtus*, thou ſeekeſt to draw more ſtronger Precepts into hatred, & forſaking the Iudge haſt recourſe vnto the people; becauſe in ſuch accidents euery one is accuſtomed to be angry: thou thinkeſt that men will iudge that that ought to be done which hee alloweth of. Are good men angry at their iniuries? but they do the ſame, if warme water be not fitly mixed, if their glaſſe be broken, if their ſhooe be ſprinkled with dirt. It is not pietie but their infirmitie that moueth that Anger. We reſemble thoſe to children who will weep no leſſe for the loſſe of their nuts, then for the death of their Parents. It is the part of no pious but an infirme and weake minde to be angry for a mans friends. But this is a worthy mat-

The concluſion of the refutation which is precedent, and an anſwere to another obiection.

A pretty refutation of Theophraſtus.

matter, and well beſeeming a man to ſhew himſelfe a protector of his Parents, his Children, his Friends, and his Countrey: not by violence, or paſſion; but voluntarily, with iudgement and diſcretion, with prouidence, and moderation. For there is no affection ſo deſirous of reuenge as wrath is, by reaſon whereof ſhee is wholly vnproper to that effect, being hindered by her violence and fury; euen as euery paſſion is oppoſite and contrary to it ſelfe, in all that whereunto ſhe is inclined, and whereunto ſhe runneth haſtily. And therefore, neither in peace, or warre, was it euer good. For ſhe maketh peace like vnto warre; and in Armes forgetteth her ſelfe, that warre is common, and commeth into another mans power, whileſt ſhe is not in her owne. Furthermore, vices therefore are not to be entertayned and vſed, becauſe at ſometime they haue done ſome good: for feuers alſo doe cure ſome kinds of ſickneſſes, and yet not withſtanding it were better to haue no feuers at all. It is an abhominable kinde of remedie to recouer health by the aſſiſtance of a ſickneſſe. In like manner, wrath although ſometimes it hath beyond expectation profited, as venome, precipitation, and ſhipwrack haue done; yet it is not therefore to bee reputed a thing intirely profitable, for oft-times poyſons haue preſerued the life of diuers perſons.

CHAP. XIII.

MOreouer thoſe things which wee ought to eſteeme good, are the better, and more to be deſired, the greater they be. If Iuſtice be good, no man will ſay, that it is like to bee better, if any thing ſhould be taken from it; if Fortitude be good, no man will deſire that it ſhould be diminiſhed in any part: and therefore wrath the greater it is the better it is, for who refuſeth the increaſe of any good thing? But the increaſe of wrath is vnprofitable, and conſequently the poſſeſſion thereof is vnprofitable. It is no good thing that by increaſe becommeth euill. Wrath (ſaith he) is profitable: becauſe it maketh men more hardie to fight. In this manner Drunkenneſſe is profitable, for it maketh men more inſolent and audacious, and many that haue drunken ouer freely, are more readie at their weapons. In this manner ſay, that both Frenzie, and Madneſſe, are neceſſarie for valiant men: becauſe oftentimes Furie maketh men more ſtrong and able. What? hath not feare ſomtimes made a Coward valiant, and the feare of death likewiſe enkindled, the weakeſt hearted men to the battell? But Wrath, Drunkenneſſe, Feare, and ſuch like, are but filthie and fraile prouocations; neither confirme Vertue which hath no need of vice, but doe ſometimes a little quicken a ſlow and idle minde. No man is ſtrengthened by his Anger, except he haue beene ſtrong before his Anger. To them Anger aſſiſteth not, but ſupplyeth the place of Vertue. In briefe, if this paſſion were recommendable, it would follow euery one that were moſt perfect; but they that are moſt tetchie, are infants, old-men, and ſicke men; and euery creature that is by nature weake and feeble, is ordinarily froward.

The increaſe of wrath is vnprofitable, and therefore wrath it ſelfe.

Chap. XIIII.

A new obiection of Theophraſtus, touching the hearts anger, men conceiue againſt euill men.

IT cannot be (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) but that a good man ſhould bee diſpleaſed with the wicked. In this ſence the better men ſhould be the moſt cholericke. But contrariwiſe they ſhould bee more peaceable, exempt from paſſions, and without hatred of any man. What reaſon might moue them, to hate ſinners, conſidering that it is errour which driueth them into theſe faults? But it is not the part of a Wiſeman to hate thoſe that erre, otherwiſe hee ſhould hate himſelfe. Let him bethinke himſelfe, how many faults he committeth againſt good manners, how many things hee hath done which require pardon? Then ſhall hee bee angry with himſelfe. For a iuſt Iudge pronounceth not one ſentence in his owne behalfe, another in anothers. A man (ſaith hee) is not to bee found, that can abſolue himſelfe; truth it is, that euery man (ſaith he) is innocent, but it is in regard of witneſſes, not of his conſcience. How farre more humane were it for a man to ſhew himſelfe gentle, and pacified to thoſe that offend, and rather to reconcile them then to perſecute them? It were better to leade them into the direct way, who for want of knowledge haue ſtrayd out of it, then to thruſt them out of the way. A man ought to correct him that offendeth by admonition, forcible reprehenſions, friendly, but effectuall ſpeech: to the end to make him better for himſelfe and for others. In briefe, hee ought to chaſtiſe him without paſſion of choler. For what Phyſician is he, that will bee angry and diſpleaſed with his Patient, whom he would recouer?

An anſwere grounded vpon diuerſe reaſons.

Chap. XV.

That a man may chaſtiſe, nay may execute offenders without being tranſported by choler.

BVt they cannot bee corrected, neyther is there any thing in them that is capable of good hope. Let thoſe be exterminated out of the company of men, who are like to infect ſuch who conuerſe with them, and ſince this is the onely meanes, let them ceaſſe to be euill; but let this be done without hatred. For what cauſe haue I to hate him whom I then profit moſt, when I take himſelfe from himſelfe? Doth a man then hate his limmes when he cutteth them off? this is not Anger, but a miſerable cure. Wee chace away mad Dogs, wee kill a reſtie and vntractable Oxe. Wee brand our ſcabbie Sheepe, for feare leſt they infect the flocke; wee ſtrangle monſtrous Births; wee drowne our owne Children likewiſe if they be borne deformed and Monſters. It is not an act of wrath but of reaſō, to ſeparate thoſe things that are vnprofitable from thoſe that are healthfull and profitable. There is nothing, which he that chaſtiſeth another ſhould more refraine then from wrath, becauſe that chaſtiſement profiteth when it is done with iudgement. Thence it is that *Socrates* ſaid vnto his ſlaue, *I had beaten thee, had I not beene angry*. He deferred the admonition of his ſeruant till a more conuenient time, and at that time he admoniſhed himſelfe. Whoſe affection ſhall be temperate, when as *Socrates* dare not truſt himſelfe to his wrath? There needeth therefore no angry corrector to chaſtiſe thoſe that are wicked and doe amiſſe. For whereas wrath is an offence of the minde, he that is faultie himſelfe, muſt not puniſh offenders.

Chap.

CHAP. XVI.

WHat then, ſhall I not be angrie with a thiefe? Shall I not be diſpleaſed with a Witch? No; For I am not angrie with my ſelfe when I let my ſelfe bloud. I apply all ſorts of puniſhment in ſtead of remedie. Thou that as yet haſt made but an entrance into errour, neither offendeſt grieuouſly but frequently, ſhalt firſt of all be ſecretly, then publiquely reproued. If thou ingage thy ſelfe further in ſinne, ſo as words may not correct thee, thou ſhalt be fined for thy folly; but if thy fault requireth ſome more forcible and feeling puniſhment, thou ſhalt be baniſhed and ſent to vnknowne places. But if thy malice increaſeth, and waxeth obdurate, that thou haue need to vſe more ſharper remedies then the precedent; thou ſhalt be thruſt into ſhackles, and lockt vp in priſon. If thou become incurable, and thou groweſt to heape ſin vpon ſinne, if thou not onely layeſt hold on the occaſions to doe euill (which neuer fayle thoſe that ſeeke them) but that which is worſt, if to doe euill, thou haſt no other occaſion but the wicked cuſtome thou haſt taken, thou haſt drunke iniquitie, and art in ſuch ſort tainted and ſo deeply tinctured with wickedneſſe inwardly, that it cannot finde iſſue out, except thou burſt and die preſently. Thou haſt long time ſought for death: poore man that thou art, we will gratifie the, we will heale thee of this furie of thy ſpirit wherewith thou art tormented, and hauing made thee paſſe by the puniſhment of other men and thine owne, I will let thee ſee and feele the onely good which remaineth for thee, that is to ſay, death. Why ſhould I be diſpleaſed with him whom I aſſiſt and greatly helpe at that time? To take a mans life from him, is ſometimes to ſhew him fauor, and to doe him a good turne. If I were a well experienced Phyſitian, and ſhould enter into an Hoſpitall, or ſome rich mans houſe, I would not ordaine one and the ſame medicine for diuers ſick men. I ſee diuers vices in ſo different minds, & am appointed to haue the gouernement of a Citie, I muſt ſearch out a medicine for euerie one of their ſickneſſes. Shame muſt cure this man, trauell that man; the whip one man, neceſſitie the other, and the ſword the laſt. Therefore, although in being a Magiſtrate, I ought to change my Garment, and cauſe the people to be aſſembled vpon the ſound of a Trumpet, yet will I aſcend the Tribunall, not mooued or diſpleaſed, but with the countenance of an vpright Iudge, armed with the authoritie of the Lawes, and wil pronounce the ſentence with a voice rather pleaſing and graue, then furious: and peaceably yet ſeuerely will command the Hang-man to execute his office. And when I ſhall commaund any malefactors head to be ſtrooken off; & when I cauſe the parricide to be ſowen into a ſacke, and afterwards to be caſt into the water; and when I iudge the offending Souldier to paſſe the pikes; and when I command the Traitour and publique enemie to be caſt downe from the Tarpeian rocke, I will be ſo farre from wrath, and ſo temperate in my minde, as when I kill Serpents or other venimous beaſts. But wrath is neceſſarie for him that will puniſh. What, thinkeſt thou that the Law is angrie with thoſe ſhe knoweth not? whom ſhee ſeeſt not? whom ſhe hopeth not to be? We ought therefore to put on his affection, which is not diſpleaſed, but onely defineth. For if it be conuenient for a good man to be angrie for euill deedes, it ſhall be as lawfull for him to enuie the proſperitie of euill men. For what is more vnworthie then that ſome men flouriſh, yea and ſuch who abuſe the indulgence of Fortune, for whom no fortune may be found out euill enough? But as well ſhall hee ſee their commodi-

ties

An anſwer to an other obiection.

Of the order that ought to bee obſerued in puniſhing malefactors.

An amplification of that example aboue written, and an anſwer to the precedent obiection.

ties without enuie, as their haynous offences without wrath. A good Iudge condemneth that which is euill, and yet hateth it not: What then? Shall not a wise man when he hath such a like thing in his hands bee touched in minde, and more troubled then ordinarie? I confesse it, he shall feele some light motion. For as *Zeno* saith, when the wound in a wise mans Soule is healed, yet remaineth there some scarre. So then, he shall feele certaine touches of suspition and shadowes of passion, yet without any passion. *Aristotle* saith, that some affections, if a man vse them well, serue in steade of Armes; which should be true, if they might be vsed and laide aside as warlike instruments, at the pleasure of him that putteth them on. These Armes which *Aristotle* giueth Nature, sight of themselues, and expect not that a man should make vse of them; they gouerne and know not what it is to obey: vertue hath no need of instruments. We are sufficiently furnished by reason, wherewith nature hath fitted vs. Shee it is that hath giuen vs a weapon, firme, perpetuall, obsequious, and certaine, and such as cannot be reinforced against the Master. Reason of it selfe is sufficient enough, not onely to foresee, but to execute any action. For what is more fond then that reason should seeke assistance from wrath: a stable thing from an vncertaine: a faithfull from a perfidious, a whole from the sicke? Moreouer, as touching the actions themselues, wherein the helpe of Anger seemeth to be most requisite, reason it selfe is more stronger. For hauing marked out that which she ought to do, she remaineth alwaies setled in her resolution, and being vnable to finde out any thing better then her selfe to change her, she departeth neuer from her place. Contrariwise, pittie hath oftentimes driuen wrath out of dores, for this passion hath no solid strength, but onely a tumor; and vseth violent beginnings, no otherwise then the windes which arise from the earth, and being entertained by the flouds and marishes, are vehement, but not permanent. It beginneth with a great violence, and afterwards fainteth being wearied before her time; and when she hath inuented nought else but crueltie, and new kinds of punishment, when execution is to be done, she is pacified, and becommeth gentle. Affection quayleth quickly, reason is equall. Moreouer also, where wrath perseuereth sometimes, if there are many that haue deserued death, after the bloud of two or three, she beginneth to be calmed. The first assaults of her are sharpe, euen as the venomnesse of Serpents are hurtfull, that creepe from their dennes: her teeth are harmelesse, when as often byting hath spent them. They therefore suffer not equally, who haue offended equally, and oft-times he that hath offended the least, suffereth the most, because he is the obiect of the lateſt anger, and is wholly vnequall: sometimes it extendeth it selfe farther then it should, sometimes it resisteth more then it ought. For she flattereth her selfe, and iudgeth as she list, and will not heare, and leaueth no place for excuse, and retaineth that which she hath apprehended; and suffereth not her iudgement to be taken from her, although it be euill. Reason giueth place to either part, and time likewise. Afterwards she demaundeth a terme for her selfe, to the end she may haue time to discusse the truth; wrath is hastie. Reason will haue that iudged which is rightfull, wrath will haue that seeme rightfull which she iudgeth. Reason respecteth nothing but that which is in question; wrath is mooued with vaine things, and such as are nothing to the purpose. An assured countenance, a firme voyce, a free speech, an exquisite garment, a delay without delay, a fauour of the people, exasperateth wrath. Ofttimes in despite of the Aduocate she condēneth him for whom he pleadeth. And although the truth be laid before her eyes, she loueth

If the wiseman ought to be moued, and how.

That which the Stoicks doctrine maintaineth, & the examination of Aristotles *opinion as touching passions.*

The designes of Reason and Wrath.

ueth and maintaineth errour, ſhe will not be reproued, and in euill enterpriſes ſhee eſteemeth it more honeſt to be obſtinate, then to repent her ſelfe. *Caius Piſo* was in our memorie a man exempt from many vices, yet extremely cholerique, and ſuch a one as tooke pleaſure in his auſteritie. He being diſpleaſed, when he had commanded a Souldier to be brought before him, who had returned from his pillage without his companion, as if he had murthered him whom he could not bring in perſon, when he was requeſted time to finde him out, denied it him, and condemned him to die. This Souldier, thus ſentenced, being brought without the trenches, already tendered his necke vnto the hangman, when ſuddenly his fellow Souldier appeared, whom men ſuppoſed to be ſlaine: whereupon the Centurion who had the charge to ſee the execution done, commanded the Hangman to put vp his ſword, and after brought him to *Piſo* who was condemned, to the end he might make proofe of his innocencie, ſince Fortune had affoorded him the meanes. The other Souldiers flocked about theſe two, who imbraced one another to the content of all their companions. But *Piſo* incenſed with choler, aſcended the Tribunall ſeat, and commanded both the Souldiers to be led to death: both that Souldier that had not ſlaine his fellow, and him that was not ſlaine. What indignitie is this? Becauſe the innocencie of him that was condemned was manifeſt, both periſhed. *Piſo* added the third. For he commanded that Centurion who had brought backe him that was condemned, to be led to execution. Here three were appointed to die in one place for one mans innocencie. Oh how cunning is wrath to faine cauſes of furie! *I command thee*, ſaith he, *to be led to death, becauſe thou art condemned; thee, becauſe thou wert the occaſion of thy fellow Souldiers death; thee, becauſe being commanded to ſee him executed, thou didſt not obey thy Commander.* He deuiſed how to finde three crimes, becauſe he found none. Wrath, ſay I, hath this euill in it, it will not be gouerned. She is angrie with truth it ſelfe, if ſhe ſeeme in any ſort oppoſite againſt her will. With crie, tumult, and iactation of the whole bodie, ſhe perſecuteth thoſe whom ſhe hath reſolued to iniurie with reproches and curſes. This doth not reaſon, but if it muſt needes be ſo, ſilently and quietly, ſhe ruineth whole houſes from their foundations, and deſtroieth whole families that are enemies to their Country. With their wiues and children, ſhe raceth downe their houſes, and leuelleth them with the earth, and obſcureth their names that are enemies to libertie. This doth ſhe not with foaming at the mouth, nor ſhaking of the head, neither doing any thing that is vndecent for a Iudge, whoſe lookes, at that time eſpecially, ought to be moſt pleaſing, and ſtaied when he pronounceth matters of conſequence. What needeſt thou, ſaith *Ieroſme*, when thou art intended to ſtrike any man, to bite thy lip firſt? What if he had ſeene the Proconſull leaping from the Tribunall, and taking away the Sergeants rods, and renting his garments, becauſe the garments of ſuch as were condemned, were not rent off ſoone enough? What needeth it to ouer-turne the table, to breake and fling away the pots, to beate ones head againſt the pillars, to teare his haire, and to thumpe his thigh and breaſt? How great is that anger thinkeſt thou, which becauſe it is not ſo ſodainly vented againſt another as a man would, reflecteth vpon her ſelfe? He is therefore held by his Neighbours, and intreated to pacifie himſelfe, none of which things doth he who is void of anger, but inioyneth euery one his deſerued puniſhment. Oft-times diſmiſſeth he him whoſe guiltineſſe and forfeit he hath apprehended, if by confeſſing the act he promiſe great hope of amends; if he vnderſtand that the offence grew not from the malice of his

A notable example confirming that which he ſaith, that Anger ought not to be induced with Reaſon becauſe ſhe extinguiſheth it.

Note this you that are Magiſtrates.

his heart, but, as they say, was committed and not complotted with sinister intent. He will giue such a pardon as neither shall be hurtfull to those that receiue the same, nor to those that giue it. Sometimes will he represse the greatest offences committed by infirmitie, and not by crueltie, more gently then other lesse if in them be some hidden, couered, and inueterate craft. He wil punish the same fault in different men, after a different manner: if the one haue committed it though negligence, the other studied to doe hurt. He will obserue this alwaies in euery iudgement and execution, to ordaine one sort of punishment to correct the euill, another to cut them off. And in both these shall he consider, not those things that are past, but those things that are to come. For, as *Plato* saith, No wise man punisheth for euill doing, but lest wee should fall to euil doing. For those things that are past cannot be recalled, those things that are to come may be preuented: and those whom he would make examples of for some cursed crime, he executed them publikely, not onely to the end they may die, but that others might be deterred from doing euil, by beholding the execution. Each one ought to weigh and consider these reasons. Thou seest how much a Magistrate should be exempt from all passion, when he vndertaketh a thing of so great consequence, as the life and death of men that are vnder his hands. The sword is indiscreetly cõmitted to a furious mans hands. Neither ought we to thinke this, that wrath addeth any thing to the greatnesse of the minde. For that is no greatnesse but a swelling: neither to bodies that are intended by aboundance of bad humors, is the sicknesse an increase, but a pestilent plentie. As they whom anger (which is a passion vile and base) puffeth vp, and raiseth aboue the thoughts of other men, make themselues beleeue that their thoughts are sublime and high, whereas there is nothing firme in all that which they doe, but as they haue builded in the ayre, so sinketh it and falleth of it selfe. Wrath hath no assistance or sustayner, she proceedeth not from any thing that is permanent and durable, but is windy and vaine, and differeth so farre from greatnesse of minde, as audaciousnesse from fortitude, insolence from confidence, sadnesse from austeritie, and crueltie from seueritie. There is a great difference betwixt a constant and a proud minde. Wrath enterpriseth nothing that is great or worthy. Contrariwise, in my iudgement, it is a token of a dull and vnhappie man, and guilty of his owne weakenesse, to be sorrowfull oftentimes. Euen as those bodies that are exulcerated and sicke, complaine if they be touched neuer so little, so is it a womanish & childish fault: (yet is it incident to men) for men likewise haue childish and womanish wits. What then? are not some words vttered by angrie men (who haue not the true knowledge of magnanimity) which seem notwithstanding to proceed from a great & generous mind? As that most dire and abominable speech, *Let them hate me, so they feare me.* Know that this was written in *Syllaes* time. I know not whether wish were worse for him, either to be hated, or to be feared: *Let them hate me.* He forethinketh that which will happen, that his subiects will curse, betray, and oppresse him. What addeth he hereunto? The gods confound them; so worthie a remedy hath he found out for hatred. *Let them hate:* What? whilst they obey? No: whilst they approue? No. What then? So they feare, so would not I haue him be beloued. Thinkest thou that this is spoken with a great spirit? Thou art deceiued; for this is not greatnesse but cruelty. Thou art not to giue credit to wrathfull mens words, whose boasts are great and threatning, but inwardly their hearts are crauen and coward. Thou must not repute that to be true which is spoken by *Liuie* that eloquent man, of him, *A man that had a*

An aduertisement for Magistrates to beware of anger which cannot make a man more magnanimous.

minde

minde rather great then good. Theſe cannot be ſeparated, either it ſhall be great and good, or it ſhall not be great; becauſe I meane the greatneſſe of a man that is vnſhaken, and inwardly ſolide, and euen and equall from one end vnto another, which cannot be in euill mindes. For they may be terrible, tumultuous, and dangerous to death, but they ſhall not haue greatneſſe whoſe foundation is ſtrength and goodneſſe: yet in ſpeech, in action, and all outward appearance they will make ſhew of great courage. They will let ſlip ſome words, which thou wilt ſuppoſe to be worthie and wittie, as *Caius Cæſar* did, who being angrie with the heauens, becauſe it thundred whilſt his plaiers acted, whom he imitated more diligently then he beheld them, and becauſe his banquet was interruped by lightning, that was ſcarce rightly aymed, he challenged *Iupiter* to fight with him without delay, pronouncing this Verſe in *Homer:*

Either kill mee, or I thee.

What madneſſe was it? he thought that either *Iupiter* could not hurt him, or that he could hurt *Iupiter*. I cannot imagine but that this ſpeech of his was of ſome great moment to incenſe the hearts of thoſe that had conſpired againſt him, for they ſuppoſed it to be an inſufferable matter to ſuffer him, who could not indure *Iupiter*. Then there is nothing great or noble in wrath, no not when it ſeemeth to be moſt vehement and deſpiſeth both men & gods: or if any man ſuppoſeth that wrath produceth a great mind, let him ſay as much of diſſoluteneſſe. Shee will be carued in Iuorie, clothed with purple, couered with gold, transferre one Countrie to another, ſhut vp Seas, precipitate Riuers, hang forreſts in the aire. Let Auarice alſo be eſteemed generous: ſhe lyeth vpon heaps of gold and ſiluer, her paſtures and lands are tilled vnder the name of whole Prouinces. And vnder euery one of her farmers ſhe inioyeth a greater quantity of land, then the Prouinces that were allotted to thoſe that were Conſuls. Let Luſt likewiſe be reputed to be a worthie thing. It ſwimmeth ouer Seas, geldeth troups of yong children, maketh the wife without apprehenſion of death to be murthered with her huſbands owne hands. The ſame may wee ſay of Ambition, that ſhee is magnanimous, and contenteth not her ſelfe with yearly honours, but will, if it may be, fill all the moneths and daies of the yeare with one name, and plant her Armes through all the world. It skils not how farre all theſe proceede and extend themſelues, they are trifles, they are miſerable and depreſſed. Only vertue is great and excellent, for there is nothing great except it bee pleaſing and peaceable likewiſe.

(***)

The end of the firſt Booke of Anger.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SNECA,

To his Friend NOVATVS.

The second Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

IT hath two parts, the first containeth certaine questions of Anger, the other remedies against the same. The first question is, Whether Anger proceed from passion onely. He denieth it; and proueth that both the minde and iudgement are accessary thereunto. She therefore giueth eare vnto reason, and may be restrained, which could not be if she were from that only, and not from nature. By the way he proposeth a Stoicall difference betwixt motions and affections; this he prosecuteth to the fourth Chapter. Then addeth he another question, Whether crueltie and fiercenesse proceede from Anger; he denieth it, and saith that it is a different affection, yet that it often-times hath his beginning or nourishment from often displeasure. After this in the VI. Chapter, whether a good man be displeased with the offence or the offender? He denieth, and discharged a wise man from all this affection, vntill the XI. Chapter. From thence he enquireth whether wrath be profitable, because it deliuereth a man from contempt, and terrifieth the euill? He doth not admit it, and confesseth that it is feared which is not good or to be desired by a good man. For both wild beasts and sicknesses are feared. This vntill the XIII. Chapter, and in it he confesseth that Anger may be fained, and yet not vsed by a wise man. Neither that she resideth in a simple and generous mind, because the free and vnconquered nations haue the same, yea such as are sauage and incapable both of learning or reason. At length in the XVIII. Chapter, he profitably passeth ouer to the remedies of Anger, he dilateth these two things. That we should not be angrie, and that we should not sin in our Anger, lest we fall into the same. Such and such an education is requisite; at last he willeth vs to impugne the first causes of wrath, and alwaies to vse counsell & time. Then that suspicions are to be driuen away, & excesse auoided. Not to be angrie with things that are insensible, with men of weake iudgement, with those things which are done by nature, or for our good. He aduiseth vs to see & acknowledge our faults, wherby we may become more equall & iust to others. Not to beleeue rashly, and to examine those things that are beleeued, by the mind of the doer. Especially that pride is to be laid aside, and good opinion of a mans selfe

which maketh men wrathfull and reuengefull. To suffer rather or to dissemble, and to abstaine from so filthy an affection, whose deformitie is expressed in the minde and countenance. These are profitable lessons, let them be read and remembred.

CHAP. I.

He entreth into a more particular discourse, and disputeth first vpon the seate of Anger.

THe first Booke, *Nouatus*, hath comprehended matters more facile, because it is an easie matter to run head-long into vices, considering our inclination and disposition thereunto. But now we must vnfold the smaller parcels of this discourse. For the question is, whether Anger beginneth vpon iudgement, or by impulsion, that is to say, whether she be moued of her selfe, or whether she resemble the most of these passions, which take root in vs before we are aware. But we must subiect this dispute to these questions, to the end that she may be likewise raised to more high considerations. For in our bodies, our bones, nerues, and ioynts, which are the foundation of the whole, and other instruments of life scarce seemely to behold, are first formed and ordained, and afterwards these, whence the grace of our countenance and face doth proceed. And after all these, the colour (which aboue all things rauisheth the eyes) is the last thing which spreadeth it selfe thorow-out our perfect bodies. It is not to be doubted but that a certaine appearance of iniurie offered, moueth anger: but the question is, whether wrath presently followeth after this appearance, without consent of the minde, or whether it be mooued by the assent thereof. But our opinion is that she dare doe nothing of her selfe, but by the approbation of the mind. For to conceiue an opinion of iniurie receiued, and to desire to be reuenged, and to vnite both these things together, that is to say, that they ought not to haue beene angrie, or that he ought to take reuenge; this is no motion that may incite it selfe without our will. The aboue named motion is simple, that whereof we speake is compound, and containeth diuers heads. He hath vnderstood somewhat, he is displeased, he condemneth the same, he reuengeth himselfe, this cannot be done, except his mind which was touched therewith, yeeld some consent.

CHAP. II.

Choler is the offspring of our consent.

HItherto, saist thou, appertaineth this question? To the end we may vnderstand what wrath is. For if she be bred in vs against our wils, she will neuer submit vnto reason. For all those motions which are done against our will, are inuincible, & ineuitable, as shiuering when we are sprinkled with cold water, a starting backe vpon tickling: when we haue heard some heauie message, our haire standeth vpright; when immodest words, shame coloureth our countenance; and a swimming of the head followeth those that looke downe from some high places. Because none of all these are in our power, there is no reason that counselleth vs to expose our selues there-against. Wrath is driuen away by good precepts. For it is a voluntarie vice of the minde, not of those which happen by a certaine condition of humane kinde, and therefore they befall the most wisest. Amongst which

which that firſt motion of the minde is to be placed, which moueth vs after the opinion of iniurie. This motion attendeth vs euer amongſt the idle acts of a play, and vpon the reading of Ancient Hiſtories. We ſeeme oftentimes to be angrie for baniſhing *Cicero*, and with *Anthonie* for killing him. Who is not agrieued at *Marius* Armes, and *Syllaes* proſcriptions? Who is not diſpleaſed with *Theodotus* and *Achillas*, and that boy *Ptolomey*, for doing a hainous murther vnfitting his yong yeares? A ſong ſometimes and a ſodaine ſtraine of Muſick animateth vs, and that warlike ſound of the Trumpet moueth our minds, and a dreadfull picture, and the dolefull ſight of iuſt mens puniſhment amazeth vs. Thence it is that we laugh with thoſe that laugh, and in the companie of thoſe that mourne, we are heauie, and are inkindled by beholding other mens fight, which are not wrathes, no more then that is ſadneſſe which contracteth our brows vpon the ſight of an enemie that hath ſuffered ſhipwrack; no more then is that feare which aſtoniſheth the Readers mind, when he ouer-looketh the Storie, how after the battle of *Cannas*, *Hanibal* aproched the wals of Rome. But all theſe are the motions of ſuch minds as are willing to be moued, neither are they affections, but beginnings and eſſaies of thoſe affections. For ſo doth the Trumpet refreſh the Souldiers eare, who hath a long time liued in reſt, and walked in his long robe, during the time of peace; and ſo doe warlike horſes pricke vp their eares vpon the clattering of Armes. They ſay that *Alexander* the Great, whilſt *Xenophantes* ſung, laid hand on his weapons.

CHAP. III.

A ſubtile diſtinction of paſſion.

NOne of theſe things, which caſually impell the mind, may be called affections. Theſe, if I may ſo ſpeake it, the mind rather ſuffereth then doth; That therfore is affection, not to be moued with the reſemblances of things that are offered: but to ſuffer himſelf to be led by them, and to runne after this caſuall motion. For if any man ſuppoſe that paleneſſe, and trickling downe of teares, and filthie pollution, or a deepe fet ſigh, or eies ſodainly incenſed, or any ſuch like thing, is a token of the affection and a ſigne of the minde, he is deceyued, neither vnderſtandeth he that theſe are the agitations of the bodie. And therefore the ſtouteſt man ſometime waxeth pale whilſt he is armed, and the fierceſt Souldier hath trembled and ſhaken his knees a little when the charge was firſt ſounded; and the greateſt Emperour, hath had a trembling heart before the two Armies had ſhocked and encountred together; and the eloquenteſt Oratour, whilſt he compoſeth himſelfe to deliuer his oration, hath felt a ſhiuering in the extremities of his bodie. Wrath muſt not onely be moued, ſhee muſt haue her outlopes abroad: for it is a paſſion; but neuer is a paſſion, without the aſſent of the minde: for it cannot be, that without the knowledge of the minde, a man ſhould deliberate vpon reuenge and puniſhment. Some man hath ſuppoſed himſelfe iniuried, and would reuenge himſelf, but vpon the diſſwaſion of ſome cauſe, he preſently changeth his counſaile. I call not this Wrath, but a motion of the minde obedient vnto reaſon. That is Wrath, which treadeth downe reaſon, and draweth her after her. So then this firſt agitation of the minde, which is prouoked by the appearance of ſome iniurie, is no more wrath then is the appearance of iniurie, but that ſucceeding emotion, which not only aſſumeth the reſemblance of iniurie, but hath approued the ſame. Wrath is a concitation of the minde, tending voluntarily and with iudgement to reuenge. Is

it to be doubted but that feare is attended by flight, Wrath by impetuositie? Take heed therefore, that thou perseuer not in this opinion, that a man may imbrace or auoid any thing without the consent of the minde.

CHAP. IV.

The explication of this definition, first of the three motions which are the beginning, the increase, and aduancement of anger.

AND to the end thou maist know, how these passions begin, increase, and extend themselues: consider that there are three motions. The first is not voluntarie, but as it were a preparation of the affection, and a certaine commination. The second is annexed to a will which is not rebellious, as that I ought to reuenge my selfe when I am wronged, or that such a one that hath committed some hainous crime shold be banished. The third motion is so violent that it wil not reuenge when it ought to doe it, but hath wholly disclaimed reason. This first motion of the mind we cannot auoid, although reason assist vs, no more then we can auoid those motions, which, as I said, happen to the bodie. We cannot chuse but yawne, if we see another man yawne. Neither can we chuse but winke if a man sodainly steppeth behind vs, & blindfoldeth vs. These things cannot reason ouercome, haply custome and daily obseruation may lessen them. That other motion, which is bred by iudgement, is ouercome by iudgement.

CHAP. V.

THis question likewise is to be examined whether, those men that ordinarily are incensed, and delight in mans bloud, be angry with such men whom they put to death, from whom they neuer haue receiued, nor suppose themselues to haue receiued iniury; such as were *Apollodorus* and *Phalari*. This is not Wrath, but Cruelty; For she hurteth not because she hath receiued an iniury, but is readie to receiue iniuries, prouided that she may doe hurt. It is not to reuenge himselfe that he whippeth and teareth men in peeces, but for pleasure sake. What then? The beginning of this euill is from Wrath, the which by frequent exercises hauing satisfied her appetite with murthers and bloud, and forgotten all Clemencie; and driuen Humanitie from her heart; finally, addicteth her selfe to all Crueltie. They therefore laugh and are glad, and enioy much pleasure, and haue their lookes farre different from those that are angrie; they are cruell, yet quiet in their mindes. They say, that *Hanibal* said when he saw a trench filled with mans bloud, *Oh faire spectacle*. How far more worthie a thing had it seemed to him, had he seene a Riuer or Lake filled therewith? What wonder, if thou take so speciall a delight in this spectacle when as thou wert borne to bloud, and from thine infancie hast beene trayned vp in murthers? The prosperous fortune of thy Crueltie shall follow thee for twentie yeares space, and shall euerie where yeeld thine eyes a gratefull spectacle, thou shalt see this both about Trasimenum, and about Cannas; and lastly, about thy Carthage. *Volesius* of late Proconsull in Asia, vnder the gouernment of *Augustus*, after that in one day he had beheaded three hundreth, walking amongst the carcasses, with a proud countenance, as if he had done some magnificent action worthie the beholding, cryed out in Greeke, *Oh Kingly exploit*. What had this *Volesius* done had he beene a King? This was not wrath, but a greater and more incurable euill.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

That the wiſe-man is not ſubiect to this motion of heart, whence proceedeth choler.

VErtue (ſaith he) as it is fauourable to honeſt things, ſo is ſhe diſpleaſed with diſhoneſt. What if it be ſaid that Vertue ought both to be humble, and to be great? But he that ſaith thus, will haue her extolled and repreſſed. Becauſe ioy in performing any notable action, is apparant and magnificent; anger and deſpite conceiued by reaſon of another mans ſin, is the ſigne of a ſordid and baſe mind. Neither will vertue euer ſo farre forget her ſelfe, as after ſhe hath ſuppreſſed vices, ſhee ſhould imitate them. It is her dutie to chaſtice wrath, which is in no ſort better but often-times worſe then thoſe offences, wherewith ſhe is diſpleaſed. It is proper and naturall for vertue to reioyce and be glad; to be angrie is not for her dignitie, no more then to mourne. But ſadneſſe is the companion of wrath, and anger after the repentance, and after the repulſe, conuerteth it ſelfe alwaies into ſadneſſe. And if it be the act of a wiſe man to be diſpleaſed againſt ſinnes, his diſpleaſures ſhall increaſe if they be more great, and it will follow that the wiſe man ſhall not be ſimply angry, but wrathfull. But if we neither beleeue that great or frequent anger hath place in a wiſe mans minde, what is the cauſe why we wholly diſcharge him not from this affection? There ſay I, can be no meaſure, if he muſt be angrie according to the weight of euerie mans offence. For either he ſhall be vniuſt, if he equally be diſpleaſed with vnequall ſinne; or moſt wrathfull if he hath beene incenſed ſo often as offences haue deſerued diſpleaſure. And what is more vnworthie then that a wiſe mans affections ſhould depend on another mans wickedneſſe? Euen *Socrates* himſelfe will forbeare to be able to bring backe the ſame countenance home with him, which he carried out of dores.

CHAP. VII.

He concludeth by that which paſſed before, that a wiſe man cannot be angrie with thoſe diſorders which he ſeeth.

BVt if a wiſe man ought to be diſpleaſed againſt diſſolute behauiour, and incenſed and agricued at wickednеſſe, there is no man more miſerable then he: He muſt needes ſpend the whole courſe of his life in anger and ſadneſſe. For what moment ſhall there be wherein he ſhall not ſee ſome matters that are to be diſallowed? As often as he ſhall go out of dores he muſt paſſe by wicked, couetous, prodigall and impudent men, and ſuch as haue beene made happie thereby; his eyes ſhall be turned towards no place, wherein he findeth not occaſions of diſlike. He cannot liue if he be diſpleaſed ſo often as the cauſe requireth. Theſe ſo many thouſand men that trot to the Palace early in the morning how bad cauſes, nay how farre worſe Lawyers haue they? One of theſe complaineth againſt his Fathers will, where he hath occaſion to content himſelfe therewith. Another pleadeth againſt his mother: another accuſeth his neighbor of ſome crime wherein he himſelfe is more manifeſtly faultie, and he is choſen to be Iudge in thoſe cauſes wherein he himſelfe hath moſt offended; the baddeſt cauſe is fauored by all men, and that Counſeller that pleadeth vprightly is diſgraced. Why proſecute I euery particular? When thou ſeeſt the Courts of pleas ſtuffed with people, and the bars taken vp with all ſorts of men and that great place wherein the moſt part of the people ſhew thēſelues, know this that in that place there are as many vices as there are men. Amongſt theſe men that walke in long gownes there is no peace, each of theſe will ſell one another for a little gaine.

Chap. VIII.

A description of the disorders of his time, represented to the end to expresse that a wiseman should be truely miserable, if he would torment himselfe to see so many miseries.

NO man taketh profit, but by another mans losse. They hate the happie man, they contemne the miserable; they are agrieued at their Superiours, and are grieuous to their inferiours; they are prouoked by diuers desires, and for some light profit or pleasure they would see all things in confusion. Their life is nothing different from that of the sword-players, who liue and fight with one another. This is an assembly of brute beasts; yet may we say this, that beasts are peaceable amongst themselues, and bite not one another: where contrariwise men haue no content, but when they teare and spoile one another. In this one thing differ they from dumbe creatures, that the one are tame to those that nourish them, but these are enraged against them most by whom they haue bin relieued best. A wise man shall neuer cease if he once begin to bee angrie: all the world is so full of vices and wickednesse. There is more euill committed, then may by reproofe and punishment be healed. Impietie and iniustice are vpon their rests, and forcibly iust against vertue; day by day the desire of euill increaseth, and modestie decreaseth. Dissolution hauing driuen from her all respect of equitie and right, hath vsurped vpon all things at her pleasure; neither are hainous crimes now a-daies committed in secret; they are perpetrated in the view and eie of all men. And such preheminence & power hath wickednes gotten in euery place, so deeply is she possessed of all mens hearts, that innocence, which in times past was rare, at this day is wholly extinguished. Haue all or a few men broken the law? All the world is armed, as it were vpon the sound of a trumpet, to confound and mixe right and Iustice with wickednesse.

The carriage of this age.

Ouid. Metamor.

Nor from his Host the Guest may be secur'd,
Nor he whom Law and Marriage hath allotted
To be a Father can remayne assur'd,
But by his Sonne his death will be complotted.
Friendshish twixt Brothers may be hardly found.
The Husband seekes occasion to depriue
His Wife of life, and she would him confound:
Th' inraged Step-dames daily doe contriue
To mingle Poysons; and the Sonne againe
To get his Fathers wealth would see him slaine.

The miseries of Ciuill Warres.

And how small a part of wickednesse is this? he hath not described the Camps of a factious Common-Weale, armed one against another, the fathers following one part, and the children another; all the Countrey fiered by their hands that should defend it, the troopes of Horsemen skouting out on euery side to discouer the places, whither the condemned men were retyred; the Fountains poisoned: the plague spred abroad by artificiall meanes, the trenches digged by the children against their owne fathers that were besieged: the prisons full of captiues, the tyrannies, the secret counsailes, whence hath followed the ruine of Kingdomes and other publique estates, the whoredomes, deflourings, rauishings, infamous and execrable vncleannesse; all which things reputed for glorious and notable exploits are called wicked, when a man may hinder and extinguish them.

Chap.

CHAP. IX.

A continuation of the former Diſcourſe, to proue that a wiſe man cannot poſſibly intangle himſelfe with ſo many miſeries.

ADde now vnto theſe the publike periuries of the people, the breach of alliances, the pillage carryed away to him that hath the greateſt power, the deceits, the thefts, the cauils, trickes of ſo euill truſt in ſo great a number, that wee had need of three times as large places of Iuſtice as wee haue, to decide them in: if thou wilt haue a Wiſeman diſpleaſed ſo much as the indignity of their wickedneſſe requireth, inſtead of being angry he will be conſtrayned to be madde. Rather thinke thou this, that he ought not to bee angry at errours. For what if a man ſhould be angry with thoſe that ſtumble in the darke, or againſt the deafe, becauſe they doe not that which they are commanded, becauſe they vnderſtand it not? or againſt children, who in ſtead of thinking on their duties, buſie themſelues in play and ſporting with their equals? what if thou wouldeſt be angry with thoſe that are ſicke, with ſuch as are old and wearied? Amidſt the reſt of the incommodities of mans life, this is one; the darkneſſe of our mindes, and not only the neceſſitie of erring, but the loue of errours. If thou wilt not bee diſpleaſed with any man, pardon all men; and excuſe the infirmitie of Mankind. But if thou beeſt angry, both with yong and old, becauſe they offend; be diſpleaſed alſo with little Infants, becauſe hereafter they will bee vicious. Is there any man angry with children, who by reaſon of their tender yeares know not how to diſcerne things? It is a more great and iuſter excuſe to be a man then a child: we are borne to this condition to be creatures ſubiect as well to the infirmities of the mind as of the body, not blockiſh nor ſtupid, but ſuch as abuſe our vnderſtanding. The one of vs ſerue for example of vices vnto the other. Euery one followeth thoſe that goe before, although it be in the way of errour. Why ſhould they not be excuſed if all of them goe aſtray in the publike way?

CHAP. X.

THe ſeuerity of a Generall is intended againſt priuate offenders, but then is pardon neceſſary, where his whole Armie hath forſaken him. What taketh away a Wiſemans wrath? The multitude of offenders. Hee vnderſtandeth how vniuſt and dangerous a thing it is to be diſpleaſed with a guilty multitude: *Heraclitus* as oftē as he went forth adores, and ſaw about him ſuch a multitude of euill liuers, nay rather men dying wickedly, he wept; hauing compaſſion of all thoſe that met him with a ioyfull and contented countenance, being himſelfe milde in minde, and feeble in heart, and ſuch a one as deſerued to be deplored himſelfe. Contrariwiſe it is ſaid that *Democritus* neuer lookt abroad without laughing, ſo trifling reputed hee all thoſe things which were ſeriouſly done and ſought after. Where in this World is there any place for Anger? All things are eyther to be laughed at, or to be lamented. A Wiſeman will not be angry with thoſe that offend, Why? Becauſe hee knoweth that no man is borne wiſe, but is made wiſe and becommeth wiſe: he knowes that in euery age there are few that become wiſe, becauſe he vnderſtandeth the condition of humane life: but no Wiſeman will be angry with nature; for what if he would wonder becauſe that Apples grow not on wild Brambles? what if he wonder why Thornes and Buſhes beare not exquiſite fruit? No man is angry with Nature when ſhee excuſeth

seth the imperfection. A Wiseman therefore is peaceable, and remitteth faults, not an enemy but an admoniſher of thoſe that doe amiſſe; with this mind daily walketh hee out. Many will meet with me in the way that are addicted to Wine, many Letchers, many that are vngrateful, many couetous men, and many that are poſſeſſed with the fury of ambition. All theſe men wil be entertaine as courteouſly as the Phyſician doth his ſick Patients. Will he be diſpleaſed either with his Sailers or his Ship, whoſe Barke hauing her timbers looſe hath a great leake, and ſinketh in much water? He rather helpeth them, he calketh the Veſſell to keepe out the waues, he driueth out the reſt, and ſhuts vp the holes that appeare, and reſiſteth by his continuall labour & pumping, thoſe that are yet vndiſcouered; neyther therefore intermitteth he becauſe ſo much was gotten out, as was entred in. We had need of ſuccors of long continuance againſt ſo continuall & fruitful euils, not that they may ceaſſe, but leſt they ouercome.

Chap. XI.

He proceedeth the explication of the definition of Anger, which he declareth an emotion of the hart, tending voluntarily and with iudgement vnto vengeance, ſhewing that this paſſion as being vnprofitable ought not to bee found amongſt wiſemen, who condemne the emotion and the vengeance, and rather neglect then feare it.

WRath, ſaith he, is profitable becauſe ſhe eſcapeth contempt, and terrifieth euill men. Firſt of all wrath, if it be as much worth as it threatneth, for this very cauſe, becauſe it is terrible, it is therefore hatefull. But it is more dangerous to bee feared then to bee deſpiſed: but if it bee without feare, it is more expoſed to contempt, and ſubiect to deriſion. For what thing is more vaine and ridiculous then for Anger to be in tempeſt and tumult for nothing? Moreouer, thoſe things that are terrible are not therefore more great; and I would not haue that ſaid by a Wiſeman which might bee ſaid by a ſauage beaſt: that the weapon of a wilde beaſt is to be feared. What, is not the Ague, the Gowt, an Vlcer, euill? Is there therefore any goodneſſe in theſe, or contrariwiſe are not all things more diſdained, filthy and contemptible, in that they are feared? Anger is of her ſelfe deformed, and not to be feared, yet is it feared by diuers men as a deformed Vizard by Infants. But why doth not feare alwayes fall vpon the head of him that is the Authour thereof? Neyther is there any man feared that is himſelfe ſecure. Remember thee in this place of *Laberianus* Verſes, which being ſpoken in the Theater, in the midſt of the Ciuill Wars, no otherwiſe made all the people attentiue vnto it, then if a ſpeech had bin vttered that teſtified the publike affection:

He needs muſt feare many, whom many men feare.

So hath nature ordained, that he who thinketh himſelfe great, becauſe he is feared, is not himſelfe exempt from feare. How much tremble Lions vpon the leaſt noiſe? An vnacquainted ſhaddow, voice, and ſent, troubleth thoſe beaſts which are the fierceſt. All thoſe which affright others are affraid themſelues. There is no cauſe therefore why any Wiſeman ſhould deſire to be feared.

Chap. XII.

That there is no great thing in Anger, although it muteth feare.

NEither therefore let any man thinke that wrath is great, becauſe ſhe cauſeth herſelfe to be feared: becauſe there are certain things which are the moſt contemptible and yet are feared, as venomes and ſome impoyſoned meates, and a bite or ſting of beaſts. Neither is it to be wondred at, when as a line diſtinguiſhed with feathers,

thers, containeth the greateſt heards of wild beaſts, and driueth them into the Toyles, and by their effects they are called feare; for vaine things are affraid of nothing. The ſhaking of a Chariot, and the ratling of the wheeles driueth a Lion into his Den; the cry of an Hog terrifieth an Elephant. So therefore is Anger feared as a ſhaddow is by Infants, as a redde Feather is by wilde beaſts. This paſſion hath nothing firme and powerfull in her ſelfe, but ſhe is onely the Bug-beare of vaine mindes. Wickedneſſe, ſaith hee, muſt bee baniſhed out of the World, if thou wilt exterminate wrath; and as the one of theſe things is impoſſible, ſo is the other. Firſt of all a man may bee warme, although that naturally it be Winter, and he may be temperate although the hotteſt moneths doe reigne. But by the benefit of the place hee is exempted from the intemperature of the yeare, or by the patience of his bodie he ouercommeth the ſenſe of them both. But take this to the contrarie, thou muſt needes take Vertue firſt out of thy minde, before thou entertaine wrath, becauſe Vertues haue no correſpondence with Vices; and no more at the ſame time can an angry man be a good man, then he that is ſicke be a whole man. All wrath (ſaith he) cannot be taken away out of the minde, neither doth the nature of man permit him this. But there is nothing ſo difficult and dangerous, which a mans mind cannot ouercome, and that continuall meditation bringeth not in vſe, and no affections are ſo fierce and obſtinate which are not tamed by diſcipline. Whatſoeuer the minde hath enioyned himſelfe, he hath obtained. Some haue gotten that gouernement ouer themſelues that they will neuer laugh, ſome haue giuen ouer wine, ſome lechery, and ſome haue framed their bodies to forbeare all water, another by accuſtoming himſelfe to ſleep little, hath gotten ſo much priuiledge that he is neuer wearie of waking: ſome haue learned to runne vpon ſmall and ſlender ropes, and to beare great and mightie burthens, farre exceeding the ſtrength of any man, and to diue into the greateſt depths, and without any breathing to remaine long time in the bottome of the Seas.

CHAP. XIII.

THere are a thouſand other things wherein an obſtinate reſolution ſurmounteth all other impediments, and ſheweth that there is nothing difficult to him that hath reſolued himſelf to be patient. All theſe of whom I haue ſpoken before, haue had no recompence of their trauaile, or if they haue receiued any, it was no great matter. For what honour hath that Tumbler gotten, who hath learned to daunce vpon a Rope? that is exerciſed to beare a weightie burthen vpon his neck, that hath learned to reſtraine his eyes from ſleeping? that is taught to diue into the bottome of the Sea? Theſe labours get but little reward. Shall not wee entertaine patience, who are to expect ſo great a reward as the tranquility of a happy mind? How great a thing is it to flye from wrath, which is the greateſt euill, and with her to auoyd the other paſſions, which accompany her, as rage, inhumanity, cruelty, and fury? We are not to ſeeke our protection from any, neyther ought we to excuſe and diſſemble our liberty, by ſaying, that either this is profitable, or that ineuitable; for what errour hath wanted a Patron? Thou art not to ſay that it cannot be cut off, we are ſicke of curable diſeaſes; and nature her ſelfe that created vs for the beſt, will aſſiſt vs if wee will be amended. Neyther as ſome men haue ſaid, is the way to Vertues dangerous and difficult, they

How profitable a firme reſolution is againſt vices.

He awaketh the ſtupiditie of the moſt part of men, eſpecially of thoſe that are giuen ouer to Anger.

A Stoicall Paradox, as possible as for a dead man to flye.

they are easily come by. I will instruct you in no vaine matter. The way vnto blessed life is easie; follow the same in a good houre, and vnder the fauor of the gods. There is more difficultie in doing those things which you doe. For what is more contenting then the tranquilitie of the minde? What more laborsome then wrath? What more remisse then Clemencie? What more turbulent then Cruelty? Chastitie is alwaies at leisure, dissolution full of businesse; to conclude, the custodie of all Vertue is easie, contrariwise, Vices cost very much in entertayning them. Must wrath be remooued? This in part confesse they likewise who say, that it is to be moderated and diminished. Let it bee wholly giuen ouer: becausc it will profit nothing: without her a man may more easily and readily roote out wickednesse, the euill shall be punished and brought to a better passe.

CHAP. XIV.

That a Wiseman hath no need of wrath to perform his dutie.

A Wiseman effecteth al those things which he ought to do, without the assistance of any euill thing; neyther will hee intermixe any thing which may trouble him in the gouernment thereof. Anger therefore is neuer to be admitted, yet is it sometimes to be counterfeited, if the slow minds of the Auditory are to bee stirred vp. Euen as we pricke forth our sturdie Horses by sticke and spurre, to performe their Race. Sometimes they are to be put in feare, when reason cannot perswade It is no lesse profitable to be angry then to mourne, then to feare. What then? Doe not some causes fall out which prouoke Anger? But euen then most especially are we to get the start of her. Neyther is it a hard matter to ouercome the mind, when as the Wrastlers also being exercised in their basest part, yet suffer they straynes and strokes, that they may spend his forces with whom they contend; neyther strike they when wrath perswadeth them, but when occasion commandeth them. It is reported that *Pyrrhus* an excellent Master in wrastling and other exercises, was wont to command those that were his Scholers to refrayne from Anger. For it is Anger that troubleth Art, and considereth which way she may hurt, not how she may preuent. Reason therefore oftentimes perswadeth patience, wrath reuenge, and wee that might escape the first euils, are thrust into greater. Some hath the contumely of one word (not disgested with discretion,) cast into exile, and they that would not bury and beare a trifling iniurie in silence, haue beene ouer-whelmed with most grieuous calamities; in briefe, being not able to endure, that a iot of their great libertie should be diminished, they haue drawne themselues vnder a seruile yoke.

CHAP. XV.

That choler hath nothing generous in it.

TO make thee know (saith hee) that wrath hath somewhat generous in it, thou shalt find that the *Germanes* and *Scythians* (which are free Nations) are much inclined vnto wrath; which commeth to passe becausc their spirits (which by nature are strong and solide) are easily mooued and prone vnto Anger, especially before they be tempered and mollified by discipline. There are certain passions which neuer take hold-fast but on the strongest spirits: euen as the most strongest and fruit-

fruitfulleſt Coppiſe grow on the Land which is leaſt manured, and a Forreſt flouriſheth in a fruitfull ſoyle. Therefore the mindes that by nature are moſt ſtrongeſt endure Anger, and being fierie and hote, ſuffer nothing that is little and feeble; but that vigor is imperfect, as may appeare in all things without Art, which grow only by the benefit of nature, which except they be quickly tamed and tempered, that which was diſpoſed to become valour is conuerted into audaciouſneſſe and raſhneſſe. What, are not thoſe ſpirits which are gentle and tractable leſſe vicious? and are they not accompanyed with mercy, loue, and honeſt ſhame? Although then ſometimes I diſcouer in thee a good nature amidſt thine imperfections, it followeth not therefore that thoſe imperfections ſhould not bee condemned; although that vnder them a man may perceiue ſome ſignes of a good nature. Moreouer, all theſe Nations free in their fierceneſſe, according to the cuſtome of Lions and Wolues, as they cannot ſerue, ſo they cannot command: for they haue not the force of a humane vnderſtanding, but ſuch as is beaſtly and intractable; but no man can gouerne, except he that can be gouerned.

CHAP. XVI.

FOr the moſt part therefore the Empire remayned amongſt thoſe Nations which liue vnder a milder Clime: they that are bred towards the Northward and in cold Countries, haue their mindes moſt vntractable, as the Poet ſaith,

And like vnto their Heauen.

They (ſaith hee) are reputed to bee the moſt generous beaſts that are moſt wrathfull. Hee is deceiued that induceth them for an example to men, who for reaſon vſe violence: man inſtead of violence hath reaſon. Neyther is that paſſion profitable in them: all fierceneſſe helpeth Lions, feare Hearts, violence the Hawke, flight the Doue: neyther is that true, that the moſt excellenteſt creatures are the moſt ſubiect to Anger. Shall I thinke thoſe wilde beaſts better which liue by rapine, becauſe they are moſt fell? I had rather commend the patience of the Oxe and thoſe Horſes that are gouerned by the bridle. But what is the cauſe thou ſhouldeſt reuoke man to ſuch vnhappy examples, when as he hath the World and God, whom amongſt all other liuing creatues, hee onely imitateth and onely vnderſtandeth? They are accounted the moſt ſimpleſt men of all other that are moſt angry. For although they are reputed to be cunning and wary fellowes, yet are they ſimple and plaine fellowes, becauſe that euery one knoweth and diſcouereth them eaſily; but I call not this ſimplicity, it is improuidence and beaſtlineſſe. For we aſſigne this name to Fooles, to Letchers and prodigall Spenders, and ſuch as are not cunning enough in their follies.

There is no Nation of vnable inclination, that are not capable of gouernment, and fit to be gouerned by the moſt excellent amongſt them.

CHAP. XVII.

AN Orator (ſaith hee) that is mooued and angry is ſometimes the better, why not if he counterfeit his Anger? For Players in pronouncing their ſpeeches, although they be not angry, yet mooue they the people; in acting the wrathfull man cunningly. And before the Iudges likewiſe, and before the people, and whereſoeuer we

Whether it bee a thing fitting for him that is publickly to declaim to be moued, &c. how.

we are, to confirme other mens minds in our opinion, ſometimes we our ſelues will faine to be diſpleaſed, ſometimes counterfeit feare, ſometimes compaſſion to confirme the ſame in other men. And oft-times that which true affection could not haue effected, imitation of affection hath performed. It is a faint minde (ſaith he) that is without Anger. It is true, if he haue nothing more powerfull then Anger in him; neither muſt he be a Thiefe, neither ſuch a one as is robbed, neither mercifull, nor cruell; the heart of the one is too tender, the other too obdurate. Let the Wiſeman be temperate, and in executing that which he hath to doe reſolutely, let him entertaine courage and not Anger.

Chap. XVIII.

The ſecond part of this Booke ſetteth downe the remedies againſt Anger.

BEcauſe we haue examined thoſe queſtions which concerne Anger, let vs now deſcend vnto the remedies thereof. They are two in my iudgement: the one, that we fall not into Anger, the other, not to ſinne when we are angry. As in the cure of our bodies, there are ſome precepts to maintayne health, other ſome how to reſtore it when it is decayed; ſo to ſurmount diſpleaſure there is one meanes to repulſe it, another to repreſſe it. Some ſhall bee taught which are pertinent and neceſſary for the whole life, and they ſhall be deuided into education, and the yeares that follow. Education requireth great diligence, and is greatly profitable and neceſſary: for it is an eaſie matter to faſhion and order tender minds, and thoſe vices are hardly rooted out in vs, which haue growne with vs. A fiery nature is a proper ſubiect of wrath; for whereas there are foure Elements, Fire, Water, Ayre, and Earth, ſo haue they their equall qualities, Colde, Hote, Dry and Moyſt. So then the mixture of the Elements is the cauſe of the varietie of places, creatures, bodies, and manners; thence commeth it that mens minds are more inclined to this or that, according as the vigor of the element aboundeth more or leſſe in them; thence it is that we ſay and call ſome Regions moyſt, ſome dry, ſome hote, and ſome colde. The ſame differences are there betwixt men and beaſts.

The complexions of our bodies proceed from the qualities that are predominant in them.

Chap. XIX.

The ſource whence wrath ſpringeth and his ſeate.

IT importeth very much to vnderſtand how much humiditie or heat euery one hath in him, and according to the element that is moſt predominant in a man, ſuch are his manners. The mixture of heat wil make wrathful men; for fire is actiue and permanent. The mixture of colde maketh men colde; for colde is of a ſlow and heauie Nature. Some therefore of our Sect are of the opinion, that wrath is enkindled in the breaſt, by reaſon of the blood that boyleth about the heart. The cauſe why this place is eſpecially aſſigned vnto Anger, is no other, then that of all the whole bodie the breſt is the hotteſt. They that haue more moyſture in them, their Anger increaſeth by little and little, becauſe their heate is not prepared, but is gotten by motion. The diſpleaſures therefore of children and women are more ſharpe then they are continuing, and more feeble in the beginning. In dryer ages wrath is vehement and ſtrong, but without increaſe, not adding much vnto it ſelfe, becauſe colde followeth the declining heate. Olde men are teſtie and alwaies complayning, as ſicke men doe, and ſuch as be-

Becauſe the Sun of the leſſer World inhabiteth in it.

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gin to recouer their health, or that by laſſitude or bloud-letting haue loſt a part of their heate. In the ſame eſtate are they that are extreamely tranſported with thirſt and hunger, and who haue no bloud in their bodies, neither thriue by that they eate, but conſume daily. Wine enkindleth wrath, becauſe it increaſeth heate according to euery mans nature.

CHAP. XX.

Diuers appearances of wrath according to the habitude of perſons, and that we ought to know our owne nature, and to flie the cuſtome.

OThers are much moued when they are drunke, ſome when they are faſting: neither is there any other cauſe, why they are moſt wrathfull that haue yellow haire and red faces, who haue ſuch a color by nature, as other men are wont to haue when they are diſpleaſed; for their bloud is ſwift and much troubled. But euen as nature diſpoſeth ſome men vnto choler, ſo happen there many cauſes which may doe the like that nature doth. Some hath ſickneſſe and the iniury of the body drawne into this: otherſome labor and continuall watching, nights ſpent in great thought, and deſires, and loues; and whatſoeuer elſe that were hurtfull to the body or mind, or prepareth the ſicke mans hearts to com plaints. But all theſe are but beginnings and cauſes, and cuſtom can doe very much, which if it be depraued nouriſheth the vice. It is a hard thing to change nature, neither is it poſſible to diſſeuer the elements whereof things are compoſed, after they are once mixed. But it will bee profitable to know this, to the end wee may forbid them wine that are of hot natures, which *Plato* ſuppoſeth to bee hurtfull to children, and therefore forbiddeth vs to adde fire to fire. Neither are they to be crammed with meats, for their bodies are eaſily diſtended, and their minds like their bodies ſuddenly are puffed vp. Let labor exerciſe them without laſſitude, that their heate may be diminiſhed and not conſumed, and that the ouer great feruor in them may be skimmed and ſetled. Paſtime likewiſe will profit them, becauſe a moderate pleaſure quickneth the mind, and temperateth it alſo. Thoſe that are of a moiſt, drie, and cold complexion, there is no danger in their diſpleaſures, yet are greater vices to be feared in them, as feare, difficultie, deſperation, and ſuſpicions.

11 de legibus. *How children are to be ordred.*

Metaphora à vino ſumpta.

CHAP. XXI.

The continuation of his diſcourſe, and of the remedies againſt childrens anger. The firſt is a good inſtruction.

SVch mindes therefore are to bee tempered and nouriſhed, and to be animated with delights. And becauſe wee are to vſe ſome remedies againſt anger, ſome other againſt ſadneſſe, and that theſe are not only to be cured by different, but contrary meanes, we will alwaies haue a care of that which is increaſing. It ſhall profit very much ſay I, to haue our children well inſtructed in the beginning. But the manner of gouerning is difficult, becauſe we muſt indeuour that we nouriſh not anger in them, or dull and dampe their ſpirits. The matter had neede of diligent obſeruation. For both that which is to be extolled and that which is to be depreſſed is nouriſhed with the like, and ſuch things as reſemble doe oftentimes deceiue him that is moſt diligent. The mind increaſeth by libertie, and is embaſed by ſeruitude. Praiſe the ſame, and it rowſeth it ſelfe, and filleth vs with great expectation; yet both theſe two expedients, ingender inſolence and wrath. So therefore is he to be gouerned betweene both, that ſometimes wee vſe a bridle, ſometimes a ſpurre; that his mind may ſuffer nothing that

The ſecond is to keepe meaſure, and neither to animate or diſcourage them too much, and how we ought to proceed.

is base and seruile. Let him neuer haue need to intreat any thing humbly, neither let it profit him though hee hath so submissiuely intreated. If wee grant him any thing, let it be rather by alleadging vnto him, that hee hath iust cause to demand the same, and that we haue regard vnto his former behauiour, and hope that hee will doe better hereafter, as hee promiseth. In his exercises amongst his companions, let vs neither suffer him to be ouercome, nor to be angrie. Let vs indeuour that he may bee alwaies familiar with those with whom he is wont to contend, and that in his exercises hee accustome himselfe not to haue a will to hurt, but to ouercome. As oft as he hath gotten the vpper hand, or hath done any thing that is praise worthy, let vs not suffer him to bee proud or to boast therof, for boasting followeth ioy, and pride & too much esteeme of himselfe, boasting. We will giue him some recreation, yet will we neither suffer him to be slothfull or idle, and aboue all things will detaine him from the touch of pleasures. For nothing more inkindleth wrath, then an ouer delicate and dainty education: and therefore the onely childe, to whom wee giue liberty, and these Pupils that are left to their owne pleasures, are ordinarily the most corrupted. The child that hath had his will in euery thing, whose mother hath ordinarily dried the teares from his eyes, who hath had a master assigned him according to his owne fancie, will neuer suffer an iniurie patiently. Seest thou how euerie greater Fortune is attended with a greater anger? This appeareth in Rich men, in Noble men, in Magistrates, especially when as whatsoeuer vaineness and leuitie was in their braines, findeth a fit winde to carry it away. Felicitie nourisheth wrath, as soone as the troopes of flatterers are incamped about proud men, they will say vnto thee: *What shall he answere thee? thou respectest not thy selfe according to the greatnesse of thy estate, thou abasest thy selfe ouermuch.* And other such like sufficient to intangle the wisest hearts, and such as haue beene prudently brought vp from their infancy. Let childhood therefore be far remooued from flattery. Let him heare nothing but truth, let him learne feare, modesty, obedience to his elders, and duty, and reuerence. Let him extort nothing from thee by frowardnesse. That which was denied him when he wept, let it be giuen him when hee is quiet. Let him see his parents riches, but not vse them: Let him be reproued for his euill deeds.

The third, that they be not entertayned, either too idlely or too daintily.

The fourth, to beware of flatterers.

CHAP. XXII.

What maisters we ought to prouide for our children.

IT shall be to the purpose to giue children such Masters and attendants, who are peaceable and gentle. That which is tender layeth hold on that which is neerest vnto it, and groweth with it, and becommeth like vnto it. Diuers children that haue growne in yeeres, haue represented the manners of their Nurses and Masters. A young childe brought vp with *Plato*, returned home to his Parents house, and hearing his father exclaime and chide grieuously, said, *I haue neuer seene the like with* PLATO. I doubt not but that hee imitated his father sooner then *Plato*. Aboue all things let his diet bee alwaies slender. Let his attire bee modest and answerable to that of his equals. He shall neuer bee angry that any is compared with him, whom from the beginning thou hast made equall with many. But these things appertaine vnto our children. For in regard of our selues, the fortune of our birth, and of our bringing vp cannot giue any place vnto correction, nor respect precepts, nor incline to instruction. We must only prouide for the time to come, and resist the first occasions. But the cause of

How children should be fed and clothed.

of anger is the opinion of iniury, whereunto wee muſt not eaſily giue credit, nor entertaine the firſt reports and prooſes how euident and manifeſt ſoeuer they be. For ſome things happen that are falſe, yet haue an appearance of truth; we muſt therefore deliberate alwaies: for time diſcouereth truth. Let not our eares be open vnto Tale-bearers. Let this vice of humane nature be ſuſpected by vs, and made knowne vnto vs, that is to ſay, that what we vnwillingly heare, we vnwillingly beleeue, and before we iudge, we are angrie.

A remedie of anger is, not to giue credit to tale bearers.

CHAP. XXIII.

WHat? are we not only moued and inforced by accuſations, but alſo trauailed with ſuſpicions? and interpreting the worſt of other mens lookes and ſmiles; are wee not diſpleaſed with thoſe that are innocent? We muſt therefore plead with our ſelues, the cauſe of him that is abſent, and hold our anger in ſuſpence. For a man may exact the puniſhment which is delayed, but hee cannot remedie it after it is executed. The Tyrant killler is well knowne, who being apprehended before his attempt was performed, and tortured by *Hippias* to the end hee ſhould diſcouer his confederates: he reckoned vp the names of all the Tyrants friends that ſtood about him, who in his knowledge were moſt carefull of his proſperity and life; and when hee had commanded euery one of them to bee ſlaine, whom he had nominated, he asked him: *Is there any more yet remayning? Thy ſelfe* (ſaid he) *onely, for I haue left none elſe aliue that is deere vnto thee:* Wrath was the meanes that made the Tyrant to lend his aſſiſtance to the Tyrant killer, and to murder his owne Guard, with his owne ſword. How more couragiouſly dealt *Alexander?* who when hee had read his mothers Epiſtle; wherein he was admoniſhed that hee ſhould beware to bee impoyſoned by his Phyſitian *Philip*, drunke of his preſented potion without any affright. He had more confidence in his friend, and worthy was hee to enioy ſo vpright a Phyſitian, and worthie to make ſuch an one. This praiſe I in *Alexander* the more, becauſe no man was more ſubiect vnto anger, and the rarer gouernement is in Kings, the more is it to be commended. The like did *Caius Cæſar* who in the Ciuill warres demeaned himſelfe ſo mercifully. For hauing intercepted a packet of diuers letters that were written to *Pompey*, from thoſe that ſeemed to haue held the contrary part, or remained neuters, he burned them all, and although he were acuſtomed to keepe a meaſure in his wrath, yet liked he better to admit no meanes. He held it to be a moſt gratefull meanes of pardon, to be ignorant of that wherein euery man had offended. Credulitie doth much miſchiefe, and oftentimes wee ought not to giue eare thereunto, becauſe in ſome things it is better to be deceiued then to diſtruſt.

The ſecond, to fly ſuſpitions.

See Laertius lib. 9. *of the Liues of the Philoſophers, and* Plutarch *his Liues.*

CHAP. XXIV.

SVſpition and coniecture which are two betrayers of the mind, are to be baniſhed. *He hath not ſaluted me kindly enough; Hee hath not kiſſed me heartily; He hath abruptly cut off our diſcourſe; hee inuited me not to ſupper; That mans countenance was more ſtrange then it was accuſtomed.* Suſpition wants no argument: we haue neede of ſimplicitie, and the friendly interpretation of things. Let vs beleeue nothing, but that which is ſubiect to the eye, and manifeſt, and as long as our

Euils occaſioned by opinion and ſuſpition.

ſuſpition appeareth to be vaine, let vs chide our credulitie. For this Chaſtiſement will accuſtome vs to beleeue nothing eaſily.

Chap. XXV.

The third remedie againſt anger is, not to be agrieued for vile and abiect things.

FRom thence, doth this follow, that we be not exaſperated by the ſmalleſt and moſt ſordid things. The Page is ſcarce ſeruiceable that either miniſtreth water too warme for our wine, or a bed to ſit vpon vnmade, or a table negligently furniſhed. To bee angry hereat is but madneſſe; he is ſicke, and of an euill conſtitution whom a little breath of winde cauſeth to quiuer. Thoſe eyes are very weake, which are dimmed by beholding a white veſture: he is ouer delicate that ſweateth to ſee another man labour. It is reported that there was a certaine man of Sibaris who was called *Mindyrides*, who beholding one that digged the earth, and lifted his mattocke too high, began to complaine himſelfe as if he himſelfe had trauelled much, and forbad the other to worke any more in his preſence. The ſame man likewiſe complained oftentimes, becauſe he lay vpon a bed of roſe leaues. Whereas pleaſures haue inthralled both the minde and bodie, there is nothing that ſeemeth tollerable; not becauſe they are hard, but in that effeminate men ſuffer them. For what is the cauſe, why any mans cough, or ſneeſing, or a flie not curiouſly enough driuen away, ſhould incenſe vs, or a cup ouerturned, or a key loſt by the careleſſeneſſe of a negligent ſeruant ſhould trouble vs? Will ſuch a man peaceably endure a publike ſlander, and reproches vrged againſt him in declamations and open Court, that cannot abide to heare the ſcraping of a ſtoole that is drawne by him? Will he ſuffer hunger and extreme thirſt in a winters voyage, who is angry with his Page, becauſe he hath not mixed his ſnow with his wine cunningly?

Chap. XXVI.

The fourth, to refrayne impatience, in regard of theſe things that are without life, and in regard of men and beaſts.

THere is nothing therefore, that more nouriſheth Anger then intemperate and impatient diſſoluteneſſe: the mind is to be handled hardly that he may not feele the ſtroke, except it bee grieuous. We are angry with theſe from whom wee neither could receiue iniury, or thoſe from whom we might receiue it. Some of the firſt are without ſence, as wee haue beene wont oftentimes to caſt by a booke that is written in ſmall letters, and haue torne a faulty; or as wee cut our garments by reaſon they are not pleaſing vnto vs in their faſhion. How fond a thing is it to be angry with theſe which haue not deſerued our diſpleaſure, neither feele the ſame? But wee are angry with thoſe that made them. Firſt, we are angry almoſt ordinarily before wee bethinke our ſelues of this diſtinction: againe haply the very workemen themſelues will giue vs ſufficient ſatisfaction. One of them could not doe better then he did, neither was hee negligent in his occupation, vpon purpoſe to diſpleaſe thee. Another did it not to offend thee. In concluſion, what is more braine-ſicke then to diſcharge and vent the choler we haue gathered vpon things that haue no ſenſe? And as it is a folly to be angry with theſe that are inanimated creatures, ſo is it as fooliſh to be diſpleaſed with dumbe beaſts, becauſe there is no iniury except it proceed from diſcourſe and deliberation. They can therefore hurt vs as yron or a ſtone, but they cannot doe vs iniury. But ſome there are that thinke themſelues to be

bee contemned, whereas ſome horſes that are eaſily backt by another horſeman, are ſturdy to another mans riding, as if by iudgement, not by cuſtome, and the arte of handling them, ſome beaſts are vntractable to ſome men, and eaſie to be backt by others.

CHAP. XXVII.

To refrayne impatience, & not to be angrie with infants.

BVt as it is a fooliſh thing to be angrie with theſe; ſo ought not a man to be diſpleaſed with little children, or againſt thoſe that haue as little iudgement as infants. For all theſe faults in the eye of an equall Iudge are reputed for innocence of imprudent men. Some things there are which cannot hurt, and haue no power, but that which is beneficiall and holſome, as the immortall gods, which neither will, neither can hurt. For their nature is milde and peaceable, and ſo far remote from doing other men iniurie as themſelues. Mad are they therefore, and ignorant of truth, that impute vnto them the raging of the Seas, immeaſurable ſhowers, a rigorous winter; when as in the meane ſpace there are none of theſe which either hurt or profit vs, that are properly intended againſt vs. For we are not the cauſe in this world of the reuolution of winter & ſommer, theſe ſeaſons are gouerned and haue their order diſpoſed by the gods; we eſtimate our ſelues too highly, if we ſuppoſe our ſelues worthy that ſo great things ſhould be moued for vs. There are none of theſe things therefore that are done to our preiudice, nay, rather there is nothing done which is not for our good: we haue ſaid that there are ſome things which cannot hurt, ſome things which will not. In this ranke ſhall be good Princes, Parents and Maſters, Iudges and Magiſtrates, whoſe chaſticement ought to be conſidered, as the razor of a Surgeon, the diet of a Phiſitian, and other remedies, which neither doe vs good nor euill. Are we chaſtiſed? let vs thinke not only on that which we ſuffer, but alſo on that which we haue done, and let vs enter into the examination of our life. If wee will confeſſe a truth vnto our ſelues, wee haue a greater matter to charge our ſelues with. If we will be equall Iudges of all things, let vs firſt of all perſwade our ſelues that there is none of vs without a fault. For hence groweth the greateſt indignation; *I haue ſinned no waies*, *I haue done nothing*; nay, thou confeſſeſt nothing. If any man admoniſh or chaſtiſe vs, we are angry, when at that very time we ſinne. When as to our rebellious deedes we adde arrogancie and contumacie, who is he that dare maintaine that he is innocent, in reſpect of all lawes? That this may be thus, how defectiue is our innocence, in regard of good lawes? how more infinitely is the rule of our duties extended then that of right? How much doe pietie, humanitie, liberalitie, miſerie, and faith, exact? all which are not incloſed in the ordinances and conſtitutions of men.

Much leſſe againſt the gods.

Nor againſt our Superiors in this world.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The fifth is, to thinke in how many ſorts men are guilty before God and Man.

NEither as yet can we attayne to that ſtrict innocence of the lawes. We haue done ſome things, and thought other things. We haue deſired ſome things and haue followed others. We are innocent in ſome faults, becauſe wee could not effect them. Thinking hereupon, let vs be more fauourable to thoſe that offend. More attentiue to thoſe that reprooue vs, and let vs not be diſpleaſed with our ſelues (for with whom will we not be angry, if we be diſpleaſed againſt our ſelues?)

aboue all things let vs beware to be angry with the gods. For it is not by their ordinance, but by the law whereunto all mortall men are ſubiect, that we ſuffer all theſe incommodities which befall vs. But ſickneſſes and ſorrowes doe aſſault vs. They that dwell in a rotten houſe muſt ſeeke to flie out of it by ſome waies. When it ſhall be told thee that any one hath ſpoken euill of thee, bethinke thy ſelfe whether thou haſt not begun it firſt, examine thy ſelfe by how many thou haſt ſpoken. Let vs thinke, ſay I, that other men doe vs no iniury, but that they requite vs with the like, and that ſome doe it of malice, ſome by conſtraint, and others through ignorance; and that they likewiſe who willingly and wittingly doe wrong, take not an occaſion by the iniury wee haue done, to doe vs another. Either is he falne through the ſweetneſſe of his vrbanity, or hath done ſomewhat, not with an intent to hurt vs, but becauſe he could not haue attained his deſire except he had repulſed vs. Oft-times flatterie offendeth vs whilſt ſhe flattereth; whoſoeuer ſhall remember himſelfe how oftentimes men haue had an euill opinion of him, and interpreted the many good ſeruices and offices he hath done for iniuries, how many men hee hath loued whom he hated before time; he will not be diſpleaſed vpon the firſt, eſpecially if vpon euery iniury that is done vnto him, hee ſay vnto himſelfe: *Theſe faults* likewiſe haue I my ſelfe committed. But where wilt thou finde a Iudge that is ſo vpright? He that coueteth euery mans wife, and thinketh it a ſufficient cauſe for him to loue her, becauſe ſhe is a ſtranger, will not admit another man to court his. He that will haue another man keepe promiſe vpon a prefixed day, is no maſter of his word: the perfidious man perſecuteth him that is a lier, and the informer cannot abide that another man ſhould bring him in queſtion. He will not haue his ſeruants credit touched who is negligent of his owne reputation. Other mens ſins are before our eyes, our owne behind our backs. Thence commeth it that the father more riotous then his ſon, yet reproueth him bitterly for his lauiſh expence, hee ſeuerely taxeth another mans exceſſe, who is himſelfe prodigall and hath no hold of his money: the Tyrant is diſpleaſed againſt the murtherer, and hee that is ſacrilegious puniſheth theft. The greater part of men are angry with ſinners, but not with the ſinne. We ſhall be more moderate if we examine our ſelues, if wee take counſaile of our ſelues, and examine whether we our ſelues haue not committed the like, whether wee haue erred in the ſame manner? Is it fit for vs to condemne the ſame? Delay is a ſoueraigne remedie againſt diſpleaſure, neither require thou her in the beginning to pardon thee, but to iudge thee. If ſhee delay and admitteth any intermiſſion, the furie thereof is abated. Striue not to attempt her all at once; her firſt aſſaults are moſt ſharpe, but thou ſhalt get the day of her, if thou diſmember her by little and little.

The ſixth is, to take time and bethinke our ſelues before wee bee angry.

CHAP. XXIX.

Reaſons why wee ſhould delay.

TOuching thoſe things which offend vs, ſome are told vs, & ſome wee heare, or ſee: wee muſt not eaſily beleeue thoſe things that are told vs, many men lie to the end they may deceiue, many becauſe they are deceiued. This man curries fauour by accuſing others, and faineth an iniury to the intent he may ſeeme ſorrowfull for that which is done. There are ſome ſo wicked that they ſeeke nothing more but to ſow contention amongſt friends. Another is ſuſpitious and deſirous in ſecuritie, and from a-farre to behold a ſingle combat, performed betwixt

twixt two, whom he hath ſet together by the eares. If thou wert made a Iudge in a trifling matter, thou wouldeſt not allow the cauſe, except it were approued by witneſſes; and the witneſſes thou wouldeſt not reſpect except they were ſworne. Thou wouldeſt call both parties before thee, and giue them time to anſwere, and yeeld them audience vpon ſeuerall daies. For truth will the more manifeſtly appeare, the more often it is debated vpon. Wilt thou condemne thy friend inſtantly before thou haſt heard him, and before thou haſt asked him the queſtion? art thou angrie with him before he either know his accuſer or his crime? For at this inſtant, yea now preſently, haſt thou heard what was ſpoken on both ſides. That very man, who firſt informed thee, will not iuſtifie his words, if he be driuen to proue them. *Thou haſt no cauſe*, ſaith he, *to driue me to iuſtifie it; if I be brought in queſtion I will denie the ſame, or otherwiſe hereafter I will neuer tell thee any thing.* At the ſame time hee enciteth thee and drawes himſelfe out of the trouble and danger. Hee that will not ſpeake vnto thee, except it be in ſecret, ſcarcely tels thee any thing that is worthie thy beliefe. What is more vnreaſonable then to beleeue a ſecret report, and afterwards to be openly angrie?

A notable compariſon to this purpoſe.

CHAP. XXX.

SOme things there are whereof wee our ſelues are witneſſes. In theſe we will conſider the nature and wil of thoſe that doe them. Is he a child? we beare with his age, he knoweth not whether he offendeth. Is he a father? either before times he hath done vs ſo much good, that vpon iuſt ground we ought to forgiue him the wrong he might doe vs; or peraduenture we are offended without cauſe, and he himſelfe hath an occaſion to complaine againſt vs. Is ſhe a woman? Shee is deceiued. Is he commanded? who except he will bee iniurious will bee angrie with neceſſitie? Is hee hurt? It is no iniurie to ſuffer that which thou thy ſelfe proferedſt firſt. Is he a Iudge? Rather truſt thou his opinion then thine owne. Is he a King? if he puniſh thee being guiltie, acknowledge his iuſtice; if being innocent, giue place to thy fortune. Is it a dumb beaſt, or a ſtone, or ſuch like? thou art like vnto it if thou be angry at it. Is it ſickneſſe or calamitie? It will paſſe more lightly if we ſuffer it patiently. Is it God? Thou loſeſt as much time in murmuring at him, as when thou prayeſt him to be angrie againſt thy neighbour. Is he a good man that doth thee iniury? Beleeue it not. Is it an euill? Wonder not. Another man ſhall puniſh that wrong which hee offereth thee, and hee himſelfe in doing euill is puniſhed by himſelfe. There are two things as I haue ſaid, that prouoke Anger: the firſt is, if wee ſeeme to haue receiued iniury. Of this there is ſufficiently ſpoken. It remaineth that we ſpeake of the ſecond, that is to ſay, whether we haue been wrongfully iniured. Some men iudge thoſe things to be iniurious, which they ought not to haue ſuffered; ſome becauſe they hoped it not. We repute thoſe things iniurious which are ſudden. Thoſe things therefore moſt greatly moue vs, which happen vnto vs, contrary to our hope and expectation; neither is there any other cauſe why the leaſt matters offend vs amongſt our Domeſtiques, and why in our friends we call negligence an iniurie.

The ſeuenth is, to conſider the perſons, to endure that which is poſsible.

Aduertiſements worthy to be conſidered of all men, eſpecially of thoſe who are ſubiect to diſpleaſure.

Of the ſecond ſort of remedies againſt Anger.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The first remedy is, to renounce the loue of our selues, to know and condemne our ignorance and insolence. Against our ignorance.

HOw therefore, saith hee, doe our enemies iniuries moue vs? Because we expected them not, or rather because wee imagined not that they should be so dangerous. The too much loue we beare our selues is the cause hereof, and that it is which maketh vs iudge that our enemies should not touch vs any waies. Euery man hath the heart of a King in him, so that hee will haue authoritie ouer all men, and yet himselfe will be vnder no mans subiection. So therefore it is eyther our ignorance in things, or our insolence that maketh vs Angrie. As touching ignorance, are wee to wonder if wicked men doe wicked acts? Is it a new thing if our enemie doe vs the worst iniury he may? If our friend forget himselfe sometimes? if our sonne or seruant commit some fault? That great Captaine *Fabius* said, that this ordinary excuse, *I had not thought ie*, was a base one: but I thinke it a most abiect thing in a man. Bethinke thy selfe of all things and expect, euen in good manners there will be something harsh; mans nature beareth with traiterous friends, shee endureth vngratefull men, shee suffereth the couetous, she winketh at the impious. When thou wilt censure the manners of one man, thinke vpon the publike; where thou wilt most of all reioyce, there most of all wilt thou feare; where all things seeme vnto thee peaceable, there shall not want such things as shall hurt thee, yet lie they couered; thinke there will alwaies be somewhat hereafter that may offend thee. A Pilot hath neuer so cunningly discharged himselfe of all streights and perilous passages, but that he hath alwaies an eye to his Ancor and tackle, to haue all things in a readinesse when neede requireth. Before all things remember thy selfe of this, that the power to doe euill is villeinous, execrable, and wholly vnfitting for a man by whose benefits the wildest beasts are tamed. Behold the Elephants kept vnder yoake, children and women riding boldly vpon the backs of Bulls, Serpents that slide vpon the tables, and slip into the bosomes of men without doing them any harme, and Beares and Lyons within doores, that suffer their mouthes to be handled, and fawne vpon their Masters. Thou wouldest bee ashamed to change thy manners with brute Beasts. It is a haynous crime to hurt a mans countrey, and therefore a Cittizen likewise, for hee is a part of his countrey. The parts are holy if the whole be venerable; therefore man to man, for he is a Cittizen in this great Cittie, which wee call the world. What if the hands would harme the feete, and the eyes would not helpe the hands? Euen as all the members are accorded together, because that it importeth the whole body, that the parts whereof it is composed should be entyre; so ought wee to support one another, because we are made to lie in societie. But this societie cannot continue, if the parts of the same assist not and maintaine not one another. We would not flie from Vipers and Serpents that haunt the water, and other creatures that are hurtfull, either in their biting or stinging, if wee could tame them, or keepe them either from hurting our selues or other men. We will not therefore strike a man because he hath offended, but to the end he offend no more; neither is punishment euer reserued to the time past, but that which is to come, because it is not ordayned to entertaine Anger, but to preuent it: for if euery one should be punished that hath a depraued and offensiue minde, no man should be exempt from punishment.

Against insolence.

A worthy inducti on of sweetnes and good carriage toward our neighbours.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

BVt wrath hath ſome pleaſure in it, and it is a contenting thing to be reuenged. It is farre otherwiſe. For euen as it is an honeſt thing in regard of benefites, to returne a good turne for a good turne; ſo is it not in requiting iniuries with iniuries: in the one it is a diſhoneſt thing to ſuffer our ſelues to bee ouercome, and in the other to ouercome. This word reuenge is full of inhumanitie, and yet is entertayned for a wiſe thing, and differeth from contumely in nothing, but in order. He that requiteth one iniury with another, offendeth more excuſably. A certayne inconſiderate fellow ſtrooke *Cato* in the Bath, (for who is he that had knowne him that would doe him iniurie?) and yeelding him afterwards ſome ſatisfaction, *Cato* ſaid vnto him, *I remember not that thou didſt ſtrike me.* He thought it a wiſer part not to acknowledge the wrong then to reuenge it. Thinkeſt thou that he was not iniuried in receiuing this outrage? In no ſort. He did himſelfe much good, for he began to know what *Cato* was. It is the part of a great mind to deſpiſe iniuries: the moſt reprochfulleſt kind of reuenge is to eſteeme and repute him who hath done the wrong, too baſe and vnworthy that a man ſhould reuenge himſelfe on him. Many whilſt they reuenge themſelues for euery ſlight offence, haue made their iniurie the greater. That man is great and noble, that after the manner of a mightie wilde beaſt, liſteneth ſecurely the barking of leſſer dogs: But, ſaith he, we ſhall be contemned leſſe, if we reuenge the iniuries we receiue. If we come thereunto as to a remedy, let vs come without anger; not as if it were a pleaſing thing to be reuenged, but becauſe it is profitable: but oftentimes it hath bin more wiſdome to diſſemble then to reuenge

The refutation of their falſe opinion, that thinke it a great good to worke other mens euill.

What magnanimitie is.

CHAP. XXXIII.

BVt thoſe iniuries that are done vs by mighty men, are not onely to be ſuffered ioyfully but patiently. They will doe it againe, if they beleeue they haue diſpleaſed thee. Thoſe minds whom Fortune hath made inſolent, haue this deteſtable qualitie in them, that they hate thoſe whom they haue harmed. Famous and memorable is his ſpeech who was become old in the ſeruice of Kings, when a certayne man asked him: *How he had attayned ſo rare a thing, as old age, in his ſeruice in Court? By ſuffering iniuries* (ſaith he,) *and by giuing thanks.* Oft-times it is ſo profitable not to reuenge iniurie, that it beſeemeth vs not to confeſſe the ſame. *Caius Cæſar* hauing impriſoned the ſonne of one *Paſtor*, a famous Knight of Rome, being offended with the niceneſſe of his attyre and the curious frizling of his haire: when his father required him to grant him his ſonnes life, as if hee had beene admoniſhed to puniſh his miſdeeds, commanded him forthwith to bee put to death; yet leſt hee ſhould ſeeme to behaue himſelfe too cruelly towards the father, he inuited him to ſupper the ſame day. *Paſtor* came thither with a merry countenance, *Cæſar* carowſed to him nine ounces of wine, and ſet an attendant expreſſely to ſee whether he did him reaſon. The poore man drunke vp al, as if he had drunke the bloud of his ſonne. After this, he ſent him perfumes and a crowne; commanding the meſſenger to obſerue whether he tooke them: he receiued them the ſame day, wherein he had buried his ſonne. The poore gueſt of a hundreth yeares of age, & ſuch a one as was troubled with the gout, lay almoſt ſouſed in wine, yet drunke hee vp ſuch large potions, that might ſeeme

An anſwer to the reply that to reuenge a mans ſelfe is to make himſelfe feard by all men.

The miſerie of old Courtiers.

seeme intollerable, had he banquetted at his childrens birth-day; yet shed hee no teares, neither suffered he any signe of griefe to slip from him. Hee supped as if he had gotten his sonnes pardon. Doest thou aske me why? Hee had another sonne. What did *Priamus?* dissembled he not his displeasure? imbraced he not the Kings knees? hee applied those fatall hands to his reuerend lippes that were embrewed with the bloud of his sonne; hee supt, and yet without perfumes, without crownes; and him did his cruell enemy exhort with many comfortable speeches to eate his meate, not to the end hee might empty huge cups, setting a watch ouer his head to obserue him. He had contemned *Pastor* had hee feared, but now pietie pacified his wrath. Hee was worthy to haue liberty to depart from the banquet, to gather vp his sonnes bones: yet permitted he not that. Meane while that courteous and gentle young man banquetted the good old father, and prouoked him in merry cups to burie and pacifie his cares. Contrariwise, *Pastor* fained himselfe merry, and forgetfull of that which had hapned the same day. His other sonne had died likewise, had not the Father and guest pleased the tyrant *Caligula* that inuited him.

A notable example of Achilles.

CHAP. XXXIV.

with whom soeuer we are to deale withall, ch let is vnnecessary. And this consideration is the second remedie.

SO then we ought to auoid wrath, whether it bee with our equall, with our superiours, or inferiours. To striue against our equals is a matter doubtfull, against our superious is furie, against our inferiours is baseneſſe. It is the part of a silly and miserable man to bite him that biteth him. Gnats and Ants turne their heads backe to bite if a man lay hold of them. Weake Creatures suppose themselues hurt if they bee touched. It will make vs more temperate, if wee bethinke our selues, how much hee may profit vs hereafter with whom wee are angry, and the offences will bee redeemed with merits. Let vs also thinke on this, what commendation the fame of Clemencie will yeeld vnto vs, and how many hath pardon made profitable friends. Neither let vs bee angry with the children of our aduersaries and enemies. Amongst the examples of *Syllaes* crueltie this is not one of the least, that hee depriued all their children who were proscribed from all publike office & authority. It is an extreme iniustice for a man, to make any one the heire of that hatred which he hath borne to his father? As oftentimes as we shall bee slow in pardoning, let vs bethinke vs whether it should be good for vs, that all the men of the world should bee so affectioned against vs. How oftentimes doth he require pardon, who would not pardon? and how often hath a man humbled himselfe at such another mans feet, whom hee before time hath driuen out of his presence? What is more glorious then to change enmitie into amitie? What more faithfull confederates haue the people of Rome, then these who were their most mortall enemies? What should the Empire bee at this day, except wholesome prouidence had mixed the conquered with the conquerors? Shall any man bee angrie with thee? reconcile thou him by thy benefits. The displeasure sodainly quaileth when as the one part forbeareth to contend. No man fighteth except hee bee resisted. If both parts are contentious, he hath the better hand that first retireth him selfe, and hee is conquered that ouercommeth. Hath hee striken thee? flie backe, for in striking him againe thou shalt giue him both occasion to strike often, and an excuse for striking: thou canst not be parted from him when thou wilt. Would any man strike his enemie so grieuously, that hee should

Here is some abrupt breaking off.

The third remedie, to giue them the vpper hand, whom wee haue the aduantage of.

The fourth, to giue place to such as are quarrelsome.

leaue

leaue his hand in the wound, and could not recall himſelfe from the ſtroke? but wrath is ſuch a weapon as it cannot ſcarcely be recalled.

CHAP. XXXV.

The firſt, to diſcharge our ſelues of that which hindereth vs ſo much as Anger doth.

WE furniſh our ſelues with conuenient armes, with a ſword not long or ouer ſhort; ſhal we not auoid the impulſions of the mind ſo grieuous, ſo furious, and irreuocable? We take pleaſure in that Gelding that ſtayeth as ſoone as he is rayned in, that keepeth him in his ordinarie pace, that knoweth when to turne, and which may eaſily be brought backe to the place where he began his firſt Carire. We know that our nerues are out of frame, when as they are moued againſt our wills. He is either aged or of a weake conſtitution, who when he would walke, runneth: wee ſuppoſe thoſe motions of the minde to bee the healthfulleſt and ſtrongeſt, which are diſpoſed at our pleaſure, and not as they liſt. But nothing hath profited vs ſo much, as firſt, to behold the deformitie of a thing, and afterwards the danger. There is no paſſion more deformed then this, which ſpoileth the faireſt faces of the World, and maketh thoſe eyes dreadfull which before time were peaceable. All ſeemelineſſe abandoneth thoſe that are angrie, and if the cholerique man bee as decently arrayed as any man can deſire, he will draw his gowne aſide, and will caſt off all care of himſelfe. If the haire of his head be naturally or artificially well trimmed, a man ſhall ſee it ſtare and ſtand vpright. If the ſpirit be moued, the veines ſwell, the breaſt is ſhaken with violent breathing, the voice in iſſuing forth puffeth vp the necke with furie. The ioynts tremble, the hands ſhake, all the body is toſſed like a Pinnace in a tempeſt. In what eſtate thinkeſt thou is the mind inwardly, when ſuch deformitie ſheweth it ſelfe outwardly? How more terrible is the inward countenance? how more violent the breath? how more intended the paſſion, which would burſt it ſelfe, vnleſſe ſhe inforced her paſſage? Such is their countenance, as the enemie hath, or wilde beaſts imbrued with ſlaughter, or of ſuch as are addreſſed to ſpoile and ſlaughter. So deformed furies as the infernall Monſters are imagined by the Poets; begirt with Serpents and breathing fire. Such as the moſt dreadfull monſters of Hell aſſume vnto themſelues, when they iſſue forth to inkindle warres, to ſow diſcord amongſt Nations, and to diſmember peace. In ſuch manner ſhould we picture out Anger, that hath fiery fury in her eyes, a cry compounded of puffing, lowing, mourning, and other ſuch confuſed and dreadfull noyſes, ſhaking in both her hands her direfull weapons without care of couering her body, frowning, couered with bloud and wounds: yea, mortified with ſtrokes which ſhee hath giuen her ſelfe, her gate ridiculous and furious, all her behauiour confuſed and confounded, running here and there to ouerthrow all that which ſhee meeteth with all, hated of all, and aboue all things wiſhing her owne death. And if ſhee cannot doe worſe, deſirous to teare Heauens, Seas and Earth, from their places; in briefe, no leſſe hurtfull then hatefull. Or if a man will behold her in ſuch ſort as our Poets deſcribe her:

The ſixth conſideration, the deformitie of Anger.

The deſcription of wrath, both in body and mind.

Shee in her hand ſhaketh a bloudy whip.

or,

Hauing her cote in many peeces rent,
And with the bloud of guiltleſſe men beſprent.

A liuing deſcription of Anger.

Or if any man may imagine any more horrible face of a horrible paſſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The vse of a glasse good to refraine Choler.

SOme (saith *Sextius*) that were angrie, haue profited themselues by looking into a looking-glasse; for they were troubled in beholding so great a change in themselues, in that they knew not themselues at that time. But how little was that which this image reflected from the glasse, to represent and expresse their true filthinesse & deformitie? if the mind might haue beene seene, and might shine, and shew it selfe in any matter, shee would confound vs in beholding her so sordid, so inraged, so deformed, and puffed vp. And now, as yet, her lothsomnesse is so great, that shee passeth thorow bones, and flesh, and whatsoeuer other impediments. But what if shee were seene naked? For I beleeue that no man is terrified from wrath by beholding a glasse: what then? He that came vnto a looking-glasse to reforme himselfe, had already conformed himselfe. They that are angrie haue no seemely countenance, their lookes are dreadfull and cruell, and such would they seeme to bee as they desire to bee. Rather ought wee to consider this, how many men wrath hath armed to wound themselues. Some through too much rage haue burst their veines, & by force of crying haue vomited bloud, and abundance of humour being thrust into their eyes hath dulled and dimmed the sight and clearnesse thereof, and such as were sicke haue relapsed into diseases. There is no more swifter way vnto madnesse then this. Many therefore haue continued the furie of their wrath, neither could recouer againe that vnderstanding that they themselues exiled. Furie prouoked *Aiax* to death, and wrath put him in furie. They wish death to their children, pouertie to themselues, ruine to their houses; and deny themselues to be angrie, resembling those that are furious, who being enraged, say they are not mad. Most friendly to their enemies, most dangerous to their deareſt friends, forgetfull of Lawes except they may hurt thereby, incensed vpon the least occasion: neither affable in speech nor company or intertainment. They doe all things forcibly, they are addressed to fight with their swords, and to die on their swords. For a mighty euill hath surprised them, and such as exceedeth all other vices. Other sinnes enter by little and little, the force hereof is sodaine and vniuersall. To conclude, shee keepeth all other affections in subiection, and conquereth the most vehementest loue. They haue therefore murthered the bodies whom they haue loued, and euen enfolded in their armes, whom they haue fitted to their graues. Wrath hath spurned at Auarice, the most indurate and least flexible euill, inforcing her to scatter her riches, and to set fire on her house and goods, when they were all gathered together. What? hath not the ambitious man cast away his so long affected tokens and titles of Magistracy, and repulsed that honour which was offered vnto him? There is no affection ouer which Wrath hath not power.

The seuenth remedie, is to consider how many men it hath harmed.

The conclusion is, that choler is an extreme euill and therafter, because it spareth no other vices.

The end of the second Booke of Anger.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

VVritten by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SNECA,

To his Friend Novatvs.

The third Booke.

The Argument of Ivstvs Lipsivs.

HE prosecuteth the other part of the remedy against Anger, which he placed in the midst of his former Booke, but differred the same: That we sinne not in Anger, that is, that we refrayne the same and represse it; which is performed in diuers sorts. But it must be done alwayes and presently in a head-long and vnbridled affection, which Aristotle *excuseth: But he accuseth him, and once more discouereth the lothsomnesse of Anger. These things performeth he vntill the fourth Chapter. Then groweth he to diuision, alleaging that he will speake of three things. First, how wee may not bee angry. Secondly, how wee may be freed from Anger. Thirdly, how wee may pacifie and please such an one as is angry. These although in other places he performeth with repetition of the former, yet performeth hee it worthily, and profitably till the end of the Booke: and thou shalt haue golden and diuine Admonitions and Sayings.*

Chap. I.

NOw, my *Nouatus*, will wee attempt to doe that which thou thy selfe hast most instantly desired, namely, how wee may roote out Anger out of our mindes, or at least-wise bridle it and inhibite the assaults thereof. This must bee done sometimes openly and in all mens sight, when as the euill is as yet but growing and small; sometimes secretly, when as it is too much inflamed and is exasperated and increaseth without any impediment. Wee must consider what forces thee hath, and how intyre they bee. Whether shee is to bee chastised and driuen backe, or whether wee ought to

To refraine wrath in such manner as we ought, we must learne the natures of men that are attainted therewith.

giue place vnto her, whilſt the firſt tempeſt be pacified, for feare leſt ſhee carry away thoſe remedies with her, that ſhould reclayme her: and conſideration is to be had, according to euery ones manners. For ſome are ouercome by Prayers; ſome inſult, and are exaſperated by ſubmiſſion: Some are ouercome with terrors, ſome hath reproofe, other ſome confeſſion, the third hath ſhame reuoked from their purpoſe; and ſome by delay, (which is the true, though ſloweſt remedie of theſe ſo head-long paſſions,) whereunto at the laſt we muſt deſcend. For other affections admit delay, and may bee cured more ſlowly; but the ſodaine and head-long violence of Anger proceedeth not leaſurely, but is wholly intyre from the beginning. Neither doth ſhe ſolicite mens minds after the manner of other vices, but ſhee tranſporteth them, and ſo vexeth them, they being no Maſters of themſelues, that are as deſirous of their owne euill as of anothers. She ſheweth herſelfe not only furious againſt that ſhe vndertaketh, but againſt all that which caſually encountereth her in the way. All other vices incite the minde, wrath caſteth it downe head-long. The reſt although they cannot reſiſt their affections, at leaſt the paſſions themſelues maintayne themſelues; this no otherwiſe then lightning and tempeſt and other impreſſions of the Ayre (which are ſodaine and fall in an inſtant) re-inforceth it ſelfe and increaſeth more and more. Theſe other vices are eſtranged from reaſon, this is wholy deſtitute, and is a fury. The reſt haue light acceſſions and deceiueable increaſes; in wrath the mindes of men are proſtituted and dejected. There is no paſſion more inconſiderate, that vrgeth more, nothing that employeth its forces more deſperately, and ſwiftly; for whether it bee that ſhe get the vpper hand (which maketh her more proud) or whether ſhee hath beene repulſed (which inflameth her with fury) ſhe giueth not ouer, neyther retyreth although ſhe haue beene repulſed; and when Fortune preſenteth her not with any aduerſary ſhe ſtriketh and bireth herſelfe, prouided that ſhee may maintayne her ſelfe: For her beginnings are ſmall, but ſhee becommeth maruellouſly great.

CHAP. II.

That all Ages, men, and people are attainted with Anger; which may not be ſaid by other paſſions.

SHe ouer-ſlippeth no age, ſhe excepteth no kind of men. Some Nations thorow the benefit of pouertie are exempted from diſſolution, neither know they what it is: ſome others haue fled Idleneſſe, becauſe they are ſtill in trauell and wander from one Country to another. They that liue rudely and ruſtikely haue neuer vſed trumperies nor fraud, nor any of thoſe miſchiefes which are bred in places more frequented. There is no Nation vnder Heauen, whether they be *Greekes* or *Barbarians*, how puiſſant ſoeuer they be, that can ſay that they are exempted from the aſſaults and inſtigations of Anger, no leſſe pernicious to thoſe who are ſubiect to certaine Laws, then to thoſe whoſe Law is force, & amongſt whom the ſtrongeſt is the greateſt. To conclude, thoſe other paſſions inuade men in particular; but wrath is the only paſſion that layeth hold vpon all men. Neuer was it ſeene, that one only Nation was ſurprized with the loue of one only woman. Neither hath a whole City fixed their hopes vpon money and lucre. Ambition ſeizeth this or that man only. Tyrãny hath not dominion in all places. But oftentimes anger hath poſſeſſed whole troops, men, women, old, young, Princes and their people haue gathered together to ſatisfie Anger.

And

And a multitude beeing incenſed by two or three words of him that led them the way, were moued to mutiny. Forthwith haue they addreſſed themſelues to fire, & he that for his Eloquence was accounted gracious in all mens eies, in the midſt of Honour and the height of his Diſcourſe, hath purchaſed the diſpleaſure of the whole Aſſembly. The Legions haue darted their Iauelins againſt their Generall. The people haue bandied againſt the Senate, and without expecting the elections or the nomination of Chieftaine of the Armie, haue ſuddenly of themſelues choſen out Captaines to execute their furious deſignes, & ruſhing into the houſes of men of honour, and the beſt Citizens, haue executed and put them to death. They haue broken the Lawes of Nations by out-raging Embaſſadours, and vnſpeakable fury hath poſſeſſed the whole Citie, they haue not allowed time, to the end the publike inſurrection might bee pacified, but incontinently haue armed their Naue, and manned it with the firſt Soul diers they could get. Without order, without reſpect of ancient Ceremonies the people haue iſſued forth, being guided and gouerned by their owne furie, laying hold on whatſoeuer weapons came caſually to their hands, armed themſelues therewith; and finally, by a great and miſerable ouerthrow, haue receiued a iuſt puniſhment for their raſhneſſe and audacious folly.

A liuely repreſentation of publike furie.

CHAP. III.

THis is the end of thoſe *Barbarians*, who run thus inconſiderately to warre, as ſoone as any appearance of iniury hath ſeized their light braynes: they are ſuddenly mooued, and whither deſpite driueth, they ruſh in deſperation into thoſe Regions which they intend to ſpoile, without apprehenſion of danger, or obſeruation of diſcipline, contrariwiſe, they ſeeke out misfortunes, they take pleaſure to receiue wounds, and to runne in furiouſly vpon the points of the Sword, and to make them way by the wounds which they receiued. It is not to be doubted, ſayeſt thou, but that the effect of choler is very great and dangerous, ſhew vs therefore ſome remedies and meanes how it may be healed. But, as I ſaid in my former Books, *Ariſtotle* ſtands forth, and pleades for Anger, and wils vs not to extinguiſh it wholly in vs. He alleageth that it is the ſpurre of vertue, and that if a man be depriued thereof, his heart is diſarmed, and he becommeth recreant, idle, and vnable to execute any great attempts. It is very needfull therefore to reproue the villeny and beaſtlineſſe of this vice, and to ſet before mens eies how monſtrous a thing it is for a man to be ſo hatefully and violently bent againſt his neighbor, & what fury is in him who ruinateth himſelfe in ruining another, and pretending to plunge and drowne certaine things in the Sea, he cannot effect his purpoſe but by plunging and drowning himſelfe. What then? Will any man call him ſenſible or diſcreet, who being ſurpriſed as it were with a tempeſt goeth not but is driuen, and ſerueth a furious paſſion? Neither commandeth other to execute his vengeance, but he himſelfe will be agent to performe it, hauing his heart and hand ſtretched out to ſatisfie his cruelty, and without ſparing (fierce Hangman that he is) his owne and onely friends, yea, and thoſe whom after he hath maſſacred, he will preſently mourne for. Is it poſſible that any man ſhould admit this paſſion for an abbetter and companion, and vertue which ſhutteth out all counſailes, without which vertue can execute nothing? Fraile and ſiniſter are thoſe forces, and powerfull to their owne preiudice, into

He vrgeth againſt Ariſtotle who maintaineth Anger, and ſheweth the baſeneſs and villenie thereof.

which the ſickneſſe and the violence of the fit haue driuen the ſicke patient. Thinke not therefore that I employ my ſelfe vnprofitably in defaming Anger, as if men alreadie doubted thereof. I doe it becauſe there are ſome found amongſt the Philoſophers of greateſt note and reputation, who hath pleaded for her, and ſaid that ſhe is profitable, and animateth the mind vnto battell, & that in humane actions and all other affaires, we ought to manage them with ſome vigour. But leſt any man ſhould be deceiued, or ſhould imagine, that either in a certaine time and place it was a thing that were profitable, it behoooueth mee to diſcouer the violent and vnbrideled rage thereof, and ſet her downe with all her Equipage, ſuch as are her racks, her nerues, and ſtrings, her iailes, her gibbets and ſtakes to be burned at, and hookes to dragge dead bodies, diuers ſorts of ſhackles, diuers ſorts of tortures, the tearing of the fleſh and members, the branding in the forehead, the Dens of ſauage beaſts. Let Anger beeplaced amongſt all theſe inſtruments where ſhe may gnaſh her teeth, and whiſtle out ſome direfull and horrible noyſe, being of her ſelfe more hideous then all that whereof ſhe maketh vſe to execute her fury.

See Ariſtotle in the fourth Booke of his Morals, Chap. 11.

Chap. IV.

The continuation of this deſcription, and a lively Repreſentation of Anger.

CErtainly although we call the reſt in queſtion; yet is there no paſſion more deformed then this, as in our former Bookes we haue preſented her fierce and furious, ſometimes pale, hauing ſuddenly repulſed all her bloud to the heart; then inflamed againe, as if her whole heate and ſpirit were mounted againe into her countenance, hauing her colour bloudie, her veines ſwolne, her eyes ſometimes quiuering and ſparkling, ſometimes fixed and ſetled vpon ſomething. Moreouer, ſhe hath teeth that grinde, crack one againſt another, deſiring to deuoure ſome one, and making ſuch a noyſe as wilde Boares are accuſtomed to do when they rub and ſharpen their fangs. Adde hereunto the beating of her hands and breaſt, her often ſighes, her grones, drawne from the depth of her heart, the agitation of her whole body, her ſpeech intercepted with ſudden exclamations, her trembling lips ſometime cloſed and mumbling diuers menaces. I beleeue that the wild beaſts being preſſed by famine, or that beare an Arrow fixed in their entrailes, yea, and then likewiſe when they are at their laſt bay, are not ſo hideous as a man inflamed with choler. But if you will ſpare a time to heare her ſpeeches and menaces, which the heart vttereth with tormented rage, would not euery man incontinently retyre himſelfe from ſuch a danger, when he ſhall perceiue that Anger beginneth by his owne miſery? Wilt thou not therefore haue me admoniſh thoſe, who do al that they can, to make it knowne, that they are cholericke, & think it to be a proofe of their value, that a man tranſported with choler cannot be called couragious and free, but feeble and ſlaue vnto all others? Wilt thou not ſuffer me to aduertize ſome to the end they may be more circumſpect to looke about themſelues, that ſome other paſſions of the minde doe inuade the wicked, but Anger ſtealeth into the hearts of the moſt learned Clarkes, and that otherwiſe behaue themſelues like good men, ſo that ſome men thinke Anger to be a token of ſimplicity, and ordinarily wee ſuppoſe that he that is moſt honeſt, hath his part of this infirmitie.

Chap.

Chap. V.

How hurtfull wrath is, and the three principall remedies thereof

WHereto then tendeth this Diſcourſe? To the end that no man ſhould ſuppoſe himſelfe to bee warranted from this paſſion, becauſe ſhee inducеth thoſe men that are moſt modeſt & peaceable by nature, to become rude & violent. Euen as a good diſpoſition of body and the care to maintayne our ſelues in health, preuayleth nothing againſt the plague, which indifferently layeth hold both on weak and ſtrong; ſo in Anger there is a danger as well for them that are diſordered, as for thoſe men that are ſober and peaceable, and haue care of themſelues; the more great is the trouble, which Anger cauſeth in them. But for as much as the firſt remedie is not to be angry, the ſecond to refraine Anger, the third to remedie another mans Anger; I will firſt of all ſhew the meanes how to auoyd Anger, ſecondly, how we may diſcharge our ſelues of Anger, if it beginneth to be enkindled in vs; thirdly, in what ſort we may pacifie a man that is diſpleaſed, and temper and reduce him to reaſon. We ſhall ſubdue Anger, if from time to time wee repreſent vnto our ſelues all thoſe vices that are hatched vnder this paſſion, and if we conſider the ſame as we ought, with all her dependances and appurtenances; we muſt acuſe her before our ſelues, condemne her, examine her infirmities, and lay her open to view; then compare her with the moſt deteſtable vices, to the end that as yet we may be better inſtructed what ſhe is. Auarice gathereth and locketh vp for an honeſt man that is not couetous: wrath conſumeth all, and gratifieth very few, and is welcome to none. An angry Maſter hath driuen ſome of his ſeruants to run away, ſome hath hee put to death, when as he loſt more by being angry, then that was for which hee was angry: wrath hath made the father mourne, the huſband to bee diuorced, the Magiſtrate to be hated, and the Candidate to be repulſed. It is worſer likewiſe then letchery, becauſe ſhe taketh pleaſure in her owne delights, this in another mans ſorrow. She ſurpaſſeth malignity and hatred; for they are contented to ſee any man become vnhappy, this will make them vnhappy; the other two reioyce at thoſe euils which come caſually, ſhe cannot expect Fortune, ſhee will hurt him whom ſhe hateth, and will not be hurt. There is nothing ſo grieuous as ſecret hatred, but wrath reuealeth it. What is there more lamentable then war? therin is it that men diſcouer their diſpleaſures. Moreouer, that publike & priuate Anger is a weake and forceleſſe warre. Furthermore (without recounting thoſe damages which we will adde hereafter,) wrath intending and ſtriuing by ſtratagemes and ſtudy how to nouriſh mutuall diſcords, by ſeeking to reuenge herſelf puniſheth herſelf; ſhe is the canker of human nature. For nature inuiteth vs to amity, Anger to hatred; nature cõmandeth vs to aſſiſt one another, Anger to hate one another; the one commandeth vs to profit, the other to hurt. Adde hereunto, that whereas indignation proceedeth from an ouer-great ſuſpition of herſelfe, and ſeemeth to be couragious, yet is ſhe weake and infirme; for no man is leſſe then he by whom he ſuſpecteth himſelfe to be contemned. But a man that is truely valiant, and that knoweth his owne worth, reuengeth not an iniurie, becauſe he feeleth it not. Euen as Arrowes recoile backe if they be ſhot at ſome ſtony and hard marke, and ſuch ſolid things as are ſtrucken, procure his griefe that ſtriketh them; ſo is there no iniury that may pierce a great heart, ſhe is farre weaker then that which ſhe attempteth. How farre more worthy a thing is it to deſpiſe al iniuries & contumelies, as if the mind were impregnable?

Reuenge is a confeſſion of paine. The mind is not great which is animated by iniury. Eyther a ſtronger then thy ſelfe, or a weaker hath wronged thee; if hee be weaker then thy ſelfe, ſpare him; if mightier, ſupport thy ſelfe.

CHAP. Epist. CXX. VI

The effects of true Magnanimitie, approued by a fit compariſon.

THere is no one more certain argument of true magnanimity, then if thou reſolue thy ſelfe, that nothing may befall thee that may moue thee. The higheſt and beſt gouerned part of the World, and neereſt to the Stars, is not troubled with Clouds, nor ſubiect to tempeſts, nor afflicted with ſtormes: there is no tumult in the ſame, the inferiour Heauens puſh forth Lightnings. In like ſort a ſublime and high ſpirit is alwaies quiet, and placed in a peaceable ſtation, reſtraining in himſelfe that, whence Anger borroweth an occaſion of contention: it is moderate, venerable, and ſetled. But thou ſhalt find none of theſe in an angry man: for who is he that is betrayed to ſorrow and fury, that hath not reiected his former modeſty? Who is he that is turbulent in paſſion, and incenſed againſt another man, that hath not diſpoſſeſſed himſelfe of all ſhamefaſtneſſe? What man is he that is diſpleaſed, that keepeth any meaſure, or remembreth him of his dutie, or containeth his tongue, who hath beene Maſter of any one part of his body, who could gouerne himſelfe? That notable leſſon of *Democritus* to find out the true repoſe wil profit vs infinitely, *If we doe nothing either priuately or publikely that exceedeth our forces*. Neuer doe things ſucceed ſo happily vnto any man who intermedleth with many affaires, but that ſometimes by ſome one man, or from the affaires themſelues, there ariſeth ſome fault which diſpoſeth the heart vnto Anger. Euen as he that trauelleth haſtily thorow the frequented ſtreets of a Citie, muſt meet with many men, and in one place ſlip, in another be ſtopped, and in a third be beſprinkled with dirt; ſo in the trauaile & walkes of this life, ſo confounded and confuſed, there happen many impediments and many quárrels: the one hath deceiued our hope, another hath deferred it, another hath intercepted it; the euents haue not beene anſwerable to our expectation. Fortune is not ſo addicted to any man that ſhe yeeldeth him euery way correſpondence in his manifold attempts. It followeth therefore that hee knoweth not what it is to endure men, nor the eſtate of humane affaires, who thinks that any thing befalleth him otherwiſe then he he made reckoning of. To the end therfore that the mind may be quiet, it is not to be toſſed, neither as I ſaid, troubled with the managing of many affaires, nor to be charged with mightie buſineſſes, and ſuch as exceed her ſtrength. It is an eaſie matter to carry light burthens, and to caſt them from one ſhoulder to another, without letting them fall. But if any one hath loded vs, and the burthen be heauy, wee carry it with much labour, and finally we diſcharge it vpon thoſe that are neereſt vs; or if we pant vnder the burthen by reaſon we are ouer-loden, it is hard for vs to go forwards without ſtaggering.

Chap.

CHAP. VII.

How requisite meekenesse and temperance are in managing the affaires of this life, and in composing and quieting the minde.

KNow thou that the same falleth out in ciuill and domestique matters. Those affaires that are easie and light, accompanie him that doth them; those that are ouer-great and exceede his might, that acteth them, are vneasie to compasse; and after a man hath laid holde of them, they puzzle and oppresse him that carrieth them: finally, when he thinketh that he hath best hold of them, he stumbleth, falleth, and his burthen rolleth downe vpon him, and troubleth him. Thence falleth it out often times, that he who vndertaketh difficult matters, and would make them easie, is frustrated of the most part of his thoughts. In all thine enterprises, measure thy selfe together with those things which thou wilt manage, and whereunto thou addressest thy selfe, otherwise the displeasure thou shalt conceiue in leauing thy worke vnperfect, will make thee maruellously pensiue. In this place we ought to obserue, whether a man be of a violent spirit, or setled, or fearefull: In a generous mind, repulse will inkindle wrath, in a faint and abiect minde, sadnesse: Let therefore our actions be neyther too smal nor too audacious, nor too wicked; let vs follow those things that are answerable to our hope: let vs attempt nothing, that when wee haue attained the same, will make vs wonder at the successe thereof.

CHAP. VIII.

Noble obseruations for all men.

LEt vs take order that wee receiue not such an iniurie which wee cannot digest. Let vs leade our liues with temperate and familiar men, not with those that are troublesome and fooliſh: men inuest their manners with whom they are conuersant. And as some infirmities of the bodie are deriued and transported by attouchment, so the soule communicateth her infirmities and passions, to those that approch her. A Drunkard hath drawne his companion into loue with Wine, and the companie of dissolute fellowes hath effeminated a man who should be as hard as the rocke. Auarice empoysoneth those that dwell neere vnto her; contrariwise, there is the same reason as is touching vertues, which moderate all things that are with them: neyther was any profitable countrey or wholsome aire more healthful for mans body, then for good minds that are scarce setled to conuerse with good men: which thing, how auaileable it is, thou shalt vnderstand, if thou consider how wilde beasts are tamed by mens handling, and how the fiercest amongst them laieth by his furie, if he hath long time bin vnder the discipline of a man. That which is furious in her is lenified and tempered by little and little. Moreouer, he that conuerseth with peaceable and good men, not only becommeth better by reason of their example, but in as much likewise as he findeth no occasions to be displeased, he is not in practise of the passion. He ought therefore to flie from all these, who in his knowledge are disposed and easily prouoked vnto Anger. And who are they, saist thou? Many such as vpon diuers causes will doe the same. The proud man will offend thee by contempt, the rich man by contumely, the lasciuious man by iniurie, the hatefull man with malignitie, the quarrelsome by contention, the boaster and lier by vanitie. Thou wilt not endure to be feared by a suspicious man,

man, to be ouercome by an obſtinate, to be ſcorned by an effeminate man. Make choyce of ſimple, facile and moderate men, who will neither prouoke thee to wrath, nor be moued though thou offend them. But as yet, more profit ſhalt thou reape from ſubmiſſe, courteous, and affable men, yet not ſo pliant as they may proue flatterers, for too much flatterie offendeth angrie men. I had a friend, and he an honeſt man, but yet otherwaies too readie to be moued, who was as little pleaſed with flatterie as he was with reproofe. It is well knowne that *Cælius* the Oratour was extreamely cholerick, with whom, as it is reported, there ſupped a client of his within his chamber, who was indowed with ſingular patience: but hard was it for him being met with ſuch a companion, to auoid his diſpleaſure, with whom he ſupped. He therefore thought it to be the beſt to ſmooth him vp in whatſoeuer he ſaid, and to giue way to him. *Cælius* could not indure this ſmoothing, but exclaimed, *Speake ſomewhat againſt me that we may be two.* But when as being angrie, he ſaw the other pacified and ſilent, he gaue ouer his diſpleaſure, becauſe he had no aduerſarie. Let vs therefore at leaſtwiſe make choice of ſuch (if we be priuy to our own imperfections) that wil apply themſelues to our manners and diſcourſe, vndoubtedly they wil make vs delicate, and bring vs into an euil cuſtome, not to giue eare to any thing that is diſpleaſing vnto vs, yet ſhall this profit vs, that they allow vs ſome intermiſſion and quiet in our error. A hard and vntamed nature likewiſe will indure a flattering and affable intertainment. Nothing is harſh and diſpleaſing when we ſmooth and handle it gently. As oft as the diſputation ſhall be longer or more eager, let vs reſiſt at firſt before it be inforced. Contention nouriſheth it ſelfe, and layes hold on thoſe that flie her. It is eaſier for a man to abſtaine from a debate, then to retire himſelfe.

CHAP. IX.

The fourth expedient againſt Anger, is neither to charge that mind or bodie to much.

MOreouer ſuch as are angrie ought to forbeare all ſerious ſtudies, or at leaſtwiſe they are to exerciſe them without laſſitude, and the minde ought not to be buſied in many things, but to be entertained with more pleaſing ſtudies. Let the reading of Poets pacifie him, & the ouerlooking of Hiſtories content him with varieties, let him be handled more tenderly and delicately. *Pythagoras* pacified the perturbations of the mind by his Harpe. But who knoweth not that Clarions and Trumpets doe wonderfully moue? and that there are ſome ſtraines of voyce & muſick which make the mind tractable? Green things are profitable for confuſed eyes, and there are other colours that content the feeble ſight, and the brightneſſe of ſome other doth blemiſh them, ſo the ſtudie of pleaſant Stories doth comfort languiſhing ſpirits. We muſt flie the places, the pleas, and courts where audienſe is giuen, all which doe exulcerate the mindes; and beware likewiſe to weary our bodies. For laſſitude conſumeth all that which is ſweete and plauſible in vs, and awakeneth that which is ſharpe and ſtirring. For this cauſe they that haue no good ſtomack, intending to imploy themſelues in ſome matters of importance, are accuſtomed to repreſſe the cholerick humor which trauel ſtirreth ouer much, by eating ſome little thing; and the rather becauſe hunger extinguiſheth naturall heat, hurteth the bloud, and ſtaieth the courſe thereof, by reaſon that the veines are trauelled, or becauſe the body being attenuated and faint, is a burthen to the ſoule. Vndoubtedly for the ſame cauſe and

and consideration, sick men and old men are subiect vnto anger. And therefore for the same causes are hunger and thirst to be auoided, because they exasperate and inflame mens mindes.

CHAP. X.

The fifth expedient is, the knowledge that we ought to haue of our selues and the infirmities of our mindes.

IT is an old saying, *That it is ease to driue a wearied man into the frets.* As much may be said of him that is an hungred, of him that is drie, and by euerie man that is displeased at any thing. For as vlcers vpon euery light touch, and afterwards vpon a shew of touching, seeme painfull, so the minde that is affected, is offended with the least things, in so much as a salutation, an Epistle, an Oration, and Interrogation prouoke them to displeasure. Such as are pained, are neuer touched without complaining. And therefore it is the best to take medicine vpon the first sence or appearance of the sickenesse, in like sort to giue no liberty to our discourses, but to refraine them carefully. But when the passions begin to take head, and burst forth, it is an easie matter to restraine them. There are certaine signes which goe before a sickenesse. Euen as tempests and showers haue certaine signes before they fall, so Anger, loue, and all these stormes which vexe the minde, haue certaine tokens to presage them. Such as are subiect to the falling sickenesse, vnderstand that their fit is at hand, when as the tops of their fingers and toes are cold, when their sight is darkned, when their memorie faileth them, when their head turneth, and their nerues are contracted; Then haue they recourse to their accustomed remedies to preuent their fall: that is at hand: by potions or perfumes they driue away that sickenesse which in this sort alieneth their senses, with fomentations they resist the conflict of their cold, and the rigour of their infirmitie. If these remedies relieue them not, they retire themselues apart, and fall where no man seeth them. It shall profit a man much if he know his disease, and if hee be experienced to cut off the violence thereof, before it hath gotten power to exspaciate. Let vs consider what it is that offendeth vs most. One man is moued by bitter words, another by some outrages that are offred him. This man will haue his nobilitie supported, that man his beautie. Such a one desireth to be reputed a gallant fellow, that other to be most learned; this man is impatient of pride, that other of contumacie. He thinketh his seruants vnworthie to draw him to displeasure. The other is a Tyrant within doores, and gentle without. Such a one thinketh himselfe mocked, if he bee intreated: that other a contumely if hee be not requested. All men are not strucken in one place.

CHAP. XI.

The sixth means to bridle Anger: Be not too curious.

THou must therfore know what is weake in thee, to the intent that most of all thou maist preuent the same: it is not expedient for vs to see all things, nor to heare all things. Let many iniuries passe by vs, and he that indeuoreth himselfe not to know them, is for the most part warranted from them. Wilt thou not be angrie? be not curious. Who inquireth what is spoken against himself? Who so wil sound and search out what euill speeches are spoken by him secretly, doth himselfe disquiet

diſquiet himſelfe. An euil interpretation maketh vs ſuppoſe that a word which is ſpoken by vs is a great outrage. Some things therefore are to be differed, ſome things to be deluded, and ſome things to be pardoned. Wrath in diuers ſorts muſt be circumſcribed, & diuers things are to be turned to ieſt and ſport. They ſay that *Socrates* hauing receiued a boxe on the eare, ſaid nothing elſe but, *That it was a great fault, that men knew not when they ſhould come abroad with a helmet vpon their heads.* It skils not how the iniurie be done, but how it is ſuffered. Neither ſee I why moderation ſhould be a hard matter, when as I knew that the mindes of certain Tyrants being puffed vp by fortune & libertie, haue repreſſed that crueltie which was familiar vnto them. It is reported, that *Piſiſtratus* a Tyrant in Athens, when as a certaine drunken man, that ſate at banquet with him, had ſpoken many things againſt his crueltie (and there wanted not ſome, who would haue executed whatſoeuer he ſhould haue commanded, and one man on this ſide, and another on the other, laboured to inkindle his diſpleaſure) that he tooke all things patiently, and anſwered thoſe that prouoked him after this manner: *That he was no more angrie with him, then if a blind-fold fellow hauing his eyes tyed vp ſhould runne vpon him.* The greater part of men haue bred quarrel to themſelues; either by ſuſpecting falſe things, or by aggrauating ſmall things.

A notable example.

Chap. XII.

The ſeuenth meanes not to ſeeke out euill occaſions, and if they proffer them ſelues to repulſe them.

OFt times Anger ſeeketh vs out, more oftentimes ſearch we her, which is neuer to be called for, but euen then when we light vpon her, then ought we to reiect her. No man ſaith vnto himſelfe; *This for which I am diſpleaſed, either I haue done my ſelfe, or elſe I might haue done it.* No man eſtimateth the minde of him that committeth the fault, but the fact it ſelfe. Yet this is to be looked into, whether he did it wittingly or caſually; whether he were compelled or deceiued; whether he did it for hatred or reward; whether of his own accord, or by another mans inſtigation. Furthermore, the age and fortune of him that doth this is to be reſpected much, to the end we may ſupport the one with ſweetnes, the other with reſpect. Let vs put our ſelues in his place againſt whom we are diſpleaſed; now doth the wrong eſtimation of our ſelues make vs angry, & thoſe things which we would doe, we will not ſuffer. Each man is not patient; but the greateſt remedie againſt wrath is delay, that the firſt furie thereof may be repreſſed, and that miſt which dulleth our mindes either may be diſperſed, or attenuated. There are ſome of thoſe things which carrie thee away headlong, which, I ſay, not a day but an houre may rectifie, ſome of theſe wil wholly vaniſh. If in this caſe we demand delay, it then appeareth that it is not Anger but reaſon that commandeth. Whatſoeuer it be, thou wouldſt know what it is, deliuer it into the hands of time. A man cannot diligently obſerue that which paſſeth away ſwiftly. *Plato* could not obtaine any delay from himſelfe when he was angry with his ſeruant, but commanded him preſently to lay by his coat, and to yeeld his ſhoulders to the ſtrokes of the whip, which he himſelf would lay on. After he knew that he was angrie, he withdrew his hand that was readie to ſtrike, and ſtood ſtill in the ſame habit as if he were addreſſed to ſtrike. Being afterwards demanded by his friend, who came thither by chance, what he did? *I* (ſaith he) *chaſtiſe a man that is angrie*. This wiſe man, aſtoniſhed

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at this his deformed countenance and geſture, tooke no more heed vnto his ſlaue, becauſe he had found another, whom he ought rather to haue chaſtiſed: he therefore depriued himſelfe of that authoritie ouer his ſeruants; and notwithſtanding becauſe his ſeruant had committed ſome fault that was worthie puniſhment, he ſaid vnto SPEVSIPPVS, *I pray thee chaſtiſe my ſeruant with ſtroakes, becauſe I am angrie*. He beateth him not becauſe he was angrie, and another man did correct him: I am angrie, ſaid he, I ſhall doe more then I ſhould. And therefore I will forbeare him more willingly. Let not this ſeruant bee in his power that is not Maſter of himſelfe. Will any man commit reuenge to a wrathfull man, ſince *Plato* hath taken his authoritie from himſelfe? Let nothing be lawfull for thee as long as thou art angrie: Why? Becauſe thou wilt haue all things lawfull for thee. Fight thou with thy ſelfe. If thou canſt not ouercome thine Anger, ſhee beginneth to ouercome thee; if ſhe be hidden, if we cannot giue her no iſſue, let vs burie the ſignes thereof, and let vs, as much as in vs lyeth, keepe it hidden and ſecret.

CHAP. XIII.

THis cannot be done but with great labour; for ſhee deſireth to leape out, to inflame the eyes, and to change the face: but if ſhee may once ſhew her ſelfe without vs, ſhe is aboue vs. Let vs hide her in the loweſt retreat of our breaſts, and let her there be concealed, but ſo, as ſhe tranſport vs not; and which is more, let vs change all her ſignes, and all her markes to the contrarie, let our countenance be more peaceable, our voyce more tempered, our pace more ſetled; let vs by little conforme both the interior and exterior parts. It was a ſigne of Anger in *Socrates* when he humbled his voyce and ſpake ſparingly; for at that time it appeared that he reſiſted himſelfe. He was therefore both perceiued and reproued by his familiars; neither took he it in ill part to heare the reproofe of his concealed Anger: Why ſhould he not reioyce becauſe many vnderſtood his Anger, no man felt it? but it had beene perceiued, except he had giuen his friends power to chide him, as he himſelfe had aſſumed the authoritie to reproue them. How much more ought we to doe this? Let vs intreat euerie one of our deereſt friends at that time eſpecially, to vſe his moſt libertie againſt vs, when we are leaſt able to endure him, neither let him flatter with our Anger. Againſt ſo powerfull an euill, and ſo gracious in our eyes, let vs call for our friends helpe, whilſt our eyes are opened, and we are Maſters of our ſelues.

The eighth meanes. Containe thine Anger inwardly, and ſhew it not outwardly.

CHAP. XIV.

THey that can hardly beare Wine, and that feare the folly and inſolence of drunkenneſſe, command their ſeruants to carrie them from the place where they ſolemnize their Feſtiuals. They that haue the experience, that their intemperance hath been the cauſe of their ſickeneſſe, forbid their ſeruants to giue them their wills during the time of their infirmitie. It is the beſt for vs to prouide ſome impedi-

Now by example expreſſeth he the effects of choler.

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ments againſt known vices, and aboue all things ſo to compoſe our minds, that although it be ſhaken by the moſt grieuous and ſudden accidents that may be, it either feele not wrath, or elſe reſtraine and embaſe the weight of the iniurie, that hath beene vnaduiſedly offered him, without diſcouering his griefe. That this may bee done, it ſhall appeare manifeſtly, if out of a great many examples, I ſhall produce ſome few, out of which a man may learne both how great euill Anger hath in it, when ſhe vſeth the power of the moſt mightieſt men; and how much ſhe may command, as ſoone as ſhe is curbed by a greater feare. *Cambyſes* the King, a Prince too much ſubiect to Wine, was admoniſhed by *Prexaſpes* (who was one of his Minions) to drinke leſſe, ſaying, *That drunkenneſſe was a loathſome thing in a King, who was followed by all mens eares and eyes.* To this he anſwered, *To the end thou mayeſt know* (ſaid he) *that I am neuer out of temper, I will preſently approue, that after Wine both mine hands and eyes can doe their office.* Hereupon he began to drinke more freely then otherwiſe he was accuſtomed, and in greater cups then formerly he vſed; and being thus loaden and drunke with wine, he commanded his ſonne who had reproued him, to get without the doore of the Palace, and laying his left hand on his head, to ſtand there vprightly; then bent he his Bow, and with the Arrow he ſhot, diuided he the yong mans heart, as he had proteſted to do, and opening his breſt, he ſhewed him the head of the Arrow ſticking in his heart; and looking back vpon the father, he ſaid, *Now Sir, is not my hand ſteddy?* who anſwered, that *Apollo* could not haue ſhot with better leuell. The gods confound him, more ſlauiſh in minde then in condition; for praiſing ſuch an action whereunto it was ouermuch for him to be an aſſiſtant. He thought he had gotten a good occaſion to flatter, when his ſonnes breſt was diuided into two parts, and the heart as yet panted vnder the wound: he ſhould haue conteſted for glorie againſt *Cambyſes*, and challenged him to a ſecond proofe, whether he could as rightly hit the heart of the father, as he had done of his ſonne. O cruell King, worthie that all his ſubiects bowes ſhould be bent againſt him. When we haue curſed him that ended his banquets with puniſhments and funerals, we cannot but deteſt *Praxaſpes* for this his vnnatural commendation of the ſhot, as well as *Cambyſes* for ſhooting it. We ſee how the father ſhould haue demeaned himſelfe, being vpon the dead bodie of his ſonne, and witneſſe of the murther whereof he was the cauſe. That which is now in queſtion, is apparant, that choler may be ſuppreſſed. He curſed not the King, neither vttered he one word of compaſſion, although his heart were as much wounded as that of his ſonnes. It may be ſaid, that he deſeruedly deuoured his words, for had he ſpoken any thing as if he had beene diſpleaſed, he could haue done nothing that became a father. It may ſeeme, ſaith he, that he behaued himſelfe more conſiderately in that caſe, then when he reproued *Cambyſes* for his immoderate drinking; and it had beene better for him to haue ſuffered him to drinke Wine then bloud, who hauing the cup in his hand, and being occupied in drinking, ſuffered others to liue in peace: he was therefore to be numbred for one of thoſe, who to their great miſeries haue made it manifeſt, how deare good counſailes coſt them who are Kings fauourites.

Herodot. lib. 3.

Chap.

Chap. XV.

The second example of Astiages and Harpagus.

I Doubt not but that *Harpagus* had ſpoken ſome ſuch like thing to his Maſter *Aſtiages* King of Perſia, by reaſon whereof he was ſo much incenſed, that he ſcalled the old man with the fleſh of his children, and afterwards asked him how he liked the dreſſing. Then, as ſoone as he ſaw that he was glutted with his owne miſeries, he commanded their heads to be brought forth, and asked him, *How he liked them?* The wretched man wanted no words, he faltred not in his ſpeech, but ſaid, *With a King euerie ſupper is pleaſant.* What profited he by this flatterie? This, that he was not inuited to the reliques of the banquet. I forbid not the father to condemne the Kings action, I forbid him not to ſeeke a condigne reuenge for ſo horrible an iniurie, but this in the interim will I ſay, That wrath which ariſeth from extreme euils may be hidden, and be conſtrained to ſpeake wholly contrary to his mind. This reſtraint of ſorrow is neceſſary for thoſe eſpecially who haunt the Court, and are inuited to Princes tables. Thus muſt they eat with them, thus muſt they drinke, thus muſt they anſwer, thus muſt they ſmile at their childrens funerals. Let vs conſider whether life be a thing that ſhould be ſo much ſet by, although it concern not this matter. Shal we take pleaſure to remaine in ſo loathſome a priſon? Shall we counſaile our ſelues to continue vnder the yoake of murtherers? Contrariwiſe, we will make it knowne, that in all oppreſſions the way of libertie is laid open to vs. If the mind be infirme and miſerable through his owne fault, he may end his miſeries in himſelfe. I will ſay both to him that attended the King who ſhot his arrows againſt the harts of his friends, and to him whoſe maſter glutted the fathers ſtomacke with his childrens bowels: Why mourneſt thou mad man? Expecteſt thou that ſome enemie deſtroying thy nation, or that ſome puiſſant King marching out from a farre, ſhall reuenge that iniurie which is done vnto thee? On what ſide ſoeuer thou turneſt thy ſelfe, there is the end of theſe miſeries. Seeſt thou yonder ſteepie place? from thence mayeſt thou deſcend to thy libertie. Seeſt thou that Sea? Seeeſt thou that Riuer or that Pit? Libertie ſitteth in the bottom thereof. Seeſt thou that ſhort, withered, and fatal tree? Liberty dependeth thereon. Seeſt thou thy throat, thy weſand-pipe, thy heart? Theſe are the meanes to eſcape ſeruitude. Thou ſheweſt me too dangerous and buſie means to eſcape, and ſuch as require a great mind and courage. Enquireſt thou which is the way to libertie? Euery veine in thy bodie.

A leſſon for contraries.

Two Stoicall and prolane reſolutions: touch not too neere theſe rockes, leſt they ſinke thee.

Chap. XVI.

Of the patience wch is requiſit in aduerſities.

AS long therefore as there is nothing in our opinion ſo intollerable, that it ſhould expell vs out of life, let vs remoue Anger from vs in whatſoeuer eſtate wee ſhall be. Pernicious is ſhee to thoſe that ſerue; for indignation ſerueth not but to increaſe her torment, and the cõmandements that are giuen her ſeeme to be more grieuous and troubleſome, the more obſtinately ſhe ſuffereth them: ſo the wilde beaſt, the more he ſtrugles in the net, the more is he intangled: ſo birds, whilſt fearefully they ſhake off the bird-lime, intangle and ſnare all their feathers. There is none ſo hard a yoake that ſo much hurteth him that beares it willingly,

ly, as him that repineth against it. The onely remedie of the greateſt miſeries is to ſuffer them willingly, and to apply a mans ſelfe to thoſe neceſſities which preſent themſelues. But whereas this continencie is profitable for thoſe that ſerue, ſo the bridling of affections, and of this eſpecially which is ſo furious and vnbridled a paſſion, is moſt neceſſary for Kings. All things go to wracke when Fortune permitteth as much as Anger perſwadeth; neyther can that power continue long which is exerciſed to many mens miſeries: for great men put themſelues into maruellous danger, when common feare ioyneth thoſe together who lament in their particular. Diuers therefore of them haue been ſlaine by ſeuerall perſons, and ſometimes by the whole multitude, when ſorrow hath conſtrained them to ioyne their diſpleaſures in one. But diuers haue ſo exerciſed their Anger, as if it had beene a kingly matter. Amongſt theſe was *Darius*, he (after he had extinguiſht the Empire of the Magies) ouercame the Perſians, and a greater part of the Eaſt. For hauing denounced warre againſt the Scythians that dwelt about the countrey, a Noble and auncient Gentleman called *Oebaſus*, beſought him that he would leaue one of his children behinde him, to be a comfort to his father, and content himſelf with the ſeruice of two of them: he promiſed more then he required at his hands, and that he would diſmiſſe them all; hereupon he cauſed them to be ſlaine, and caſt their bodies downe before their fathers eies, to the end he might not be eſteemed cruell, if he had carried them away all three.

CHAP. XVII.

The fourth example of Zerxes *and* Pithius, Herod *and* Plutarch.

BVt how much more facile was *Zerxes*, who when *Pithius* the father of fiue ſonnes, required the diſmiſſion of one of them, which ſoeuer he pleaſed, gaue him leaue to chuſe him whom he beſt liked, and afterwards when he had made his choyce, diuiding that ſonne into two pieces, he caſt them on either ſide of the way, and by this ſacrifice purified his armie? But this Prince was chaſtiſed according to his demerits: for after he had beene ouercome and diſcomfited on euery ſide, and beheld the heapes of dead ſouldiers in all places, he marched thorow the midſt of their murthered carkaſſes. Such was the naturall furie of barbarous Kings, ignorant and enemies of good letters, whence enſued Anger. But I will bring thee forth *Alexander* out of *Ariſtotles* ſchoole, who in the midſt of his feſtiuals, and with his owne hands, murthered his own friend *Clitus* (who had bin brought vp with him) becauſe he could not flatter, and from a Macedonian and free man, would not become a ſeruile Perſian. He likewiſe expoſed *Lyſimachus* (who was as familiar with him as the other) to the furie of a Lion. But did this *Lyſimachus* (who had ſo happie fortune to eſcape the teeth of a Lion) for this cauſe become more milde, when he obtained a Kingdome? No. For he cut off the noſe and eares of *Teleſphorus* the Rhodian, who was his deer friend, and afterwards (as if he had beene ſome ſtrange beaſt) kept him cloſed in a cage, wherein he fed him, being vnable to obſerue any thing of a man in him, by reaſon of the deformitie of his face, of hunger, and filth, and his ordure, wherein this poore creature lay buried; hauing his knees and hands hardened, becauſe the cage was ouer-low for him, and would not ſuffer him to ſtand vpright. Beſides, by reaſon of often rubbing himſelfe, his ſides were all flayed, ſo that he ſeemed lothſome and dreadfull to all thoſe that beheld him, and being made

made a Monſter by this puniſhment, he loſt alſo all compaſſion. Yet when he was moſt vnlike vnto a man, who ſuffered theſe things, he was more vnlike, who did the ſame.

Chap. XVIII.

Other examples taken out of the Roman hiſtories.

I Could haue wiſhed that this cruell paſſion had remained amongſt the Barbarians, and had not taken poſſeſſion of the hearts of vs that are Romanes, with other vices drawne from forrain Countries, and with the fury of diuers new puniſhments, and meanes of reuenge. *Marcus Marius* (in whoſe honour the people had raiſed Statues in euery ſtreet, to whom with frankinſence and wine the Romanes ſacrificed as to a god) by *Lucius Sylaes* command had his legge broken, his eies pulled out, and his hands cut off; and as if he had killed him ſo oft as he wounded him, by little and little, he peece-meale drew euery part of him in peeces. Who executed this commandement? Who could it be but *Catiline?* who at this time exerciſed his hands in all hainous ſtratagems. He cut this poore bodie in peeces before the Tombe of *Quintus Catulus*, troubling with extreme inſolence, the reuerend aſhes of the mildeſt man of his time, on which *Marius*, a man culpable in many kinds (yet agreeable to the people, & not without cauſe, although it may be that it was more then reaſon) ſhed his bloud drop by drop. Worthy was *Marius* to endure thoſe things; *Sylla* to command it, and *Catiline* to execute it. But vnworthie was the Common-weale to receiue into her body at once, the ſwords both of her enemies and Citizens. Why ſeek I out ſo far-fet examples? Not long ſince, *Caius Cæſar* cauſed *Sextus Papinius* (whoſe father had bin a Conſull) and *Bollenius Baſſus* (who had bin Treaſurer and the ſonne of his procurer) and other Senators and Romane Knights) to be whipt and tormented in one day, not becauſe they had offended, but for his mind ſake. Againe, ſo impatient was he to differ his content, which his immeaſurable crueltie incited him to take without delay, that walking in an Allie of his mothers garden, which ſeparateth the porch from the riuer banke, he beheaded ſome, with diuers Ladies and Senators by torch-light. What is that which prouoked him? what danger, either publique or priuate, threatned him to execute thoſe perſons by night? Was it ſo great a matter to ſtay til day light? But he would not haue his Pantofles on, when he cauſed Romanes and Senators to be murthered.

Chap. XIX.

Here continueth he the monſterous deſcription of Caligulaes crueltie.

HOw proud his crueltie was, it ſhall be materiall to examine: although ſome may eſteeme that we wander from the purpoſe, and containe not our ſelues in the right path, but this ſhall be a patterne of wrath enraged aboue ordinarie. He had cauſed Senators to be whipped: yea, ſo great was his inſolence, that it might be ſaid, that it was an ordinarie matter. He had ſubiected them to thoſe torments, and ſo cruell that might be poſſibly inuented, as to traine them and drag them by ropes, to torment them by preſſing, by racke, by fire, and by his furious countenance. And in this place, ſome may anſwer and ſay, What a trifling matter is this, if three Senators were like baſe ſlaues whipped and

burned, by ſuch a man who daily meditated on the death of the whole Senate; who wiſhed that the Romane people had but one head, to the end that their ſo many offences committed in ſo many places and times, might bee puniſhed in one ſtroke, and at one time? What hath beene leſſe heard of then night puniſhment? Whereas thefts are wont to be hidden by night: and puniſhments, the more publique they be, the more profit they for other mens example and amendment. In this place ſome will anſwere me; That which thou ſo much admireſt at, is this beaſts daily exerciſe. He liueth for this, he watcheth for this, he ſtudieth for this; Truly there ſhall no other man be found that had authoritie ouer thoſe whom he commanded to bee puniſhed, that ſtopped their mouthes with a ſpunge, for feare leſt they ſhould haue libertie to ſpeake. What, euerie dying man had not this benefit to bemoane himſelfe? But he was afraid, leſt ſome extreme paine ſhould make any man vtter his mind boldly; and he feared likewiſe leſt he ſhould heare thoſe things which he would not. He knew alſo that there were many other infinite things, which no man durſt obiect againſt him, except he were ſuch an one that was readie to ſuffer death. When as ſpunges were not in in readineſſe, he cauſed the wretches garments to be cut in picces, and to be thruſt into their mouthes; what crueltie is this? Let it be lawfull for a man to draw his laſt breath; giue place to the ſoule that ſhe may freely depart; Let her be ſuffered to haue paſſage by ſome other way, then by the wound which the body hath receiued.

CHAP. XX.

The cauſe why he made mention of Caligulaes *cruelties.*

IT were too long a matter to adde vnto theſe, how many of their fathers whom he had put to death, were murthered the ſame night by the hands of Centurions, by the command of this pitifull Prince, who thought good by theſe meanes, to deliuer the fathers from bewailing their childrens deaths? For my intention is not to diſcouer *Caius* crueltie, but the miſerie of Anger, which not onely executeth her furie againſt one man or other, but alſo ſpoyleth whole Cities and Nations, and beateth riuers alſo which are free from all ſence of paine. As *Cambyſes* King of Perſia, who cut off the noſes of all the people in Syria, by meanes whereof the place was afterwards called Rhinocolura. Thinkeſt thou that he ſpared them, becauſe he cut not off their heads? He tooke delight in a new kind of puniſhment. Such like ſhould the Æthiopians haue ſuffered, who by reaſon of their long life, are called *Macrobij*. For againſt theſe, becauſe they entertained not willingly the ſubiection that was offered them, but gaue free anſweres to thoſe Ambaſſadours that were ſent vnto them, which Kings call contumelious; *Cambyſes* was mad at them, and without prouiſion of prouant and victuals, without diſcouerie of the Countrie, by vnhaunted and ſandie waies, he led all his troupes that were fit for the warre; which after the firſt dayes march wanted victuals, neither did the barren and vnmanured Countrie, vntracted by any foote, miniſter them any thing. Firſt ſatisfied they their hunger with the tender leaues and tops of trees, then by leather mollified by fire, and whatſoeuer neceſſitie had made meate. But when as amidſt the ſands both rootes and herbes failed them, and the deſert was found void of all liuing creatures, they killed euery tenth man, and thereby had ſuſtenance more dreadfull then famine; yet notwithſtanding all this, Anger carried the

Cambyſes brutiſh rage.

King

King on headlong. Hauing loſt one part of his Armie, and eaten another, vntill ſuch time as he feared leſt amongſt others that were killed, the lot ſhould fall on himſelfe, then at length ſounded he a retreat. In the meane ſpace, the beſt fowle was kept for his vſe, and the inſtruments of his banquets were carried vpon Cammels, whilſt his Souldiers caſt lots which of them ſhould die miſerable, and which of them ſhould liue worſe.

Chap. XXI.

THis man was angrie with a Nation vnknown vnto him, and innocent of themſelues, yet ſuch as had he proſpered ſhould haue taſted of his fury. But *Cyrus* was angrie with a riuer: For marching on diligently to the warre (the greateſt moment whereof conſiſteth in taking oportunities) & intending to ſurpriſe Babylon, he attempted to paſſe ouer the huge riuer of Ginde, which was ſcarcely paſſable in the height of Sommer, & when the water is at the loweſt. There one of thoſe white horſes which were wont to draw his Kingly Chariot, was carried away violently by the ſtreame, whereat the King was mightily mooued; and ſwore that he would bring that Riuer which had carried away his Princely baggage to that paſſe that euen verie women ſhould be able to get ouer it without wetting their ſhooes. Which ſaid, he imployed all his forces herein, and continued ſo long, that hauing digged nine ſcore chanels to turne the Riuer, he afterwards reduced it into three hundreth and ſixtie armes or brooks, ſo that that great channel became drie, the waters being dreined by ſo many other waies. Thus ſpent he the time, (which is an irreuocable loſſe in affaires of conſequence) thus abated he his Souldiers courage, who were broken by vnprofitable labors, and had loſt their occaſion and preparation for the aſſault, whilſt he hauing proclamed warre againſt his enemies, grew at ods with a Riuer.

Chap. XXII.

He returneth to Caligula, *by his example to make Anger odious, and to inkindle others to mercie: he ſheweth the milde behauiour of* Antigonus.

THis furie (for what elſe canſt thou name it?) ſeiſed the Romans likewiſe. For *Caius Cæſar* ouerthrew a faire houſe of pleaſure which was builded for pleaſure neere to Ponzol, becauſe ſometimes his mother had beene kept priſoner in it, and made the fortune thereof notable hereby. For when it ſtood, the paſſengers that ſailed by, enquired what it was, and now they demaund why it is ruined. And as well oughteſt thou to thinke on theſe examples, to the end to auoyd them, as on thoſe on the contrarie part which thou art to follow, which are both moderate and gentle; who neither wanted cauſe to be angrie, nor power to reuenge themſelues. For what was more eaſie and facile for *Antigonus*, then to command two of his Souldiers to be put to death? who leaning vpon the Royall tent, did that which men doe moſt dangerouſly and willingly that thinke euill of their Prince. *Antigonus* heard all that they ſpake, becauſe betwixt them that talked and him that heard there was but a Tapeſtrie, which he ſoftly pulled aſide, and ſaid, *Get ſomewhat farther off, for feare leſt the King heare you.* The ſame Prince vpon a certaine night, when he had heard certaine of his ſouldiers deteſting and curſing him diuers waies, who had led them into

that iournie and dyrtie march, came vnto them that were moſt diſpleaſed, and whereas they knew not by whom they were helped, he ſatisfied them,& ſaid: *Now curſe* ANTIGONVS, *by whoſe fault you were drawne into theſe miſeries, but wiſh him well notwithſtanding, who brought you out of this bog.* The ſame as patiently endured the reproaches of his enemies, as of his Citizens. When as therfore the Grecians were beſieged in a ſmall Caſtle, and contemning the enemie by reaſon of the place, ieſted vpon *Antigonus* deformitie, and ſometimes derided his low ſtature, otherwhiles his hooked noſe, *I am glad,* ſaid he, *& conceiue ſome good hope if I haue* SILENVS *in my Campe.* After he had ouercome theſe brablers by famine, he vſed the captiues in ſuch ſort, that he placed thoſe that were fit for warre amongſt his owne companies, and the reſt he ſold by the Crier, and this he ſaid, he would not haue done it, vnleſſe it had been expedient for them to haue a Gouernour, who had ſo bad tongues. His Nephew was *Alexander,* who darted his Iauelin againſt his table-gueſts; who of thoſe two friends which he had (as I told you before) made the one a prey to a Lion, the other to himſelfe. But of both theſe, he that was deliuered to the Lion liued.

This was Bacch' companion, and the eldeſt amongſt the Satyres.

CHAP. XXIII.

The ſecond example of great mildeneſſe and mercie.

HE had not this vice either from his grandfather or his father: for if there were any other vertue in *Philip* it was this, that he was patient in all reproaches; which is a mightie inſtrument for the ſafetie of a Kingdome. *Demochares,* who for the libertie and pelancie of his tongue was called *Parrheſiaſtes,* came vnto him amongſt other Athenian Embaſſadors; and hauing courteouſly giuen audience to their embaſſage, *Philip* ſaid, *Tell me if I may do any thing that ſhal be grateſull to the Athenians.* DEMOCHARES vndertook the anſwer, and ſaid, *Goe and hang thy ſelfe.* They that ſtood about him were diſpleaſed at ſo vnhumane an anſwer, whom *Philip* cõmanded to be ſilent, willing them to diſmiſſe that *Therſites* ſafe & ſound. *But you,* ſaith he, *the reſt of the Embaſſadors, tell the Athenians that they are more proud that ſpeak thus, then they that heare them ſpoken without reuenge.* AVGVSTVS CAESAR ſpake, and did many things that were worthie memorie, whereby it appeareth that he was Maſter of his owne Anger. *Timagines* the writer of Hiſtories had ſpoken ſomewhat againſt himſelfe, ſomewhat againſt his whole family; neither loſt he that which he had ſpoken, for an audacious kind of ieſting is the ſooneſt entertained and divulged by euery man. *Cæſar* oft-times gaue him warning hereof, and wiſhed him to vſe his tongue more moderately, and ſeeing that he perſeuered, he forbad him his houſe. After that *Timagines* liued till he was very olde, in *Aſinius Pollio's* houſe, beloued of the whole Citie, notwithſtanding *Cæſars* repulſe, euerie mans dores were open to him. Afterwards he recited and burned thoſe Hiſtories which he had written, and caſt thoſe bookes into the fire which contained the acts of *Auguſtus Cæſar:* and thus waged he war with *Cæſar.* No man for all this refuſed his friendſhip, no man fled from him, as though he were blaſted: there was alwaies that gaue him entertainment in the height of his diſgraces. All theſe, as I ſaid, *Cæſar* endured patiently, neither was he moued therewith, notwithſtanding that *Timagines* had violatd both his praiſes and actions. He neuer was diſpleaſed with him that entertained his enemie, this only ſaid he to POLLIO, *Thou nouriſheſt a beaſt*; and when he addreſſed himſelfe to giue him an anſwer, the Emperour pre-

preuented him, and ſaid, *He is at thy command* POLLIO, *much good doe it thee with him.* And when as *Pollio* ſaid, *If thou commandeſt mee* CAESAR, *I will preſently forbid him my houſe. What*, ſaid he, *thinkeſt thou? I will doe this, who haue reconciled both of you and made you friends?* For *Pollio* in times had beene angry with *Timagines*; neither had he any other cauſe of diſlike towards him, but becauſe *Cæſar* had entertertayned him.

CHAP. XXIV.

What profit a man ſhould take of the precedent examples, and what conſiderations beſides them we ought to annexe, the better to refrayne Anger.

LEt euery man therefore ſay vnto himſelfe as often as he is prouoked, Am I more powerfull then *Philip?* yet he patiently ſuffered diſgraces without reuenging them. Can I doe more in my priuate houſe then *Diuus Cæſar* thorow the whole World? yet was he content to locke vp his gates againſt him that had ſlandered him. Or why ſhould I for a bold & ieſting anſwer, a proud looke, or the grumbling and vntowardneſſe of my ſlaue, expiate his fault with whips and fetters? Who am I that no man dare offend mine eares? Many haue pardoned their enemies, ſhall not I pardon ſuch as are ſluggiſh, negligent, and branglers? Let age excuſe a childe, her ſex a woman, liberty a ſtranger, familiarity a domeſtick. He offended me but euen now. Let vs bethinke our ſelues how often he hath contented vs. But oft-times hath he offended otherwiſe? Let vs endure that which we haue ſuffered long. He was my friend: he did that which he pretended not. Is he an enemy? He did that which he ought to doe. Shall we endure a Wiſe-man? let vs pardon a foole. What ſoeuer befalleth vs, let vs ſay vnto our ſelues, that the wiſeſt commit many errours, and that no man is ſo circumſpect whom Anger doth not ſometimes take tardie: none ſo mature and ſtayed, eyther in his words or actions, whoſe grauity may not by fortune be drawne into ſome inconſiderate action: no man ſo fearefull to offend, that whilſt he flyeth from offences, falleth not into them.

CHAP. XXV.

A continuation of the profits we gather by the precedent conſideration.

EVen as a poore man taketh comfort in his miſerie, when he ſeeth other great mens Fortune ſtagger, and with a more temperate minde hath bewayled his ſonnes death in a corner of his Chamber, who ſeeth the wofull Funerals of the Heire of a Kingdome ſolemnized and borne forth; ſo with a more peaceable and contented minde ſhall hee endure to bee harmed and contemned by another man, whoſoeuer bethinketh himſelfe that there is no Potentate ſo great, who is not, or may not be attempted with iniurie. And if the moſt wiſeſt doe offend, let vs thinke with our ſelues that there is no fault which is not excuſable. Let vs conſider how oftentimes our yong yeares haue been ſcarce diligent in performing duties, immoderate in ſpeech, ſcarce temperate in Wine: if any man be angry, let vs giue him time wherein he may conſider what he hath done, and he himſelfe will reprooue himſelfe; in concluſion, he will puniſh himſelfe, yet for all this muſt not wee be angry. This is vndoubtedly true, that hee hath exempted himſelfe from common men, and rayſed himſelfe to an higher degree, that deſpiſeth ſuch as prouoke him. For it is the propertie of true magnitude, not to feele

ſeele that he is ſtrooken. So hath a furious beaſt, ſtalking along with a ſetled pace looked backe on thoſe Dogs that barked at him. So doe the inraged billowes of the Sea inſult in vaine againſt an immoueable rocke. He that is not angry hath neuer beene ſhaken by iniury, hee that is angry is mooued: but hee whom for the preſent I haue mounted aboue all incommoditie, with a certaine embrace entertayneth the chiefeſt good, being equall not onely to himſelfe, but alſo to Fortune. Whatſoeuer thou doeſt, thou art not great enough to obſcure the brightneſſe that enlightneth me. Reaſon to whom I haue aſſigned the conduct of my life, defendeth the ſame. The Anger will hurt me more then the offence; and why? Becauſe there is a certayne meaſure in the offence, but I know not how farre mine Anger will tranſport me.

CHAP. XXVI.

A pertinent Anſwer to thoſe that alleage that they can endure nothing, for by this meanes they deprriue themſelues of that excellent happines which courteſie produceth.

BVt, ſayeſt thou, I can endure nothing, it is a grieuous matter to me to ſuſtayne an iniury. Thou lyeſt: for who cannot endure iniury that can ſuffer Anger? Furthermore, thou pretendeſt to charge thy ſelfe with iniury and Anger both at once. Why ſuffereſt thou the cryes of a ſick man, the ſtrange ſpeeches of a Lunatick, and the ſtrokes of thy little children? Forſooth becauſe they ſeeme to be ignorant of what they doe. What skilleth it by what errour any man becommeth imprudent, ſince imprudence is an equall excuſe for all thoſe that are attainted therewith? What then, ſayeſt thou, ſhall hee remayne vnpuniſhed? Thinke that thou wouldeſt, yet it ſhall not be ſo: for the greateſt chaſtiſement that a man may receiue who hath outraged another, is, to haue done the outrage; and there is no man that is ſo rudely puniſhed, as he that is ſubiect to the whip of his owne repentance. Moreouer, it behoueth vs to regard and conſider the condition of humane affaires, to the end we may bee vpright Iudges of all accidents. But he is vniuſt who vpbraideth a priuate man with that imperfection which is common to all. If a man be black amongſt the *Moores*, or hath a red head, and curled after the manner of the *Almaines*; this is no diſhonour to him, but becommeth him well. That which is common to a whole Nation, defameth not a particular: but thoſe things that I haue ſet downe before, depend but on the cuſtome of one countrey, which is but a little corner of the Earth. Conſider therefore whether it bee not an eaſier matter to excuſe it, which is the practice of the whole World. Wee are all of vs inconſiderate and improuident, all of vs vncertaine, irreſolute, and ambitious. But why hide I a publike Vlcer, vnder milder words? We are all of vs noughts. Whatſoeuer therefore is reprehended in another, that ſhall euery man find within his owne boſome. Why obſerueſt thou his bleakneſſe of colour, his leanneſſe of body? It is a common plague. Let vs therefore bee more temperate one towards another, we liue euill men amongſt euil men: there is one thing onely that can make vs quiet; a mutuall facilitie in conuerſation. This man hath now iniuried mee, but as yet I haue not harmed him; yet now perhaps haſt thou hurt ſome body, or at leaſtwiſe thou wilt hurt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

How much the consideration of our weaknesse beateth against Anger, which is the ninth meanes to refrayne it.

WEigh not this houre or this day, looke into the whole habite of thy mind, if as yet thou hast done no euill, yet canst thou doe it. How farre better is it that an iniury should be salued then reuenged? Reuenge consumeth much time, exposeth her selfe to many iniuries whilst she is stung with one. We are all of vs more long time angry then we are hurt; how farre better is it to take another course, and not in this sort to sort vices together? Should a man be thought well in his wits if he should kicke at a Moyle with his heeles that had strooken him, or teare a Dogge with his teeth that had bitten him? These, sayest thou, know not that they offend. First of all, how vniust is hee who is displeased when men come vnto him to reconcile themselues? Againe, if it restrayne thee from being angry with beasts, because they are destitute of reason; in the same ranke number him that doth something without iudgement: for what skilleth it if he resemble not beasts in any other thing? in the fault which excuseth beasts, he sheweth himselfe as brutish as they be. He hath offended; for this is the first, and this is the last. Thou hast no cause to beleeue him, although he saith, I will not doe it againe. Thou shalt see that hee will once more offend thee, and another him, and the whole course of life shall bee trauailed with errours: wee must handle sauage things courteously. That which is wont to be said in sorrow, may effectually be spoken likewise in Anger. Whether wilt thou giue ouer once or neuer? If once, it is better to leaue off Anger, then to be left by Anger: but if this fault shall alwayes continue, thou seest how vnquiet a life thou denouncest to thy selfe, as it befalleth him who is alwayes swolne vp, and incensed by wrath.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The tenth meanes, not to seeke an occasion of displeasure

FVrthermore, if thou thy selfe seeke not the occasions and meanes to prouoke thine Anger, and if thou enkindlest not thy displeasure, thou shalt see it depart from thee of her owne motion, and time will weaken it daily. How farre better is it for thee that thou shouldest surmount her, then that shee should bee Mistris of thee? Thou art angry now with this man, now with that man, now with thy slaues, anon after with thy francklins, now with thy father or mother, now with thy children, with those of thine acquaintance, then with such as thou hast but newly met withall: for the occasions present themselues in euery place, except a peaceable minde contayne and gouerne vs. Furie will driue thee hither and thither, and as new prouocations shall arise, thy rage shall be continued. Goe to vnhappy man, and when is it that thou wilt loue? O how good time loosest thou in so bad a thing? How farre better were it now to get thee friends, and to mitigate thine enemies? to gouerne the Common-Weale, to transfer thy indeuours to the gouernment of thy Family, then to looke about thee what iniurie thou mayest doe another man? what wound thou mayest inflict eyther on his dignity, or his patrimony, or his body? When as this cannot befall thee without contention and danger, although thou encounter with thine inferior. Although thou see him tyed hand and foot, and that he be in thy power to do with him whatsoeuer thou pleasest; oftentimes it hath beene seene that a man

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in ſtriking another with all his force, hath put his ſhoulder out of ioynt, or his arme, or hand, or elſe in biting hath broken his teeth, and ſpoyled his gummes. Anger hath made many men lame, and hath weakened many; yea, euen then when ſhe hath gotten matter of patience. Adde hereunto, that there is not any thing ſo feeble in this World, that periſhes without putting him in danger that would cruſh or breake it. Sometimes griefe, and ſometimes caſualty hath matched the ſtrongeſt with the weakeſt. And which is more, the moſt part of thoſe things which moue vs, doe harme vs more then we hurt other men. But there is a great difference whether a man oppoſe himſelfe againſt my pleaſure, or whether he hinder it not; whether he take it from mee, or giue it me not. But we account it all one, whether a man take from vs any thing, or deny vs; whether he cut off our hopes, or differ them: whether he be againſt vs, or for himſelfe; whether for the loue of another man, or the hatred hee beareth vs. But ſome haue not only iuſt, but alſo honeſt cauſes to ſtand againſt vs. The one defendeth his father, the other his brother, another his vncle, the third his friend. Yet pardon we not thoſe that doe theſe thing, which ſhould they not doe, wee would condemne them: nay more, which is incredible, oft-times we allow of the deed, but condemne the doer.

The eleuenth conſideration, is, that we hurt our ſelues more then we doe our enemies.

CHAP. XXIX.

The twelfth, Beware to conſound thy iudgement and hate not him whom thou praiſeſt, & leaſt of all him whoſe miſery requireth thine aſſiſtance.

BVt yet aſſuredly euery great and iuſt man affectioneth and well reſpecteth him amongſt his enemies, that moſt valiantly and aduenturouſly behaueth himſelfe for the libertie and conſeruation of his Countrey, and wiſheth himſelfe ſuch a Citizen and ſuch a Camerado as that is in his dangers. It is a ſhamefull thing to hate him whom thou prayſeſt, but how farre more ſhamefull to hate any man, for that for which he is worthy of mercy? If any one being taken Priſoner, retayneth as yet ſome remainders of his liberty, and ſheweth not himſelfe ſo ready in baſe and troubleſome buſineſſe; if hauing thorow idleneſſe gathered ſo much fat, that he cannot come ſo ſwiftly as his Maſters Horſe or Coach: if wearied with all dayes trauaile he ſleep; if he refuſeth to labour in the fields or doth not beſtow himſelfe ſo as a ſtout Peſant ſhould doe; by reaſon he had liued in a Citie, where he had much eaſe, and that he is now tyed to a buſineſſe that is tedious and continuall; let vs conſider whether he cannot do that which we would require at his hands, or if he will not doe it: wee ſhall beare with diuers men, if wee endeuour our ſelues to iudge before we diſpleaſed. But now we beleeue that which the firſt aſſault of our paſſion buzzeth in our eares; afterwards although we be mooued vpon no ground, yet perſeuer wee leſt wee ſhould ſeeme to haue begun without any cauſe, and that which is moſt damnable, the iniquitie of wrath maketh vs more obſtinate. For we nouriſh and increaſe the ſame as if it were an argument of iuſt Anger, to be grieuouſly angry. How farre better is it to examine the beginnings, and to conſider how light and harmeleſſe they be? That which thou ſeeſt fall out in brute beaſts, the ſame ſhalt thou diſcouer in man, we are troubled with friuolous and vaine things.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

The thirteenth, Except thou wilt become abeast be not moued at friuolous and vaine matters as they are accuſtomed to doe that are vndertaken by Anger.

ARed colour exaſperateth Buls, the Aſpe is inkindled in the ſhaddow, a white Cloth prouoketh Beares and Lions. All things that Nature hath made fierce and dreadfull are aſtoniſhed at a little matter. The ſame befalleth diſquiet and fooliſh minds. They are ſtrooken with ſuſpition of things, and in ſuch ſort as ſometimes they call moderate benefites iniuries, in which the moſt frequent, yet certainly the moſt vrgent cauſes of choler conſiſt. For wee are angry with our deareſt friends, becauſe they haue done vs leſſe curteſie then we expected, then other men haue done vs; when as there is a preſent and ready remedy for them both. Hath he fauoured another man more? let vs delight our ſelues with ours without compariſon: he ſhall neuer be happy, that tormenteth himſelfe at an other mans felicity. I haue leſſe then I hoped for? But haply I haue hoped for more then I ought. This part is moſt of all to be feared. Hence ariſe moſt dangerous diſpleaſures, and ſuch as inuade the moſt holieſt and bleſſedeſt things of the World. *Iulius Cæſar* was killed by a greater number of his friends, then of his enemies: whoſe immeaſurable hopes he had not ſatisfied. Such was his intention, neither euer was there any man that carryed himſelfe more better, or more liberally, when he became Maſter of his enemies, for he challenged nothing to himſelfe, but the power to diſtribute; but how could he ſatisfie ſo many importunate deſires, when as all men deſired ſo much as one man could? Hee ſaw therefore with naked Daggers, thoſe followers of his about his Throne; and amongſt the reſt *Tullius Cimber*, who before time had beene an affectionate partaker of his, and thoſe other, who after the death of *Pompey* were become *Pompeians*.

CHAP. XXXI.

The fourteenth, Haue more reſpect to another mans good then to thine owne, and neuer thinke that thou haſt obtayned too little

THis very paſſion hath raiſed the Subiects againſt their Prince, and vrged the moſt faithfull to conſpire the death of thoſe, for whom and in whoſe preſence, they had deſired in times paſt to loſe their liues. Hee that hath reſpect to another mans good, neglecteth his owne. And thereupon wee are angry with the gods likewiſe, becauſe ſome one man out-ſtrippeth vs, forgetting our ſelues how much & how important Enuy followeth them at their backs; yet ſo great is the importunitie of men, that although they haue receiued much, yet ſuppoſe they themſelues to be indignified, becauſe in their iudgements they are capable of more. Gaue he me a Pretorſhip? but I looked for a Conſulſhip. Gaue they me twelue Maces? yet they made me not an ordinary Conſul. Would he haue me to vndertake the charge of numbring the yeare? but he failed me in the Election, when I ſought for the Pontificiall dignitie. Haue I beene brought into the Colledge of Biſhops & Augures? but why in cõpany? Hath he conſummated my dignity? but he hath allowed nothing towards my charge and patrimony: He gaue me that which he ought to haue giuen to another, hee added nothing of his owne. Rather giue thankes for thoſe things which thou haſt receiued; expect the reſt, and reioyce, becauſe that as yet thou art not full. Amongſt all other pleaſures, it is no ſmall one, to ſee that there is ſomewhat remayning.

mayning, for which thou mayst hope. Hast thou sped better then any other? Reioyce, because thou art the first amongst others that hath thy friends heart. Doe many exceed thee? Consider that the number of those that march after thee, surpasseth those whom thou followest.

CHAP. XXXII.

The fifteenth, to digest thy wrath a little, and take leisure to consider what commandement the passion hath ouer thee, & whereupon it is founded.

ASkest thou me what is the greatest vice in thee? Thou forgest false considerations, thou highly prizest thine owne gifts, and neglectest others. Let one thing deterre vs in another. Let vs be afraid to be angry with some for reuerence sake, let vs forbeare other, and for pitty sake endure other some. Vndoubtedly we shall performe a goodly piece of worke, if we shut our vnhappy slaue in Prison. Why are wee so hasty to beat him: and so sudden to breake his legs? This power will not bee lost, if it be deferred. Let that time come wherein wee may be Masters of our selues. Now speake we out of passion: when thee is quailed, then shall wee see how weightie this debate is. For in this especially are wee deceiued. Wee come to Knifes, to capitall punishments: and by bonds, imprisonment, and famine, we reuenge the crime which should be chastized by whipping and slighter punishments. How (sayest thou) commandest thou vs to consider, how all those things whereby we seeme to be harmed, are trifling, miserable, and childish? But I for mine own part would perswade nothing more then to take vpon vs a great minde, and to examine how bumble and abiect these things bee for which wee quarrell, runne and sweat, and such as are not to bee respected and thought vpon by any man, that thinketh on any high or magnificent matter. There is much brabling about money, it wearieth the Court of Pleas, it sets the fathers and children together by the eares, it mixeth venomes, it deliuereth swords, as well into the hands of the Executioner, as of the Souldier, it is that is imbrewed with our bloud. For it are the Marriage beds of man and wife filled with brawles, for it the Tribunals of Magistrates are ouer-pressed with throng; Kings are inraged and ransack countryes, and ouerthrow cities, which were builded by the labour of many Ages, to the end that Gold and Siluer might be sought out in the ashes of the Citie.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The sixteenth, That all our goods are not worth halfe the labour we imploy vpon them, and the base care to enioy them is a wretched misery

IT pleaseth me to behold those Caskets of money that lye heaped in a corner. These are they for which men weepe out their eyes, for which the iudgement Hals are confused with muttering, for which Iudges being nominated out of remote Countries, sit in iudgement to sentence whether of both parties auarice is most iust. What if it bee not for a Bagge or Casket of money, but for a handfull of Siluer, or for a penny borrowed or lent to a mans slaue, an old man without heires and ready to dye, is ready to burst with Anger? what if for lesse then the thousand part of a mans interest, a sickly Vsurer with crooked limbes and lame hands only left him to number his money, cryeth out, and in the very violence of his accessions, clamoreth for money to his suerties? If thou bring me forth whatsoeuer money that is currant and vsuall in all kind of Mettals, if thou cast be-

before me whatsoeuer treasure; which Auarice would bury againe after shee had digged it vp, I thinke that all this heape is not worthy to furrow vp the brow of a good man. How much are they to be laughed at, for which we spend so many teares?

Chap. XXXIV.

PRosecute the rest somewhat further I pray thee, and consider the eating and drinking, and all that proud Equipage that dependeth thereupon, so many labours to keepe the house cleane, so many strokes giuen, so many outragious speeches, and so many vnseemely countenances, suspicions, restie lades, idle slaues, wicked reporters of other mens words: for from all these it commeth that in the end some thinke that Nature hath done men wrong, in giuing them the faculty of speaking. Beleeue mee, wee are bitterly angry for such slight things, and for which children are wont to be froward, and to scratch one another. There is nothing serious or great in all that which we do with so much care & thought. Thence groweth your choler and fury, because you esteeme these things great which are nothing. Such an one would haue taken away my goods, that man hauing long time had a good opinion of me, hath finally defamed me, this man would haue corrupted my Minion. That which should bee the linke of loue which is to will one thing, is the cause of Hatred and Sedition.

Chap. XXXV.

A more exact description of this vanity of wrath, which is tormented at trifles and things of no moment.

THe way that is streight moueth quarrell amongst those that passe thorow it. That which is open and large is ouer narrow for Armies that encounter together. These things which you desire because they are small, neither can bee transferred to one except they be taken from another, doe incite quarrels and troubles amongst those that affect the same things. Thou art angry if thy francklin or thy Wife or thy Retayner answere thee; and afterwards thou complaineſt that the Common-Wealth hath lost all libertie, which thou thy selfe hast exterminated out of thine owne house. Againe, if thou speake vnto thy Seruant, and he answere thee not, thou termest it disdaine and rebellion. Thou wilt haue him speake, thou wilt haue him hold his peace, thou wilt haue him laugh, what, before his Master sayest thou? I, before the father of the Family. Why cryest thou? why chidest thou? what moueth thee in the midst of thy Supper to call for scourges? because thy Seruants talke, or because thy Attendants are not seruiceable, or because no man answeres thee? Hast thou no Eares but to heare Musicke, and pleasing Songs and words well fitted and pleasing? Yet must thou heare men laugh, cry, flatter, plead, tell ioyfull and tragicall newes, and mens tongues, and the cryes of diuers Creatures. Poore man why art thou affrighted at thy Seruants cry, at the tinging of a Bason, at the noice of a doore that is opened and locked? although thou bee so delicate, yet must thou heare the cracke of thunder. That which is spoken of the Eares, may bee transferred to the Eyes, which are no lesse troubled with obiects when they are badly addressed: for they are offended at a spot, or soyle, or Siuer Plate badly clen-

ſed, and their tinne Platters; if they ſhine not at the Sunne. For theſe eyes that are delighted with nothing but Marble and Iaſper finely poliſhed, that like no Table except it be of coſtly Wood, and well carued, which will not fix themſelues in the houſe, except on theſe things that are guilded and emboſſed; without doores with content enough, behold the rugged and dyrtie wayes, and the moſt part of thoſe that meete with them badly clothed, and the wals of Cities halfe eaten away, ruined and vnequall.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The eighteenth, Giue ouer to corrupt thy ſenſes, and call thy mind euery day to a reckoning.

WHat is the cauſe then why that which offendeth them not abroad, chafeth and troubleth them thus in their houſes, but an equitable and patient opinion in publike, and a crabbiſh and quarrelſome diſpoſition at home? All our ſenſes are to bee brought to a conformitie. By Nature we are patient, if our mind ceaſſe to corrupt vs, which is daily to bee drawne vnto an account. This did *Sextius*, that when the day was ſpent and he retyred himſelfe to reſt, was wont to examine his minde after this manner: What infirmitie in thee haſt thou healed this day? What vice haſt thou reſiſted? In what part art thou bettered? Anger will ceaſſe and become more moderate, if ſhee knowes that euery day ſhee muſt appeare before a Iudge. What therefore is more laudable then this cuſtome, to examine our daily actions? What ſleepe followeth after this ſcrutinie? how quiet, pleaſing, and free is it, when either the minde is prayſed or admoniſhed, and being a watchman and ſecret cenſor of himſelfe, examineth his defects? I vſe this power, and daily plead before my ſelfe, when the Candle is taken from me, and my Wife holdeth her tongue, being priuie to my cuſtome. I examine the whole day that is paſt, and ruminate vpon actions and words. I hide nothing from my ſelfe, I let ſlip nothing: For why ſhould I feare any of mine errours, when as I may ſay: See thou doe this no more: for this time I pardon thee? In that diſpute, thou ſpakeſt more raſhly, ſee that hereafter thou contend not with ſuch as are ignorant, they will neuer learne, that neuer learned. Thou haſt more freely admoniſhed ſuch an one then thou oughteſt, and therefore thou haſt not amended him but offended him. In regard of the reſt, ſee not only whether it were true which thou ſpakeſt, but whether he to whom it was ſpoken can endure to heare truth.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The nineteenth, That it is vnpoſſible to continue in life except thou refrayne Choler.

A Good man reioyceth when he is admoniſhed, a wicked man cannot brooke a reprouer. At a Banquet ſome mens bitter Ieſts and intemperate words haue touched thee to the quicke. Remember to auoyde the vulgar company: after Wine mens words are too lauiſh, and they that are moſt ſober in their Diſcourſes are ſcarce modeſt. Thou ſaweſt thy friend diſpleaſed with the Porter of a Counſailers Chamber, or ſome rich man becauſe hee would not ſuffer him to enter, and thou thy ſelfe being angry for this cauſe groweſt in Choler with the Cullion. Wilt thou therefor be angry with a chained Dog, who when hee hath barked much will bee pacified with a piece of bread? Get farther off him, and laugh.

He

He that keepeth his Maſters doore, & ſeeth the threſhold beſieged by a troop of Soliciters, thinketh himſelfe no ſmall bug; and he that is the Client thinketh himſelfe happie in his owne opinion, and beleeueth that ſo hard an acceſſe into the Chamber is an euident teſtimony that the Matter of the ſame is a man of great qualitie and a Fauourite of Fortune. But hee remembreth not himſelfe that the entry of a Priſon is as difficult likewiſe. Preſume with thy ſelfe, that thou art to endure much. If a man be cold in Winter; if hee vomit at Sea, if he be ſhaken in a Coach, ſhall he maruell hereat? The mind is ſtrong and may endure all that whereunto he is prepared. If thou haſt beene ſeated in a place ſcarce anſwerable to thine honour, thou haſt beene angry with him that ſtood next thee, or with him that inuited thee, or with him that was preferred before thee: Foole as thou art, what matters is, in what place thou art ſet at the table? a Cuſhion cannot make thee more or leſſe honeſt. Thou wert diſpleaſed to ſee ſuch an one, becauſe he ſpake euill of thy behauior. Art thou at that point? by this reckoning then *Ennius* in whoſe Poetrie thou art no wayes delighted, ſhould hate thee, and *Hortenſius* ſhould denounce Warre againſt thee, and *Cicero* if thou ſhouldeſt mocke his Verſes, ſhould be at ods with thee.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The twentieth and laſt, to take profit by the Examples of Patience and Meekneſſe.

WHen thou ſueſt for an office, doeſt thou not peaceably entertayne thoſe that giue their voyces to the election, although they nominate not thy ſelfe? Some man hath diſgraced thee? what, more then *Diogenes* the Stoick was? who diſcourſing one day very effectually vpon the ſubiect of Anger, was ſcornfully ſpit vpon by a froward yongman; this iniurie entertayned he both mildly and wiſely: *Truly* (ſaith hee) *I am not angry, yet doubt I whether I ought to bee angry.* But our friend *Cato* demeaned himſelfe better, when as he pleading a cauſe, *Lentulus* (that factious and ſeditious fellow in the time of our fore-fathers,) hawking vp from the depth of his ſtomake a thicke and filthy ſpittle, blew it right into the midſt of his fore-head. For in wiping his face he ſaid no other thing but this: *Truly* LENTVLVS *I will now maintayne it againſt all men, that they are deceiued, who ſay thou haſt no mouth.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

NOw my *Nouatus* we are alreadie inſtructed how to gouerne our mindes, if either they feele not wrath, or be ſuperiours ouer it. Let vs now ſee how we may temper other mens Ire; for not only deſire wee to bee healthfull our ſelues, but to heale others. We dare not attempt to moderate and pacifie the firſt Anger by perſwaſion: for ſhe is deafe and mad: Wee will giue her ſome time; remedies are beſt in the declination of fury; neither wil we attempt her when ſhe is inflamed and inraged, for feare leſt in ſtriuing to quench, wee inkindle the ſame; the like will we doe in reſpect of other paſſions. Repoſe healeth the beginning of ſicknesſes. How much (ſayeſt thou) doth thy remedie profit, if it pacifie Anger, when of her ſelfe ſhe beginneth to be pleaſed? Firſt, it is the cauſe that it ceaſeth the ſooner; then will it keepe her leſt ſhe fall againe, and ſhall weaken

and diuert the paſſion it ſelfe which hee dare not pacifie. It ſhall remooue all inſtruments of reuenge, it ſhall faine diſpleaſure, to the end that as a helper and companion in her ſorrow, it may haue more authority to counſaile her, it ſhall coyne delayes, and whileſt ſhe ſeeketh greater puniſhments, deterre the preſent. It ſhall by all meanes giue reſt and remiſſion to furie; if ſhe be more vehement it ſhall either induce ſhame or feare in her, againſt which ſhee ſhall not be able to reſiſt; if ſhe be weake, it ſhall inuent Diſcourſes, eyther gratefull or new and wind her away with a deſire of knowledge. It is reported that a Phyſician when he had a Kings Daughter in cure, and could not performe the ſame without the meanes of a Launcet, that whilſt hee gently handled her Pap that was greatly ſwolne, he conuayed his Launcet into a Spunge, and ſo opened it. The Mayden had repined ſhould he haue miniſtred the remedie openly, and ſhe becauſe ſhe ſuſpected it not, ſuffered the paine.

Chap. XL.

How by words well applyed, or by authority we may haue ouer men, wrath may be pacified.

Some Diſeaſes are not healed except they be deceiued. To one of theſe thou ſhalt ſay, Beware leſt thy wrath bee pleaſing to thine Enemie: To another, Take heed leſt the greatneſſe of thy mind, and thy reputed courage in all mens iudgement, be brought in queſtion. Truely I am diſpleaſed with him, and that beyond meaſure, yet muſt wee ſtay our time, and wee will be reuenged. Conceale thy diſpleaſure a while whilſt thou mayeſt, and we will pay him home double. But to checke him that is angry, and to oppoſe thy ſelfe againſt him, is to caſt Oyle on the fire. Thou ſhalt attempt him diuers wayes, and after a friendly manner, except haply thou be ſo great a perſon, that thou mayſt diminiſh his wrath, as *Auguſtus Cæſar* did when he ſupped with *Vedius Pollio*; one of the Seruants had broken a cryſtall glaſſe, whom *Vedius* commanded to be carried away, and to be puniſhed by no ordinary death: for he commanded him to be throwne amongſt his Lampries, which were kept in a great Fiſh-pond. Who could otherwiſe think but that he did it to entertayne his exceſſiue pleaſures? The boy eſcaped out of their hands, and fled to *Cæſars* feet, deſiring nothing elſe but that he might dye otherwiſe, and not be made meate for Fiſhes. *Cæſar* was moued with the nouelty of the cruelty, and commanded him to be carryed away, yet willed that all the cryſtal Veſſels ſhould be broken in his preſence, and that the Fiſhpond ſhould be filled vp. So thought *Cæſar* good to chaſtiſe his friend, and well did he vſe his power. Commandeſt thou men to be dragged from the Banquet, and to be tortured by new kinds of puniſhment? If thy cup be broken ſhall mens bowels be rent in pieces? Wilt thou pleaſe thy ſelfe ſo much as to command any man to death where *Cæſar* is preſent?

Chap.

CHAP. XLI.

How addresseth he himselfe to exhortation, perswading vs to anoyd furie.

THus ought we to oppose our selues against a powerfull person, to the end that from a more eminent place a man may assayle a wrath that is intractable, and such an one as this whereof I lately told you, fierce, cruell, bloudy, which could not now receiue any cure, but by the feare of a thing more greater then it selfe. Let vs giue repose vnto our minds, which we shall doe if wee meditate continually vpon the Precepts of Wisdome, and the acts of vertue, and likewise whilst our thoughts desire nothing but that which is honest. Let vs satisfie our cõscience, let vs doe nothing for vaine glorie sake, let thy fortune be euill, so thine actions be good. But the World admireth those that attempt mightie matters, and audacious men are reputed honourable, and peaceable are esteemed sluggards. It may be vpon the first sight, but as soone as a well-gouerned life sheweth that it proceedeth not from the weakenesse, but the moderation of the mind, the people regard and reuerence them. So then this cruell and bloudy passion is not profitable in any sort; but contrariwise, all euils, fire, and bloud feed her: shee treadeth all modesty vnder foot, imbreweth her hands with infinite murthers; she it is that teareth children in sunder, and scattereth their limbes here and there; she hath left no place void of haynous villanies, neither respecting glorie, nor fearing infamie; incurable, when of wrath shee is hardned and conuerted into hatred.

CHAP. XLII.

The continuation of those perswasions which are easie to bee practised, especially if we consider the shortnes and incertaintie of our liues.

LEt vs abstayne wholy from this vice, let vs purge our mind & pull vp those passions that are rooted in it, whose hold-fast be it neuer so little, will spring againe wheresoeuer it is fastened; and let vs not onely moderate our Anger, but wholy root it our, and driue it from vs. For what temper is there in an euil thing? But we may, if so bee wee will endeuour; neither will any thing profit vs more then the thought of mortality. Let euery one say vnto himselfe, as if it were vnto another, What helpeth it vs, as if we were borne to liue euer, to proclaime our hatreds, & mispend so short a life? What profiteth it vs to transfer those dayes which we might spend in honest pleasure, in plotting another mans misery and torment? These things of so short continuance would not be hazarded, neyther haue we any leisure to lose time. Why rush wee forward to fight? Why beget we quarrels against our selues? Why being forgetfull of our weakenesse, embrace we excessiue hatreds? and being ready to breake, our selues rise vp to breake others? It will not be long but either a feuer, or some other infirmitie of the bodie will preuent these hatreds which wee hatch in our implacable mindes. Behold death at hand, that will part these two mortall Enemies. Why tempest we? Why so seditiously trouble we our life? Death hangeth ouer our heads, and daily more and more layes hold on him that is dying. That very time which thou destinatest to another mans death, shall be the neerest to thine owne.

CHAP. XLIII.

The conclusion, wherein he discouereth summarily the goods that proceed from a peaceable life, and the euils that are caused by Anger.

WHy rather makeſt thou not vſe of this ſhort time of thy life, by making it peaceable both to thy ſelfe and others? Why rather endeareſt thou not thy ſelfe in all mens loue whileſt thou liueſt, to the end that when thou dyeſt thy loſſe may bee lamented? And why deſireſt thou to put him lower, whoſe authorities is too great for thee to contend againſt? Why ſeekeſt thou to cruſh and terrifie that baſe and contemptible fellow that barketh at thee, and who is ſo bitter and troubleſome to his Superiors? Why fretteſt thou at thy ſeruant? thy Lord? thy King? Why art thou angry with thy Clyent? Beare with him a little, behold death is at hand which ſhall make vs equals. We were wont to laugh (in beholding the combats which are performed on the ſands in the morning) to marke the conflict of the Bull and Beare when they are tyed one to another, which after they haue tyred one another, the Butcher attendeth for them both to driue them to the ſlaughter-houſe. The like doe we, wee challenge him that is coupled with vs, we charge him on euery ſide, meane while both the conquered & the Conquerour are neere vnto their ruine. Rather let vs finiſh that little remainder of our life in quiet and peace, and let not our death be a pleaſure to any man. Oft-times they that were together by the eares haue forſaken their ſtrife, becauſe that during their debate, ſome one hath cryed Fire that was kindled in a Neighbours houſe, and the enteruiew of a wild beaſt hath diuided the thiefe and the Merchant. We haue no leiſure to wreſtle with leſſer euils, when greater feare appeareth. What haue we to doe with fighting and ambuſhes? Doeſt thou wiſh him with whom thou art diſpleaſed, any more then death? Although thou ſayeſt nothing to him he ſhall dye; thou loſeſt thy labour, thou wilt doe that which will be done. I will not, ſayeſt thou, forthwith kill him, but baniſh, diſgrace, or puniſh him. I pardon him rather that deſireth his enemy ſhould be wounded, then ſcabbed; for ſuch a man is not onely badly but baſely minded: whether it be that thou thinkeſt of death or any one more ſlight euil, there is but a very little difference betwixt the day of thy deſire, & the puniſhment which ſuch an one ſhall endure, or till the time thou ſhalt reioyce with an euill conſcience at the miſeries of another man: for euen now, while wee draw our breath we driue our ſpirit from vs. Whilſt we are amongſt men, let vs embrace humanity, let vs be dreadfull or dangerous to no man; let vs contemne detryments, iniuries, ſlanders, and garboyles, and with great minds ſuffer ſhort incommodities; whilſt we looke behind vs, as they ſay, and turne our ſelues, behold death doth preſently attend vs.

The end of SENECAES *three Bookes of Anger.*

A DISCOVRSE OF CLEMENCIE:

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

To NERO CÆSAR.

The first Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THese Bookes were written in the beginning of NEROES *reigne, which he himselfe manifestly proueth in his first Booke and ninth Chapter, whereas he writeth that he was entred into the nineteenth yeare of his age. And vndoubtedly both the words and matter are worthy of a Prince; and I would to God they would reade the same, and from thence gather the fruits of mercie and magnitude. He beginneth with* NEROES *praise, and that deseruedly; for his beginnings were moderate. Afterwards, in the third Chapter, he diuideth his writings into three parts: the one of Manudiction, the other which explicateth the nature of Clemencie. Thirdly, what leadeth men thereunto, and firmeth them. All the whole first Booke intreateth thereof, and in the forefront he setteth downe the profit of Clemencie, and how greatly it beseemeth Kings. That Clemencie well becommeth them, because they are the heads of the Commonweale, and we are the bodie and members. But who is he that spareth not and nourisheth not his bodie? And that she is necessarie also where there are many offenders, whom if thou punishest alwaies, thou makest the Commonweale a solitude. By the example of the gods, who spare vs. Likewise in regard of fame, because Kings actions are the obiects of all mens eyes, and the least crueltie is too long. By their securitie; for they that gouerne thus are more secure, and he annexeth some notable actions of* AVGVSTVS. *Contrariwise, in tyrants, who worke their owne destructions by crueltie, hatreds, and perils. But a Prince doth therefore punish seldome, mildely and temperately, with the minde, and after the example of Parents; and that moderation is fruitfully vsed in Schooles, Campes, amongst beasts and seruants: yea, it is vsed by nature, by the example of Bees, whose King hath hath no sting. But now a Prince when he punisheth, either punisheth for his owne or another mans cause: in his owne cause he ought not to be rigorous, because he liueth in so high a fortune that he needeth not the solace of reuenge: not in anothers mans cause, but according*

ding to the Law, to amend them, or to make other better or more ſecure. And all theſe things the ſeldomneſſe of puniſhment will effect; they that are often, are ſet light by, and are deſpiſed. In the ſhutting vp he ſetteth downe the deteſtation of crueltie, and the miſchiefes and ouerthrowes that grow by her.

CHAP. I.

How requiſite it is for the great men of this world to ſtudie how to moderate their minds, which they may doe the better, if they meditate what prehemi-nence they haue aboue other men.

NERO CAESAR, I haue determined to write of Clemencie, to the end that in ſome ſort I may ſerue thee for a mirrour, and ſhew thee to thy ſelfe, in ſuch ſort, as thou mayeſt receiue a perfit contentment thereby: for although the true fruit of vertuous actions be to haue done them, and that without vertues themſelues there is no recompence whatſoeuer, that is worthie of themſelues; yet there is a certaine pleaſure to examine and viſite a good conſcience euery way, and then to fixe a mans eyes vpon this infinite multitude, turbulent, ſeditious, paſſionate, that bathe themſelues willingly in other mens blouds, yea, in their owne, if they haue broken the yoke that reſtraineth them; and to ſpeak thus in himſelfe to himſelfe: I am he amongſt all other mortall men, who haue beene agreeable to the gods, and whom they haue choſen for their Lieutenant vpon the earth. I haue the power of life and death ouer all nations. It lyeth in my hands to diſpoſe the eſtate and condition of euery man; Fortune pronounceth by my mouth that which ſhe intendeth, that euery man ſhall haue and poſſeſſe in this life: whole Nations and Cities conceiue occaſion of reioice by my commandements. There is no Nation whatſoeuer, that flouriſheth not by my good will and fauour; vpon the leaſt inkling I ſhall giue, ſo many thouſands of ſwords, which haue beene ſheathed by my peace, ſhall be drawne againe. It is in my power to ordaine what Nations ſhall be exterminated, which ſhall be tranſported from one country to another, which infranchiſed, or made ſubiect; what Kings ſhal be conquered, and whoſe heads ſhall be adorned with the royall wreath; what Cities ſhall be ruinated, and what builded. Being thus poſſeſſed of ſo great power, neither hath wrath, nor youthly heate, neyther folly or inſolence of men, which haue often made the moſt temperate to loſe their patience, neither the proud deſigne to make ſhew of my power, in cauſing other men to feare, (a glorie too frequent amongſt ſuch as are Monarches) hath neuer inforced mee to chaſtiſe or put any man to death wrongfully. My ſword is hidden, nay more, kept in the ſheath. The bloud of my meaneſt ſubiects is carefully ſpared by me. Although a man haue many imperfections, yet in regard he is a man, he is gracious in mine eies: my ſeuerity is hidden, and my Clemencie apparant. Such a watch haue I ouer my ſelfe, as if I were to yeeld an account to the lawes (which from obſcuritie I haue brought to light) of all mine actions. I haue pardoned one by reaſon of his youth, another becauſe he was old, that man becauſe of his magiſtracie, that other for his obſcuritie: and when in thoſe that were faultie, I found not any occaſion of mercie, I bare with them for the loue of my ſelfe. If the immortall gods ſummon me this day to yeeld vp my reckoning, I am readie to account for the whole world. *Cæſar* thou mayeſt boldly ſpeake this, that of all thoſe things which thou haſt imbraced

ced vnder thy protection and safe-guard, thou hast taken nothing from the Common-wealth, either by violence or cunning. Thou hast wished and purchased innocence, which is a praise very rare, and such as yet hath not bin granted to any Prince. Thou loosest not thy paines, and this thy singular bountie hath not met with ingratefull or misconceiuing subiects. Each one acknowledgeth the good thou hast done them. Neuer was man so beloued by another, as thou art by the Romane people, whose great and continuall felicitie thou art. But thou hast laide a waightie burthen on thy shoulders. No man speaketh more now of the former yeares, either of the Empire of *Augustus* or *Tiberius*. Neyther seeke they any patterne besides thy selfe, whereby they may gouerne their life. One yeare of thy gouernement sheweth that which we hope for in the yeares that follow, which would hardly be imagined, if this thy bounty were borrowed for a time, but is naturall. For no man can long time conceale his imperfections, and the actions suddenly discouer what the hidden nature is. Those things that contain verity, and which grow from that which hath some firmitie in it, increase, and from time to time waxe better and better. The Romane people were verie much perplexed whilst they stood in expectation, whereunto thy generous nature would apply it selfe at the first. Now are all mens desires accomplished and assured; for it is not to be feared that thou wilt forget thy selfe suddenly. Too much felicitie maketh men ouer-greedie; neither are desires at any time so tempered, that they stay themselues vpon that good which is befalne them. Euery one ascendeth from great vnto greater, and they that haue attained such things as they hoped not for, embrace strange designes: yet all thy Citizens doe now confesse that they are happie, and that nothing can be added to their felicitie, except it should be perpetuall. Many things cause them to confesse thus much, namely, their great and assured repose, with all the commodities of life, which is a good which befalls a man very hardly, and vpon the end of his yeares. Besides all this, a iustice placed aboue all iniurie. They represent vnto themselues, and see an excellent forme of publique gouernement, which containeth all that which is requisite to establish a perfect libertie, prouided, that it be seconded by a continuall diligence. But principally both great and little are rauished, in considering thine affabilitie, so equall and answerable to all mens expectations. For, as touching thine other vertues, euerie one partaketh them according to the proportion of his fortune, and expecteth more or lesse of thy larges; but all of them in generall depend vpon thy Clemencie: neither is there any one so assured in his innocence, that had not rather prostrate himselfe before thy Clemencie, which is so readie to excuse and winke at euery mans faults.

CHAP. II.

Although the mercie and benignitie of Princes profiteth for such as are guiltie in especiall, yet both the innocent & vertuous reape a profit thereby.

BVt I know there are some that think that Clemencie emboldneth those men that are most wicked, because it standeth in no stead, except it be after that the fault is committed, and this vertue only ceaseth amongst those that are innocent. But first of all, euen as the vse of Physique is as honourable amongst the sicke, as it is amongst the whole; so although the nocent cry vpon Clemencie, yet the innocent forbeare not to reuerence it. Moreouer, Clemencie hath place in the person of those that are innocent, because the quality of the persons putteth them in

in danger; and Clemencie not onely aſſiſteth the innocent, but oftentimes vertue likewiſe, by reaſon that the times may become ſuch, that ſuch things may be oppreſſed and puniſhed, which ſhould be praiſed. Moreouer, a great part of men may grow to an amendment in their liues; yet muſt we not alwaies pardon the greater number that offend. For where the difference betwixt good and bad men is taken away, there followeth a confuſion and a breaking forth of errours. There muſt therefore be ſome moderation practiſed that knoweth how to diſtinguiſh good minds from reprobate; neither ought a Prince to haue a confuſed & vulgar, neither too reſtrained Clemencie: for it is as great crueltie to pardon all, as to pardon none. We muſt hold a meane; but becauſe moderation is hard to be obſerued, whatſoeuer is like to be more then equity requireth, muſt incline more to humanitie then rigor.

CHAP. III.

Diuiſion of the Booke.

BVt theſe things ſhall more fitly be decided in another place: for the preſent I will diuide this matter into three parts. The firſt ſhall ſerue for a Preface or Induction. The ſecond ſhall expreſſe the nature and habitude of Clemencie: for whereas there are vices that counterfeit vertues, they cannot be diſtinguiſhed except thou ſet downe ſome markes whereby they may be knowne. Thirdly, we will enquire how the minde attaineth to this vertue, how he fortifieth himſelfe thereby, and by vſe maketh her his owne. But it muſt needes appeare that of all other vertues there is none more conuenient for man, becauſe there is none more humane then it: and not onely amongſt vs Stoicks, who maintaine that a man is a ſociable creature, and is made for the common good of others; but alſo amongſt thoſe that giue men ouer to pleaſure, all whoſe ſpeeches and actions tend to their particular profit. For if a man ſeeke for repoſe and idlenes, he hath found in Clemencie a vertue agreeable to his nature, which loueth peace, and reſtraineth the hand. But of all others, Clemencie becommeth no man more then it doth a Prince: for ſo is great power honourable and full of glorie in great Potentates, if they vſe it for the comfort of many; as contrariwiſe force is pernicious that ſerueth to no other end but to offend others. A man cannot ſufficiently expreſſe how firme and well grounded his greatneſſe is, whom all men know to be as much for them, as he is more highly raiſed aboue them; whom they obſerue to keepe continuall watch for the ſafetie of them all in common, and of euery one in particular; vpon whoſe approch they runne not away, as if any euill neered them, or that ſome cruell beaſt broke out from his den, but they flocke and runne vnto him, as to a gracious and ſhining Sunne, readie and addreſſed to aduenture vpon their weapons who haue plotted treaſons againſt him, and to make a bridge of their bodies for him, if for the conſeruation of his life it were needfull for him to march vpon the bodies of men that were mangled and cut in pieces. They watch about him during the time that he ſleepeth: by day time they inuiron his perſon on euerie ſide, and leſt any one ſhould hurt him, they expoſe themſelues to all dangers for him, whatſoeuer they be that preſent themſelues. This conſent of Nations and Cities, in louing and maintayning their Kings, and employing their body and goods in defence of a Princes life, is grounded vpon good reaſon. Neither is this baſeneſſe and madneſſe in them for one man, yea, and he ſometimes old

and

and decrepit, in ſo many thouſands to attempt vpon the points of their enemies weapons, and to redeeme one ſoule by the death of many, and that one, an old and weake man ſometimes. Euen as the whole bodie ſerueth the ſoule, and by meanes thereof ſeemeth more great and of fairer appearance, whereas the ſoule contrariwiſe, lyes hid and inuiſible, without any certaine knowledge in what place it remaineth; and yet notwithſtanding the hands, the feete, the eyes do ſerue the ſame, the skin as her bulwarke defendeth her, and ſhe it is that ſtayeth or maketh vs runne hither or thither at her pleaſure; ſo that if ſhe be couetous, we trauel whole ſeas to become rich; if ambitious, we preſently offer our right hands to be burned, or we voluntarily leap into the fire: ſo this infinite multitude which inuiron one onely ſoule, is gouerned by the ſame, and guided by reaſon it ſelfe, which would otherwiſe depreſſe and oppreſſe her owne forces, except ſhe were ſuſtained by his counſaile.

An excellent compariſon.

CHAP. IV.

THey therefore loue their owne ſafetie, when as for one man they leade ten legions to the battell, when they runne reſolutely to the charge, and preſent their breaſts to be wounded, to the end their Emperours colours ſhould not be taken. For he it is that is the bond, whereby the Commonwealth is faſtened together; he is that vitall ſpirit by which ſo many thouſands liue: of her ſelfe ſhe ſhould be nothing but a burden and prey, if ſo be the ſoule of the Empire were taken from her.

The loue betweene Prince and ſubiect is the maintenance of an eſtate.

The King in ſafetie, all men liue in peace;
The King once loſt, then faith and troth doth ceaſe.

Such an accident ſhall extinguiſh the peace of Rome, this ſhall bring the fortune of ſo great a people vnto ruine. So long ſhall this people be freed from this danger, as long as ſhe knoweth how to indure gouernment, which gouernment if at any time ſhe ſhall ſhake off, or hauing caſt it off by any caſualty, ſhall refuſe to vndergoe again, this vnity and contexture of ſo great an Empire, ſhall be diuided into many parts, and euen then ſhall Rome ceaſe to commaund when ſhe refuſeth and neglecteth to obey. It is not therefore to be wondered at that we loue Princes, Kings, and Tutors of publiques States (by what name ſoeuer they be called) more then our priuate familiars. For if men of the beſt iudgement doe thinke that that which concerneth the Commonwealth is of greater importance then that which toucheth their owne particular, it followeth that he, vpon whoſe ſafetie the whole Common-wealth hath an eye, ſhould be more deerely loued then any other. In time paſt, *Cæſar* ſo vnited and enboſomed himſelfe in the Common-wealth of Rome, that the one might not be ſeparated from the other without the ruine of them both; for as he had neede of forces, ſo had they of a head.

To gouerne well and to obey well are the two ſinewes of an eſtate.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

By the similitude of the head and members, that Clemencie is wholly necessarie to Princes, since their subiects expose themselues to all dangers for them.

IT seemeth that this my Discourse is estranged too farre from mine intended purpose, but to speake the truth, it neerly concerneth the matter. For if it be so as we may truely conclude, that thou art the soule of the Common-wealth, and she the bodie; Thou seest, as I thinke, how necessary Clemencie is: for thou seemest to spare thy selfe when thou sparest others. Thou oughtest therefore to beare with euil subiects, no otherwise then thou wouldest doe with languishing members; and if sometimes there be need of bloud-letting, take heed lest the veine be opened more largely then the sickenesse requireth. Clemencie therefore, as I said, is agreeable vnto all mens nature, but especially it best befitteth Princes, because in them she findeth more people to preserue, & a greater matter wherein to shew her selfe. For how little hurteth a priuate crueltie? but Princes displeasure is a warre. But whereas amongst all vertues there is a certaine concord and agreement, neither is the one more better or more honest then the other, yet are there some vertues that are more fit for some persons. Magnanimity becommeth euery mortall man, yea, euen he that is the most basest and abiectest man of the world. For what is greater and more manly then to repulse aduerse fortune? Yet this magnanimity sheweth it selfe more amply in greater fortune, and appeareth more powerfull in the Tribunall, then neere the earth. Into whatsoeuer house Clemencie commeth, she maketh the same more peaceable; but in the Palace the rarer it is, the more wonderfull it is: for what is more wonderfull then he against whose wrath nothing can make head, to whose seuere sentence euen they that are condemned giue consent; whom no man will question with, why he did this, nay, if he be extraordinarily angry, dare intreat for any thing; to lay hold on himselfe, and to vse his power more mercifully and mildely, and to thinke this in his heart, no man can kill contrary to law, no man can pardon but my selfe? A great mind becommeth a great fortune, and if he mounteth not himselfe as high as she is, and if he rayse not himselfe aboue her, he embraceth her likewise, and bringeth her to the ground. But it is the property of a great mind to be pleasing, peaceable, setled, despising all iniuries and offences, as being raised to a higher estate. It is a womanish quality to be enraged with wrath, and after the maner of wild beasts (and they not the most generous) to bite and trample downe those that are vnder their feete. Elephants and Lions passe by those whom they haue murthered & cast down. Those beasts that haue no noble heart are the most obstinate. Inexorable and cruell Anger becommeth not a King: for he is not verie much eminent aboue him, with whom by reason of displeasure he maketh himselfe equall; but if he giue pardon, but if he giue dignitie to those that haue endangered and deserued to lose their estates, he doth that which no man else can do, except he that hath power and principallity: for life is often taken from him that is a superior, but neuer giuen to him that is an inferiour. To saue is the property of an excellent fortune, which may neuer more be wondred at, then when he hath gotten the opportunity to doe that which the gods doe, by whose benefit both good and euill men are borne into this world. That Prince therefore that taketh vpon him the mind of the gods, let him willingly entertaine some of his subiects because they are good and profitable, leaue the rest as men to make vp the number, let him reioyce that some are, and other some let him suffer.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Crueltie diſpeopleth Cities and Countries, mercy maketh them fortunate.

THinke what ſolitude and deſolation there would bee in this Citie (in which a world of people going and comming inceſſantly by the ſpacious ſtreets ceaſe not to iuttle one another as oftentimes as ſomthing hindereth their walke, which is as a violent torrent which a man would ſtay, in which three ſtreetes are requiſite at one time for three Theaters, and in which as much corne is conſumed as is gathered in many countries) if a man ſhould leaue none but ſuch as a ſeuere Iudge would abſolue. Who is he amongſt the receiuers & treaſurers that ſhall get his *Quietus eſt*, if he be as ſtrictly examined as he doth others? Is there euer an accuſer without a fault? And I know not whether there bee any man more difficult to giue pardon then hee that hath often deſerued to begge the ſame. We are all faulty, the one more, the other leſſe; the one of deliberate purpoſe, the other being driuen thereunto by aduenture, or drawne by other mens wickedneſſe. Sometimes we haue not conſtantly perſeuered in one good reſolution, and haue loſt our innocence with griefe, and in ſpight of our ſelues; neither only for the preſent doe we amiſſe, but vntill the laſt houre of our life, we ſhall be ſtill full of ſinne. Although a man hath ſo well purged his minde that nothing can trouble or deceiue him any more, yet by ſinning he attaynted his innocency.

CHAP. VII.

A moſt ſtrong reaſon to perſwade Princes to be mercifull to their ſubiects.

BEcauſe I haue made mention of the gods, behold here an excellent patterne which I preſent vnto a Prince, to cõforme himſelfe thervnto (that is to ſay) that hee deale with his ſubiects in ſuch ſort as he would haue the gods to deale with him: were it expedient for vs that the gods ſhould neuer excuſe or pardon our faults, but that they ſhould perſecute vs with all rigour? Should there any great Prince in this World be found who ſhould liue in aſſurance, and whoſe members the *Aruſpices* ſhould not gather vp? But if the mercifull and iuſt gods puniſh not the faults of mightie men by confounding them by lightning, how much more iuſt is it, that a man who hath the charge ouer men ſhould exerciſe his Empire with mercifull minde, and thinke whether the ſtate of the World be more gracious or fairer to the eye, in a faire and bright day, or when as all things are ſhaken with thunder-cracks, and lightnings flaſh on euery ſide. But one and the ſame is the eſtate of a quiet and moderate Empire, as of a faire and ſhining heauen. A Kingdome where crueltie reigneth may be compared to a troubleſome and obſcure time, vnder which euery one trembleth and waxeth pale, by reaſon of the ſodaine crackes of thunder, and where he that troubleth others is as wonderfully troubled for his owne part. We pardon thoſe priuate men more eaſily, who reuenge themſelues obſtinately, for they may bee hurt, and their ſorrow commeth from iniury. Beſides, they feare contempt, and not to reuenge an iniury, ſeemeth rather to be an infirmitie then Clemencie. But hee that may eaſily reuenge, and yet forbeares the ſame, obtaineth a certaine commendation of mercie. Men of baſe qualitie may more freely exerciſe their hands, conteſt, ſtriue, and giue libertie to their paſſion. The ſtrokes betwixt e-

quals are light, but exclamation and too much intemperance in words, ill beſeemeth Maieſtie.

CHAP. VIII.

THinkſt thou it a grieuous matter, that the libertie of ſpeech ſhould bee taken from Kings, and permitted to inferiours? This, ſaieſt thou, is a ſeruitude and not an Emperie. But their condition is different, who lie hidden in communitie which they exceede not, whoſe vertues appeare not but ſtruggle long time, and whoſe vices lie hidden in obſcuritie. But common report awakeneth your actions and wordes, and therefore there are no men that ſhould be more carefull of their reputations; of whom men ſpeake much, and in diuers places, whether they doe well or euill. How many things are there which are vnlawfull for thee, but permitted vs by thy benefit? I may walke alone in any part of the Citie without feare, although I be accompanied by no man, and no man attend me from home, and without any ſword by my ſide; but in the fulneſſe of thy peace thou muſt liue armed. Thou canſt not wander from thy Fortune, ſhee will beſiege thee, and whither ſoeuer thou goeſt a great traine will follow thee. Behold whereunto ſoueraigntie is ſubiect, it cannot become leſſe; but this neceſſitie is common to thee with the gods. For they are tyed vnto heauen, it is not permitted them to deſcend from thence, neither is it ſecure for thee to deſcend from the throne of thy greatneſſe. Thou art nayled to thy greatneſſe. Few men know our deſſignes and buſineſſe, wee may goe forth and returne and change our faſhion without any publique note taken of vs. Thou canſt no more be hidden then the Sunne. A great brightneſſe inuironeth thee round about, towards which all men bend their eyes. Thinkeſt thou that thou commeſt forth? no, thou riſeſt like the Sunne. Thou canſt not ſpeake but all the people of the world vnderſtand and marke what thou ſaiſt. Thou canſt not be angrie but all men tremble. Thou canſt not afflict any man, but all that are about thee ſhake for feare. Euen as the lightnings fall to few mens perill but to all mens feare, ſo the chaſtiſements of mightie Potentates are more full of feare then of euill, and not without cauſe. For in him that can doe, all men conſider not what hee doth, but what hee may doe. Moreouer patience maketh thoſe priuate men diſpoſed to indure thoſe iniuries that are offered them eaſily enough; but Clemencie is a more aſſured ſafegard to great men. Becauſe a frequent reuenge repreſſeth the hatred of a few men, but prouoketh infinite others. The will to reuenge ought ſooner to faile then the cauſe. Otherwiſe as the trees that are pruned, ſpread forth in many more branches, and many kinds of plants are cut to the end they may grow more thicker, ſo the cruelties of a King increaſeth the number of his enemies in extinguiſhing them. For the Parents and Children, the Allies and Friends ſucceede in their place who are ſlaine.

Aske aduice here.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

HOw true this is I will admoniſh thee by a domeſtique example. *Caſar Auguſtus* was a mercifull Prince, if any man ſhall eſtimate him, from that time he vndertooke the Empire (although in the common calamitie of the Common-weale, his ſword was vnſheathed.) When as he had growne to thoſe yeeres of age whereunto thou haſt now attained, and had gotten nineteene yeeres on his backe; and had hidden his dagger in the boſome of his friends, laid ambuſhes to defeat *Marke Anthonie* the Conſull, being one of the Confederates in the Triumuirate; about the fortieth yeere of his age, and being reſident in France, there was tidings brought vnto him, that *Lucius Cynna* a man of weake iudgement had conſpired and plotted treaſon againſt him. It was told him where, when, and how he ſhould be attempted, by one of thoſe who was a partie in the confederacie. Whereupon he reſolued to reuenge himſelfe vpon him, and cauſed a councell of his friends to be aſſembled. He tooke no reſt that night, where as he thought with himſelfe, how he ſhould put a young Gentleman to death, of Noble parentage, and who but for this one fault was vpright enough: and beſides was *Cneius Pompeius* Nephew. Now could he not execute one man alone, becauſe at ſupper time hee had diſcouered to one that was called *Anthonie*, the whole edict of the proſcription: Grieuing therefore and diſquiet in mind, he vttered diuers ſpeeches, and each of them contrary the one vnto the other: what then (ſaith he) Shall I ſuffer him that would murther me to walke at his pleaſure, and ſhall I liue perplexed? Shall he remaine vnpuniſhed, who not only hath reſolued to kill me, bnt to ſacrifice me (for their intent was to aſſaile him at a ſacrifice) who haue bin aſſailed in vaine by ſo many ciuill warres, and attempted by ſo many battels both by Sea and Land? After ſome pauſe and ſilence he exclaimed againe more violently againſt himſelfe, then againſt *Cynna*, and ſaid Why liueſt thou, if thy death be profitable and pleaſing to ſo many? when ſhall I ſee the end of ſo many puniſhments? is there not bloud enough ſhed yet? my head is the mark wherat ſo many yong Roman gentlemens ſwords are aimed. Is my life ſo deere vnto mee that for the conſeruation thereof, ſo many ſoules ſhould periſh? At laſt *Liuia* his wife interrupting his diſcourſe, ſaid vnto him: Will you vouchſafe a womans counſaile? Doe that which Phyſitians are accuſtomed to doe: who when as vſuall remedies take no effect, doe attempt the cõtrary: hitherto thou haſt profited nothing by ſeuerity. After *Saluidienus* thou haſt ruinated *Lepidus*, after *Lepidus Murena*, after *Murena Cæpio*, after *Cæpio Ignatius*, without reckoning vp the reſt, whoſe impious and impudent attempts make mee aſhamed. Now make thou triall what thy mercie will profit thee. Pardon *Lucius Cynna*; his treaſon cannot be denied; he cannot hurt thee now, but may increaſe thy renowne. *Cæſar* being glad, that he had met with ſuch an aduocate, gaue his wife thanks, and preſently diſcharging thoſe friends he had called to counſaile, he cauſed *Cynna* alone to be called vnto him, and commanding all the reſt out of the Chamber, after hee had willed them to ſet *Cynna* a chaire faſt by him, he begunne thus: This firſt of all doe I require at thy hands, that thou interrupt me not, neither that thou exclaime in the midſt of my diſcourſe, hereafter thou ſhalt haue liberty to ſpeake. Thou knoweſt *Cynna*, that hauing found thee in mine enemies Campe; and knowne thee not only to be a ſuggeſted, but a born enemy vnto me, how I ſaued thy life, and reſtored

The great wiſedome of Liuia.

thee to all thy patrimonie. At this day thou art so happie, and so rich, that the Conquerours beare enuie against thee, that were conquered when thou wast a sutor for the *Pontifice*, I gaue it thee neglecting diuers others whose Parents had attended me in my warres. Hauing thus and so well deserued at thy hands, thou hast resolued to murther mee. When as *Cynna* began to crie out, that such madnesse was farre from him, *Augustus* staid him and said: Thou keepest not thy promise with me *Cynna*: for it was agreed betweene vs that thou shouldest not interrupt me. I tell thee thou prepar'st to kill me, he told him the place, the confederates, the day, and the order of the ambush, and who was the man should strike the stroke. And when he perceiued him troubled, and not only silent because he had promised to be so, but because hee was guilty. With what minde, said he, doest thou this? To the end that thou thy selfe maist be Emperour? Truely the Common-weale should be hardly incombred, if none but I were the let of thine authority and dignitie. Thou canst not gouerne thine owne house. Of late a frankling of thine hath had the credit to condemne thee in iustice for particular affaires. Is this the easiest businesse thou canst vndertake to contest and contend with *Cæsar*? Take it to thee, if I bee the onely man that hinder thy hopes, I surrender it. *Paulus, Fabius Maximus*, the *Cossi* and *Seruilians*, and so many gentlemen of value, and Childten of such worthie persons, that doe honour to their Statues, thinkest thou they will endure thee? But least in repeating his Oration, I should fill vp the greater part of this volume, who was well knowne to haue debated with him for the space of two whole houres, after he had long time discourst vpon that punishment wherewith he would content himselfe, he added: Well *Cynna*, once more I giue thee thy life, before times as to mine enemie, now as to a Traitor and a Parricide. From this day forward let friendship bee continued betweene vs, and let vs striue to the vttermost to make it knowne, whether I haue giuen thee thy life with a better heart, or thou accepted the same with a more assured thankefulnesse. After all this of his owne accord, and vnasked, he gaue him the Consulship, complayning of him that hee durst demand nothing, so that euer after *Cynna* was a most affectionate and faithfull seruant of his, and made him his heire, and neuer after this did any man conspire against *Augustus*.

The effect and fruites of mercy.

CHAP. X.

Other testimonies of Augustus *his mercy.*

THy great grand-father gaue them life whom hee ouercame, for had he not pardoned them, ouer whom should hee haue had gouernment? *Salust*, the Coccians, the Duillians and all the Souldiers of the first company of his Gard had borne Armes against him, notwithstanding he inrouled them, & chose them to be the neerest about his person. The *Domitians*, *Messalaes*, *Asinians*, and *Ciceroes*, and all the most famous personages in *Rome* were indebted to his clemencie. How long time bare he with *Lepidus?* he suffered him for many yeers to walke with that Equipage that became a Prince, and would not suffer the Office of high Bishop to be transferred vnto him, except it were after his death, for hee had rather that it should be called an honour then a spoile. This Clemencie of his brought him to that securitie and felicitie which hee enioyed, this made him gratefull and gracious in all mens eyes, although he had laid holde on the Common-weale, who as yet knew not what it was to endure the yoake of subiection,

iection, ſuch a name at this day doth this mercy of his giue him, that other Princes will hardly obtaine during their liues. We beleeue him to bee a god, not by any decree or ordinance: we confeſſe that *Auguſtus* was a good Prince, we acknowledge him well worthy of the name of the father of his countrey, for no other cauſe then for this, that hee reuenged not thoſe contumelies that were offered him (and which in Princes eares are wont to ſound moſt harſhly) no more then he did his actuall iniuries, for that he ſmiled at reprochfull ſpeeches that were offered him, for that he ſeemed to puniſh himſelfe when he perſecuted others; for that whomſoeuer hee had condemned for the adulteries of his daughter, he was ſo farre from executing them, that in their diſmiſſion, and for their better ſecuritie he gaue them paſports, and ſafe conducts. This is truely called pardoning, that when thou knoweſt that there are diuers that are addreſſed to be angrie for thee, and gratifie thee if thou haſt cauſed any to be put to death, thou not only contenteſt thy ſelfe to giue life, but alſo procureſt that he to whom thou haſt giuen it be maintayned and conſerued.

CHAP. XI.

THus *Auguſtus* behaued himſelfe when hee was olde, or at leaſtwiſe when olde age began to ſeize vpon him: In his youth hee was hote, wrathfull, and did many things which he neuer lookt backe vnto without remorſe. No man dare compare *Auguſtus* courteſie to thy Clemency, although he equall thy young yeeres with his more then mature age. Suppoſe that he were moderate and mercifull after he had dyed the *Actian* Seas with bloud of Romanes, ſunke in the Sicilian both his owne and forraine ſhips, ſacrificed a great number of men vpon the Altars of Peruſa, and cauſed many multitudes of men to be put to death in the time of the Triumuirate. But I call not this Clemencie, but wearied cruelty. The true clemencie and mercie, O *Cæſar*, is that which thou ſheweſt, which hath not begun with the repentance of cruelty, thine is not ſoyled, thou haſt neuer ſhed the bloud of Romane Cittizens. This in a Prince is the true temperance of a minde, and an incomprehenſible loue towards mankinde, not to be enkindled with any deſire or raſhneſſe, not to be corrupted by the example of former Princes, not to weigh how farre his authority may extend ouer his ſubiects, but to dull the edge of the Emperiall ſword and dignitie. Thou haſt exempted thy citie, O *Cæſar* from all bloudy maſſacres, & performed this, which with a great minde thou mayeſt glory in, *That thorow the whole world thou haſt not ſhed one drop of mans bloud*: and the more great and wonderfull it is, becauſe the ſword was neuer committed to the hands of any one more yonger then thy ſelfe. Clemency therefore doth not only make men more honeſt, but more ſecure; and is not only the ornament but the aſſured ſafetie of Kingdomes, thorow which Princes haue attained long life, & left their gouernments to their children and nephews, but the power of tyrants is execrable and ſhort. What difference is there betwixt a Tyrant and a King? In appearance they haue one and the ſame dignitie; the difference is, that Tyrants take pleaſure in their tyrannie, Kings doe iuſtice but vpon cauſe and neceſſitie.

To perſwade Nero to continue his Clemencie: he compares him with Auguſtus Cæſar, & ſheweth that Nero had the aduantage in this reſpect, becauſe his predeceſſor had that praiſe alſo after his cruelty committed, he in the entrance and infancie of his gouernment.

What care Princes ſhould haue to make their endings anſwerable to his beginnings.

CHAP. XII.

The difference betwixt good Princes and Tyrants.

WHat then, are not Kings ſometimes accuſtomed to put men to death? It is true; but ſo often as they are aſſured that it is for publique profite. The Tyrants heart is ſet vpon murther. But a Tyrant differeth from a King in fact, not in name. For *Dionyſius* the elder may iuſtly be preferred before diuers Kings. And what letteth vs to call *Lucius Sylla* a tyrant, who gaue ouer killing when hee found no more enemies? Although he forlooke his Dictature, and tooke vpon him the robe of a priuate Cittizen: yet what Tyrant hath there euer beene that ſo greedily drunke vp humane bloud, as hee who commanded ſeuen thouſand Romane Cittizens to be ſlaine? And when as being in counſaile in the Temple of *Bellona*, neere vnto the place where the execution was done, he had heard the cries of ſo many thouſands that groned vnder the ſword; and perceiuing that the Senate was affrighted thereat: *Let vs intend our buſineſſe* (ſaith he) *Fathers Conſcript, theſe are but a few ſeditious perſons, whom I haue commanded to be ſlaine.* He lyed not herein; for theſe ſeemed but a few in *Syllaes* eyes. But hereafter we will learne by *Sylla* how we ought to be angry with our enemies, eſpecially if being ſeparated from the bodie of Citizens, they haue taken vpon them the name of enemies. Meane while, as I ſaid, Clemencie effecteth this, that there is a great difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant, although both of them are enuironed with guards. But the one maketh vſe of theſe forces to maintaine peace, the other that by great feares he may pacifie great hatreds. Neither ſecurely doth he behold that very guard, to whoſe cuſtodie he hath committed himſelfe, but one contrary thruſteth him into another; for he is both hated becauſe he is feared, and will be feared becauſe hee is hated, and vſeth that execrable verſe which hath ouerthrowne many;

And let them hate me ſo they feare.

Not knowing what furie is engendred in the hearts of ſubiects when their hatreds are increaſed aboue meaſure. For a moderate feare reſtraineth mens mindes, but a continuall violence, and ſuch as is raiſed euen vnto the brimme, awaketh and emboldneth thoſe that are deepeſt aſleepe, and giueth them courage to hazard all. If thou keepeſt ſauage beaſts foulded vp in gins and nets, a horſeman may aſſault them with his weapons at their backs, yet will they attempt their fight by thoſe places they were wont to flie, and will ſpurne feare vnderfoote. That courage that groweth from extreame neceſſitie is marueilous forcible. Feare muſt leaue vs ſome gap to eſcape out at, and ſhew vs leſſe danger then hope, otherwiſe he that was not determined to defend himſelfe, ſeeing himſelfe in equall danger, will aduenture vpon dangers, and hazard that life which he eſteemeth not his owne. The forces which a peaceable Prince ſhall gather for the good of his ſubiects are faithfull and aſſured; and the braue ſouldier who ſeemeth to aduenture for publique ſucuritie, endureth all trauaile willingly, as being one of the guards of the father of his countrey. But as touching the violent and bloudy Tyrant, his guard muſt needes bee aggrieued at him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A deſcription of the miſerie of Tyrants and cruell Princes, all intending to this point, to recommend clemency more and more.

NO man can haue miniſters of a good and faithfull will whom hee vſeth in tormenting, in racking, and butchering men to death, to whom he expoſeth men no otherwiſe then hee would to beaſts. Such a one liueth in no leſſe pain and torment then thoſe whom he holdeth in priſon, becauſe he feareth both men and gods as witneſſes and reuengers of his crimes, and who is already come to that paſſe, that he dare not change his manner of liuing. For amongſt all other things crueltie hath this curſed euill in her, that ſhe is incorrigible, ſhe perſeuereth and is not able to recouer any other better courſe. One wickedneſſe muſt bee ſuſtained by another. But what is more vnhappy then he is, who cannot chuſe but be euill? O how wretched is that man, but truely to himſelfe? For as touching others, it were very ill done by them to haue pittie of him who hath exerciſed his power with ſlaughters and rapines, who hath feare of all things as well domeſtique as forraine, that fearing armes hath recourſe vnto his weapons, neither truſting to his friends faith, nor his childrens pietie: that hauing regarded in all ſorts that which he hath done, and that which he pretendeth to doe, and comming to open his conſcience repleniſhed with miſchiefes and torments, oftentimes feareth death and deſireth it againe as often; more odious to himſelfe then to thoſe that ſerue him. Contrariwiſe, he that hath the care and charge of a Common-wealth, although he haue a more intent eye to the conſeruation of ſome things more then other things, yet entertaineth all the members of the State as carefully as thoſe of his body, enclining alwaies vnto ſweetneſſe: and if it be expedient for him to doe iuſtice, he ſheweth that hauing no enmitie or beaſtlineſſe in his heart, it is to his hearts-griefe that hee layeth his hand on his weapon. Such a one, deſiring to approue his gouernment to his ſubiect, exerciſeth his power peaceably and to all mens profit, reputing himſelfe in his own iudgement ſufficiently happie, if hee ſhall make his fortune and condition knowne; affable in ſpeech, facile in acceſſe, amiable in countenance, which moſt of all winneth the peoples hearts, fauourable to honeſt enterpriſes, enemy to euill deſignes; hee is loued, defended, and reuerenced by all the world. The ſame ſpeake men in ſecret of him as they doe in publike. They deſire he ſhould haue iſſue, and that ſterillity cauſed by warres and other publike euils ſhould be aboliſhed: no man doubteth but that he ſhall deſerue well at his childrens hands, to whom he ſhall ſhew a world ſo happy. This Prince liuing in ſecurity, by his owne meanes, hath no need of guard or garriſon, he vſeth his armes as the meanes of his ornament.

CHAP. XIV.

Another inſtruction for a Prince, to teach him to keepe a meaſure in his mercy.

WHat therefore is his dutie? That which belongs to good Parents, who are wont ſometimes to admoniſh their children gently, ſometimes to chaſtiſe them with threats, and ſometimes with ſtripes. Doth any man of a ſetled iudgement diſinherite his ſon vpon the firſt offence, except many and mighty iniuries ouercom his patience? except there be ſomewhat more that he feareth then that which he condemneth, he will not blot him out of his Teſtament. He aſſayeth diuers remedies

remedies before hand to reclaime him from his dissolute and inconstant disposition, but when he hath no more hope, then assaieth hee his last remedies. No man commeth to practise his extremest chastisements, except hee hath consumed all his remedies. That which the Parent doth, the same ought a Prince to doe: whom wee haue called the *Father of the Countrie*, not led thereunto by vaine adulation. For those other names are giuen for honour sake. We haue called them *Great*, *Happie and Augusti*, and haue heaped vp what soeuer titles we could inuent for ambitious Maiestie: attributing them vnto these. We haue called him the *Father of the Countrie*, to the end he might know, that he had a fatherly power giuen him ouer his Countrie, and consequently very moderate, carefull of his children, and prouiding for their good, rather then his owne particular. If the father must cut off some one of his members, it shall be as late as he can, and after he hath cut it off, he will desire to reuiue it againe, and in cutting it off, he will sigh and differ long time, and in diuers sorts. For he that condemneth too soone, condemneth willingly also. He that chastiseth ouer seuerely, ordinarily chastiseth vniustly. In our memory the people of Rome stabbed to death a Roman Knight called *Erixo*, with their bodkins, for whipping his sonne to death. Scarce could the authority of *Augustus Cæsar* redeeme his body from the hands of displeased Fathers and children.

Chap. XV.

Hauing compared a good Prince to a Father, he maketh mention about the end of the precedent section of an euill father, and here of a good, to the end to expresse by the same, that a good Prince ought to assay all meanes in respect of his Subiects, before he descends to extreame rigour.

Arius hauing discouered, that his owne sonne had attempted and conspired his death, after hee knew of the fact, banished him; for which acte of his all the people commended him, especially for this that hauing banished the parricide to *Marsillies*, hee furnished him with as great an annuall pension, as hee had allowed him before hee had trespassed in this sort. This liberalitie of his was the cause, that in that Citie, where the baddest causes want no aduocates, that no man doubted but that hee that was guiltie, was deseruedly condemned, since the Father who could not hate him, had the courage to condemne him. By this very example I will giue you the meanes to make a comparison betwixt a good Prince, and a good Father. When *Titus Arius* would draw his sonne into question, hee called *Augustus Cæsar* to counsaile, who came from his owne pallace to this priuate mans house, sat downe as a partie of the counsell; and he said not, why came he not to my house? which had it hapned; the censure of the fault had beene *Cæsars*, and not the Fathers. The fact being vnderstood, all circumstances examined, the young man hauing beene heard in his defence, and his answers and accusations considered; *Cæsar* required euery one of the Counsailers to set downe their opinions in writing, to the end that no man should subscribe to his opinion, or if he spoke that other men should follow him: and before that the billets were opened, he swore that he would not be *Titus Arius* heire, who was reputed a rich man. Some base fellow will say, that *Cæsar* was afraid, lest he should seeme to giue entrance to his hope by the condemnation of the yong man. But I think otherwise, that euery one of vs to defence our selues against the false opinions, that men might conceiue against vs, ought to fix our selues vpon the assured confidence of good consciences. Princes ought to doe many things, to get them a good report. He swore that he would not be his heire. That same day *Arius* lost another sonne,

but

but *Cæſar* redeemed the libertie of his ſentence, and after he had approued that his ſeueritie was without reſpect of recompence, of which thing a Prince ſhould haue an eſpeciall care alwaies, he ſentenced him to bee baniſhed to that place where his father ſhould thinke fit. He iudged him not to be ſowed vp in a ſacke, to be made a prey for Serpents, or to die in priſon, remembring himſelfe that he ſat not there as a Iudge, but as a Counſailer to the father. He ſaid that the father ought to content himſelfe with the mildeſt kind of puniſhment, in regard of his ſonne; who was as yet young and drawne vnto this wicked act, in purſuite of the execution whereof, he had ſhewed himſelfe to bee fearefull, which excuſed him in ſome ſort, and that it ſufficed therefore to baniſh him from Rome, and from his fathers preſence.

CHAP. XVI.

By compariſon of fathers and Maſters and others in authority, and by the example of their gouernment he teacheth a Prince how vnſeemely a thing cruelty and too much ſeuerity is.

O Prince, worthie alwaies to bee called by fathers into their Counſaile, worthy to be made coheire with their innocent children. This Clemencie becommeth a Prince, that whither ſoeuer hee commeth, ſhould make all things more mild. Let no man be ſo abiect in a Princes eyes, that hee hath no feeling of his death or danger; whatſoeuer he bee, he is a part of the Empire. Let vs make a compariſon, betweene the ſmalleſt Kingdomes and the greateſt Empires; There is but one kind of gouernement. The Prince commandeth his Subiects, the Father his children, the maſter his ſchollers, the Captaine or Lieutenant his Souldiers. Shall he not be reputed a wicked father, who with continuall whipping vpon the ſleighteſt occaſion, ſeeketh to ſtill his children? Whether ſhould that Maſter be more worthy the liberall ſtudies, who flayeth his Schollers, if they haue not exactly remembred their leſſons; or by reaſon of their weake ſight haue faulted in their reading; or he that had rather mend them, and teach them by admonitions and modeſty? Giue me a Captaine or Lieutenant that is cruell, he will make his Souldiers forſake him, and yet theſe are to bee pardoned. Were it a reaſonable matter, to handle a man worſe then we doe brute beaſts? But he that is a good breaker of horſes, terrifieth not his ſteede with often ſtrokes, for by that meanes he will become more fearefull and ſtubborne, except thou handle and ſtroke him with a gentle hand. The ſame doth the Huntſman, who teacheth his hound to draw drie foote, and who vſeth thoſe whom he hath already trayned to the game to rouſe or hunt it. Neither doth hee often threaten them, for thereby their courage is deiected, and whatſoeuer forwardneſſe is in them, is daunted by degenerate feare; neither doth he giue them liberty to wander and ſtray here and there. To theſe maieſt thou adde thoſe that haue the driuing of ſlower Cattle, which being bred vnto reproach and miſerie, thorow too much crueltie are inforced to refuſe their yoke.

CHAP. XVII.

Since a man is the moſt vntamed Creature of the world, we ought to handle him gently.

THere is no liuing Creature more vntoward, none more vntractable in heart then a man is, yet no one is to bee ſpared more then hee; For what folly is it for a man to bee aſhamed to ſpend his ſpleene vpon Dogges and Horſes or Aſſes, and to intreat a man more rudely? Wee cure ſickneſſes and yet are not angrie with them

them, but this diſeaſe of the minde requireth a gentle medicine and that hee who cureth the ſame ſhould not be angrie with the ſicke. It is the part of an euill Phyſition to deſpaire that he ſhall not cure. The ſame ought he to doe to whom the ſecuritie and protection of all men is committed, in thoſe whoſe mindes are affected; hee muſt not ſuddenly caſt by his hopes, neither incontinently pronounce what deadly ſignes there are in the infirmitie. Let him ſtriue with vices and reſiſt them; let him vpbraid ſome with their infirmitie, deceiue other ſome by a gentle cure, becauſe he is likelyeſt more ſoone and better to heale them by ſuch meanes. Let a Prince indeuour carefully not only to cure but alſo to giue a ſmooth cicatrix to the wound of offence. A King obtaineth no glory by cruell puniſhment, for no man doubteth of his power. But contrariwiſe his glory is moſt excellent, if hee containeth his power, if hee deliuer many from the furie of their Enemies, and ruinateth no man by his diſpleaſure.

CHAP. XVIII.

Another reaſon taken by compariſon betwixt the greater and the leſſer, if al things are not lawful in a maſter ouer his ſeruants, they are no leſſe lawfull for a Prince ouer his ſubiects that are men.

IT is an honour to know how to command a mans ſeruants modeſtly, and in our ſlaue we are to thinke not how much puniſhment he may endure and we inflict vpon him without reproofe, but what the nature of right and iuſtice will permit thee: which commandeth vs to ſpare our Captiues and ſuch whom wee haue bought to be our bond-ſlaues. How much more iuſt is it for thee not to abuſe men free, ingenuous, and honeſt, as thy bond-men? but to entertaine them, for ſuch as are vnder thy gouernement, to defend them as thy ſubiects, and not afflict them as thy ſlaues. It is lawfull for bond-men to flie to *Cæſars* ſtatue. Although wee haue authoritie to doe what we liſt with our ſlaues, there is ſomewhat which the common right of liuing Creatures permitteth vs not to execute vpon a man, becauſe hee is of the ſame nature that thou art. Who hated not *Vedius Pollio* more worſe then his owne ſlaues did, becauſe hee fatted his Lampröies with mans bloud? and commanded thoſe that offended him to be caſt into the fiſh-poole, to what other end then to feede Serpents? O wretched man worthie a thouſand deaths, whether he preſented his ſlaues to bee deuoured by thoſe Lamproies he would feede vpon, or whether to this only end he nouriſhed them, that in that ſort he might nouriſh them. Euen as cruell Maſters are pointed at thorow the whole Citie, and are reputed both hatefull and deteſtable: ſo the cruell demencie of Princes, who haue contracted infamie and hatred againſt them ſelues, are inregiſtred in Hiſtories to be a hatred to poſteritie. Had it not beene better neuer to haue bene borne then to be numbred amongſt thoſe that are borne for a publike miſerie?

CHAP. XIX.

Now concludes he as in a generall ſentence, that which he ſaid in the beginning, that mercy is the moſt noted vertue in Princes.

THere is no man that can bethinke him of any thing that is more ſeemely for him that is in authoritie then Clemencie, in what manner ſoeuer, and by what right ſoeuer he hath the prehemineence ouer others. And the more higher his dignitie is that is endued with this vertue, the more noble ſhall we confeſſe his ornament,

nament to bee, which ſhould not bee hurtfull but compoſed according to the law of nature. For nothing hath inuented Kings, which wee may know by other liuing creatures and in particular by Bees, whoſe King hath the largeſt roome in the hony combe, and is lodged in the middle and moſt ſecureſt place. Beſides, he laboureth not but examineth the labour of the reſt, and when their King is loſt the whole ſwarme is diſperſed: alſo they ſuffer but one, making choice of him that is the boldeſt in fight. Moreouer the King is noted for his ſeemelineſſe, in that he differeth from the reſt both in greatneſſe and goodlines: yet herein is he moſt diſtinguiſhed from them; Bees are the moſt angrieſt & felleſt creatures that be, according to the capacitie of their bodies, and leaue their ſtings in the wound, but their King hath no ſting. Nature would not haue him cruell nor to ſeeke reuenge that might hazard his life, and therefore tooke away his weapon and diſarmed his wrath. All Kings and Princes ought to conſider this excellent example. It is the cuſtome of nature to diſcouer her ſelfe in little things, and the leaſt creatures miniſter vnto vs the moſt nobleſt examples. Let vs not be aſhamed to learne ſome good thing of the ſmaleſt creatures, ſince the mind of a man ought to be more ſetled and ſtaied then the euill which bee doth is hurtfull and dangerous. By my conſent I would haue man reduced to this condition that his wrath ſhould be broken with his owne weapon, and that he might haue no more meanes to hurt then once in his life, nor exerciſe his hatreds by another mans hands: for eaſily would furie be wearied; if of neceſſity ſhe ſhould act that which ſhe her ſelfe commandeth, and if ſhe ſhould expreſſe her power by the hazard of her life; neither as yet is ſhe ſecured in her march. For ſhe muſt needs be ſurpriſed with as much feare, as ſhee would haue other haue feare of her; her eyes be fixed on euery mans hands, and at ſuch times as a man intendeth not to touch her, ſhe beleeueth that hee will aſſault her, and hath not one onely minute of repoſe. Is it poſſible that any one would liue ſo vnhappily, when the meanes is offered him to paſſe his dayes without the hurt of any man, and conſequently execute the affaires of his charge in all ſecuritie, and with great contentment? He abuſeth himſelfe that ſuppoſeth that a King is ſecure in that place, where there is not any one but is afraid of him. One ſecuritie muſt be aſſured by another mutuall ſecuritie. We need not build ſtrong Citadels on high hils, nor fortifie vnacceſſable places, nor cut downe the ſides of Mountaines, nor enſconce our ſelues with many walles and towres. Clemencie will ſecure a King in the open field. His only impregnable fortreſſe, is the loue of his Cittizens. What more worthy thing can a Prince wiſh for, then to liue in all mens good opinion, and in ſuch loue of his ſubiects, that their vowes and prayers ſhould inceſſantly and ſecretly bee powred forth for his ſecuritie? that if his health be craſed, they liſten not after his death, but are wonderfully affraid, leſt they ſhould loſe him? that there is nothing ſo precious in any one of their eyes, that they would not exchange for his health, and ſecuritie; that thinketh that whatſoeuer hath befalne the Prince, is fatall to themſelues? Hereby the Prince hath approoued by continuall arguements of his goodneſſe, that the Common-weale is not his, but that hee is the Common-weales. Who dare contriue any danger towards him? who would not if hee could, preuent any diſaſter that is toward him, vnder whom iuſtice, peace, modeſtie, ſecuritie, and dignitie doe flouriſh? vnder whom the wealthy Cities abound in the plenty of all good thinges? Neither with other mindes reuerence they, or behold they their gouernour, then if the immortall goddes ſhould vouchſafe them the libertie to behold themſelues. And why doth not he

he that followeth the nature of the gods, (which is to bee gracious, liberall, and powerfull, to doe good) become a second to them? This is it that becommeth a Prince to affect, this ought hee to imitate: and as they desire to bee the greatest, so let them indeuour to be the best.

CHAP. XX.

Hauing generally discoursed of Clemency and Mercy at this present in way of partition, he digesteth, and gathereth together that which hath beene said in diuers Chapters, and sheweth that whether a man regard the person of a Prince, or of a priuate man, there ought no cruelty to be vsed.

THe Prince is accustomed to doe iustice for two causes, either punisheth hee the faults that are committed against himselfe, or against another. I will first of all speake of that which concerneth him. For it is a harder matter for a man to temper himselfe, when hee chastiseth others, to satisfie his priuate disgust, then to propose it for an example. It were in vaine in this place to admonish a Prince, not to beleeue lightly, to examine the truth, to fauour innocency; that it may appeare, that he is no lesse carefull to examine that which concerneth him that hath offended, then that which toucheth the Iudge. But this appertayneth to iustice, and not vnto Clemency. For the present we exhort him, that being manifestly wronged, he remayne master of his owne heart, and giue ouer punishment, if so be he may safely doe it) or at leastwise differre it, and be more enclined to pardon those faults which are committed against himselfe, then against others. For euen as he is not liberall, that cutteth a large thong out of another mans leather, but hee that taketh that from himselfe which hee giueth to another: So will I call him mercifull, not that weepeth, and is agrieued at another mans affliction, but him who hauing iust and vrgent occasion, passionateth not himselfe, and knoweth that it is the act of a great minde in the height of his authoritie to suffer iniuries, and that nothing is more glorious in a Prince, then to pardon those who haue offended him.

CHAP. XXI.

A subdiuision of his matter, tending to that which he hath spoken of, and shewing that since that by reuenge, the Prince neither increaseth nor maintayneth his estate, he ought not to suffer himselfe to be mastered by such a passion.

REuenge is ordinarily wont to produce two effects, for either it bringeth him comfort that hath receiued the iniurie, or putteth him in securitie for the time to come. A Princes fortune is so great, as it needeth not such like solace, and his power is more manifest then that hee neede to seeke the opinion of his greatnesse from the ruine of another. This, say I, when hee is assaulted or violated by any of his inferiours; for if he seeth those who sometimes were his equals, become his vnderlings, he is sufficiently reuenged. A Seruant, a Serpent, an Arrow haue slaine a King. No man hath saued a King, except he that saued him were greater then himselfe. Hee therefore that hath attayned the power ouer life and death, ought to vse so great an authoritie bestowed vpon him by the gods, couragiously, especially towards those, who in his knowledge haue sometime opposed themselues against his greatnesse: hauing attayned this dignitie, he is sufficiently reuenged, and hath done that which was requisite for an entire punishment. For he that should die, hath lost his life; but whosoeuer from a high degree, hath beene prostitute at his enemies feet, where he attendeth the definitiue sentence of his Crowne and life, if another man saue him, liueth to his great glorie that preserueth him: and addeth more to his renowne by his life, then

it

if he had ſentenced him to death. For he is the continuall ſpectacle of another mans vertue. In a triumph he had quickly paſt by. But if his kingdome likewiſe may ſafely be re-deliuered into his hands, and he might be reſtored to that preheminence from whence he was fallen, his praiſe riſeth aboue all meaſure, that was contented from a conquered King, to take away nothing but his glorie. This it is to triumph truly in a mans victorie: and to teſtifie that he found nothing worthie in the conquereds hands, that was anſwerable to his worthineſſe and value. As touching our Citizens and men that are vnknown to vs, and ſuch as are of baſe condition, the more moderatly muſt we deale with them, the leſſe honour we ſhal get by afflicting them. Pardon ſome men willingly, diſdaine to reuenge thy ſelfe on other ſome, and retire thy hand from them, as if they were ſome little ſilly creatures that would ſoile thy fingers, if thou ſhouldeſt touch them; but as touching thoſe that are either to be pardoned or puniſhed in the eye of the State, make vſe of the occaſion of thy accuſtomed Clemencie.

CHAP. XXII.

LEt vs paſſe ouer to thoſe iniuries that are done vnto another, in puniſhing which, the Law hath obſerued three things, which a Prince likewiſe ought to follow, either that he may amend him whom he puniſheth, or to the intent that his puniſhment may make the reſt better; or that by cutting off the euill, the reſt may liue more ſecurely. In regard of the faultie or guiltie, you ſhall induce them more eaſily to reforme their liues, if you chaſtice them gently; for he liueth more circumſpectly, that hath ſome daies of his life pardoned him to liue in. No man careth for his decayed dignitie. It is a kind of impunitie not to be able to be puniſhed any more. But the fewneſſe of executions reformeth the Cities manners the more. For the multitude of offenders breedeth a cuſtome of offence, and the note of infamy is the leſſe, the greater the number of delinquents there be: and ſeueritie, by being ouer vſuall, loſeth her authoritie, which is the greateſt honour ſhe hath. That Prince ſetleth good manners in his Citie, and more happily extinguiſheth the vices thereof, if he wink at them, not as though he allowed them; but as if he were agrieued at them, and with great heartſgriefe, was inforced to puniſh them. The Clemencie of him that gouerneth maketh them aſhamed that offend. The puniſhment ſeemeth the more grieuous, when the ſentence is giuen by a mercifull man.

He proſecuteth his partition, and ſhewet that a gentle chaſtiſement profiteth more, both to him that is chaſticed, and to the Prince himſelfe then cruell rigour.

CHAP. XXIII.

BEſides, thou ſhalt ſee thoſe things oftentimes committed which are oftentimes puniſhed. Thy Father within the ſpace of fiue yeares ſowed vp more parricides, then were condemned to that death in all the ages before, as farre as we can gather. As long as there was no law eſtabliſhed againſt this hainous crime, no children durſt attempt or imagine this ſo vnnatural a wickedneſſe. For thoſe Lawmakers and notable perſons moſt wiſe and well experienced, thought it better to make no mention of this crime in their Lawes (as a moſt incredible matter, and ſuch as man ſhould not be ſo curſed as to imagine) then to publiſh by the

That continuall & cruell puniſhments, doe not ſo much repreſſe offences, as the prudent clemencie of Princes.

eſtabliſhment of ſeuere laws againſt the ſame, that ſo horrible an offence might be committed. Parricides therefore began with their law, & their puniſhment taught them their offence: Piety was in a deſperate eſtate after we ſaw theſe ſackes more often then gallowſes. In thoſe Cities where men are puniſhed very ſeldome, euery one agreeth to liue innocently, and they entertaine innocencie as a publique good. Let the Citie thinke her ſelfe innocent, and ſhe ſhal be: if ſhe ſee the number of ſuch as are diſſolute is but ſmall, ſhe is vexed the more. Beleeue me, it is a dangerous matter to let a Citie ſee that there are more wicked then good.

CHAP. XXIV.

He proueth for the third point, both by ſimilitudes and examples, that puniſhments aſſure not good men.

IN times paſt, there was a decree ſet downe by the Senate, that our ſlaues and free-men ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by their attire, but afterwards it appeared what danger was imminent, if our ſeruants ſhould haue begun to haue numbred vs. Know this, that if no man be pardoned, this is likewiſe to be feared, that it will quickly appeare what aduantage the worſer part hath ouer the better: no leſſe diſhonourable are many puniſhments to a Prince, then many funerals to a Phyſitian. He that gouerneth more mildely, is obeyed more willingly. Mans minde is naturally rebellious, ouerthwart and proude, he followeth more willingly then he is led. And as generous and noble horſes are better guided by an eaſie bit, ſo voluntary innocence followeth Clemency of her owne motion: in the Citie this ſweeteneſſe is a good that deſerueth to be maintayned. So then there is more gotten by following this way. Crueltie is inhumane imperfection, it is vnworthie ſo mild a mind: it is a beaſt-like rage to reioyce in bloud & wounds, and laying by the habite of a man, to tranſlate himſelfe to a wild beaſt.

CHAP. XXV.

FOr, tell me *Alexander*, I beſeech thee, whether of theſe two is more ſtrange, either that thou command *Lyſimachus* to be caſt vnto the Lions, or that thou thy ſelfe teare him in pieces with thy eager teeth? The throat and crueltie of the Lion is thine owne. O how gladly wouldeſt thou haue had theſe clawes, and that great throat, capable to deuoure and ſwallow men? We requeſt thee not that this hand of thine, which hath put to death three of thy deereſt friends, ſhould doe good to any man, nor that thy felon heart (the vnſatiable ruin of Nations) ſhould glut it ſelfe otherwiſe then in bloud and murthers: wee will take it for thy Clemency, and ſo call it, if in murthering thy friend thou make choice of an executioner amongſt the number of men. This is the cauſe why crueltie is moſt of al to be abhorred, becauſe ſhe paſſeth the bounds, not only of cuſtome but of humanitie. She ſearcheth out new puniſhments, and applyeth her mind thereunto, ſhe inuenteth inſtruments to multiply and prolong pain, and to content her ſelfe in thoſe torments which other men ſuffer. Then doth that dire ſickeneſſe of the minde grow into moſt deſperate rage, when crueltie is turned into pleaſure, and to murther men is reputed a May-game. For ſuch a man is attended by cõfuſion, hatreds, venoms, ſwords, by as many dangers is he aſſaulted

ted, as he is the danger of many men, and ſometimes by priuate counſailes, and ſometimes by publique calamities he is ſurpriſed and circumuented. For the ſlight and priuate ouerthrow of ſome particulars, incenſeth not whole Cities: that which beginneth to rage on euerie ſide, and indifferently attempteth all men, armeth euery man againſt it. The ſmaller Serpents ſlip by vs; neyther are they much ſought after, but if any one waxeth aboue ordinarie meaſure and bigneſſe, & becommeth a monſter, when he hath infected the fountains by drinking in them, and ſcortched with his breath, and rent with his tallants whatſoeuer he treades vpon, we ſhoote at him with Baliſtils and Croſbowes. The ſmaller euils may ſpeake faire, and ſo eſcape, but we make head againſt the great ones. If there be but one ſicke in a houſe, it makes no great matter; but when it appeareth by the death of many that the plague is there, the Citie cries out, and euery man flies, and each man liſteth vp his hands to heauen. If ſome priuate houſe be ſet on fire, the neighbours bring in water and quench it; but when the fire is ſcattered abroad, and layes hold on many houſes, it cannot be quenched but by the ruine of a part of the Citie.

CHAP. XXVI.

He ſheweth what danger it is for a man to take pleaſure in cruelty, and how much good Princes get by amiable and curteous entertainement. Hee concludeth that Clemencie is the faireſt flower in their Garland.

SEruile hands likewiſe haue reuenged the crueltie of particular men, although they ſaw their death before them. The crueltie of Tyrants, the Nations, people, & thoſe that were oppreſſed, and ſuch as were moſt neerely threatned thereby, haue attempted to confound Tyrants. Sometime thir owne guards haue conſpired againſt them, and exerciſed vpon them that perfidiouſneſſe, impiety, & cruelty which they themſelues had learned of them. For what can any man hope from him whom he hath trayned vp to be euill? Wickedneſſe appeareth not long time, neither ſinneth ſhe as much as ſhe is commanded. But put caſe that crueltie be aſſured; what a Kingdome hath ſhe? No other then the form of ſacked Cities, and the terrible faces of publique feare. All things are ſad, troubleſome and confuſed, euen the pleaſures themſelues are feared: they banquet not ſecurely, and in their feaſts though they be drunke, they muſt haue a watch ouer thrir tongues: they cannot truſt their Theatres where men ſeeke occaſions to accuſe and put to death now this man, now that man. When their Banquets be prepared with greater charge, and Kingly riches, and by the excellent inuention of cunning Artiſts, who is he, I pray you, that would take pleaſure to depart from his ſports to a priſon? Good gods, what a miſchiefe is this, to kill, to rage, to delight in the noyſe of ſhackles, to cut off Citizens heads, to ſhedde bloud in euerie place whereſoeuer he commeth, to terrifie men, and make them flie from his terrible lookes! What other life would there be if Lions & Beares did reigne? if Serpents and euery other noyſome creature ſhould haue power ouer vs? They being voide of reaſon, and being condemned by vs for the crime of immanitie, abſtaine from thoſe of their owne kind, yea, and ſimilitude is a protectiō amongſt the ſauage beaſts; but amongſt men only rage forbeareth not his deereſt friends, but maketh one account of ſtrangers as of home-bred, whereby he may more buſily creepe into priuate mens ſlaughters, and afterwards into the ruine of Nations. Hee reputeth it to be for his royaltie to caſt fire vpon houſes, and to plough vp old Cities: he beleeueth it to be ſcarce Kingly to command one or two to be ſlaine, except at one time a troupe of miſerable

ſerable men ſtand ſubiect to his ſword, he accounteth his crueltie to bee inforced and reſtrained. That is true felicitie to ſaue many mens liues, and to call them backe from death that are adiudged to die; and to merit a ciuill Crowne by Clemency. There is no ornament more worthie or better fitting the greatneſſe of a Prince then ſuch a Crowne, with this inſcription, *Ob ciues ſeruatos*; not the Chariots of barbarous Nations beſprinkled with bloud, not ſpoyles gotten in warre. This is a diuine power to ſaue men by companies, and publikely: but to murther many, and they vnheard, is the act of a Tyrant and Murtherer.

*

The end of the firſt Booke of Clemencie.

A DISCOVRSE OF CLEMENCIE:

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

To NERO CÆSAR.

The second Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

ONce more he praiseth NERO *and his excellent voice. Then passeth he ouer to the second part, and sheweth the Nature of Clemencie, and defineth the same. He explaineth it the more by the contrarie vice, and produceth Crueltie, and describeth it. Afterwards he limiteth Clemencie, and will haue it remoued from Compassion, for this is a vice amongst the Stoickes. Neither giueth he leaue to remit or giue pardon, but to spare and to counsaile, which they distinguish rather in words then in matter. This is the end of the Booke, but not of the matter, and by the diuision it appeareth that many things are wanting, which haue beene obscured by the iniquitie of the time. It is to be sorrowed for, in so worthie a Tract: which had it not beene, in my iudgement this second Booke had equalled the first.*

CHAP. I.

THat which most chiefly moued me, *Nero Cæsar*, to addresse and dedicate this discourse of Clemencie vnto thee, was a speech of thine which not onely rauished me with admiration, at such time as I heard it, but euen then when afterwards I recited it to others. A generous speech, the argument of a great minde, and greater lenitie; which was not studied for, or fitted to flatter other mens eares, but sodainly brake forth; and brought thy beautie that contended with thy Fortune into the publike eye and censure of all men. *Burrus* a Captaine of thy Guard, a man of honour, and knowne by vs for such a one, hauing charge to carrie two theeues to execution, laboured, that thou wouldest signe the sentence that was giuen against them both: which being deferred diuers times, he insisted at last that it might be dispatched. But after that, to thy owne

He animateth Nero *to continue in his well begunne gouernment, with that placabilitie he hath thitherto vsed; he secondeth his Counsailes with praises which serue as spurres to a good minde.*

heartſ-griefe and thy diſtaſte, he had drawne the writing out of his boſome, and deliuered it into thy hands, thou criedſt out, *I would I could neither reade nor write.* O ſpeech worthie to be heard by all thoſe Nations that inhabite the Romane Empire, and by thoſe neighbour Countries that are ſcarcely aſſured of their libertie, and by thoſe likewiſe who both in minde and might arme themſelues againſt their proſperitie. O verie worthie to be reuiued in the open aſſembly of all liuing men, and whereof Kings and Princes might make vſe when they ſhould take their oath vnto their Subiects. O ſpeech worthie the ancient innocencie of Mankind, in fauour whereof the former ages ſhould wax yong againe. Truly this is the houre wherein all of vs ought to accord in equitie and Clemencie, driuing far from vs this couetouſneſſe to enioy other mens fortunes, whence all the infirmities of the minde doe ariſe. Now it is that pietie, integritie, loyaltie, and modeſtie, ſhould life vp their heads, and that vices which haue ſo tyrannouſly dominered ouer vs long time, ſhould finally quit their place, and reſigne it to an age more happie and pure.

CHAP. II.

He preſageth the continuance of Neroes Clemencie, to the comfort of his Subiects and the amaſe of his enemies.

I Dare well hope and promiſe, *Cæſar*, that the greater part hereof ſhall come to paſſe. This Clemencie of thine ſhall by little and little be publiſhed, and ſpread thorow all the bodie of thine Empire, and all things ſhall conforme themſelues according to the example which thou giueſt them. Good health proceedeth from the head, and afterwards cauſeth that all the members are nimble and ſtrong; as contrariwiſe they languiſh, if the ſpirit that quickneth them, bee amated. And both thy Citizens and aſſociates ſhall be worthie of this bountie, and good manners ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed thorowout the whole world, and ſhall be extended in euerie place. Suffer me to inſiſt a little longer on this point, not to the intent to tickle or flatter thine eares, for it is not my cuſtome. I had rather offend thee in ſpeaking truth, then pleaſe thee by flatterie. What is the cauſe then, why I deſire thou ſhouldeſt be ſo familiarly exerciſed in the knowledge of thy good words and actions? Truly no other but that one day thou mayeſt ſay and doe that with iudgement, which now thou ſaiſt and doeſt by a naturall aptitude of thy minde. This conſider I with my ſelfe, that many deteſtable ſpeeches of Princes are entred into mens hearts, and are ordinarie in their mouthes, as this:

With deadly hate let them purſue me,
Prouided alwaies that they feare me.

Whereunto reſembleth that Greeke verſe who willeth that when he is dead,

The ſolid Earth ſhould with the fire be mixt.

And others of this kinde: But I know not how ſuch ſpirits, ſo prodigious and ſo hatefull, haue ſo found out and expreſſed their violent and furious conceits. I haue neuer as yet heard a proud word vttered by a good & mercifull Prince. What is it then that thou art to doe? Forſooth this, that as ſlackly as thou maiſt and with ſome remorſe, and with ſome delayes alſo (vntill ſuch time as thou art inforced thereunto) thou write that which draweth thee in hatred of writing, yet ſo as thou doeſt now, in temporiſing and delaying diuers times.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

What Clemencie is, and the definition thereof.

BVt leſt ſometime this goodly and pleaſing name of Clemencie ſhould haply deceiue vs, let vs ſee what Clemencie is, what a one ſhe is, and to what end ſhe tendeth. Clemencie then is a moderation of the mind, that reſtraineth the power which a man hath to reuenge himſelfe, or it is a gracious moderation of the ſuperiour towards his inferiour, in eſtabliſhing of puniſhment. The ſureſt way ſhall be to ſet downe diuers definitions, for feare leſt one ſuffice not to expreſſe the ſame, and that the forme thereof (if we may ſo ſpeake) eſcape vs not. One may therefore ſay, that it is an inclination of the minde, tending to ſhew himſelfe mercifull when he ought to chaſtize. This definition will haue ſome oppoſition, although it be ſuch a one as draweth neereſt the truth. If wee ſay that Clemencie is a moderation remitting ſomewhat of the puniſhment which is deſerued and due, ſome one will reply that there is not any vertue that doth leſſe then ſhe ought. But al men know that Clemency is that vertue which rebateth ſomewhat of that which ſhe might exact. They of weakeſt iudgement ſuppoſe that ſeueritie is oppoſed againſt it, but neuer was one vertue cõtrary to another

CHAP. IV.

Of Cruelty oppoſed againſt Clemencie, and the definition and kinds thereof layd open by Examples.

WHat therefore is oppoſed to Clemency? Cruelty, which is no other thing then a violence of minde in exacting puniſhments. But there are ſome that are cruell although they doe not puniſh any: ſuch as they are who kill men whom they neuer ſaw but met with in the way; not to the intent to leſſen the number, but killing them becauſe they took pleaſure in killing. Moreouer not content to murther, they tortured more bodies, as *Buſiris Procruſtes* did, and thoſe Pirats who firſt of all beat their Priſoners and afterwards burnt them to death and duſt. Truly this is crueltie, but becauſe it followeth not reuenge (for ſhe was not iniuried) neither is diſpleaſed at any mans offence (for no crime hath ouerſlipped before) it is not compriſed in our definition, which definition contayned an intemperance of the minde in exacting puniſhment. We may well ſay that this is not crueltie, but beaſtly furie which taketh pleaſure to torment the bodie, and we may likewiſe call it madneſſe, for there bee diuers kinds thereof, and none more certain then that which extendeth it ſelfe to murther and maſſacre men. I will therefore call them cruell, who haue no occaſion to puniſh, yet ſuch as keepe no meaſure, ſuch as *Phalaris* was, who not contenting himſelfe with putting Innocents to death, exceeded in his executions all humane and probable meaſure. We may to auoyd all cauill, ſay this cruelty is an inclination of the minde vnto moſt grieuous puniſhments. Clemency driueth this crueltie farre of from her, becauſe ſhee hath better correſpondence with ſeuerity. It is very pertinent to the matter to enquire in this place what mercie is, for diuers men prayſe her for a vertue: and call a good man mercifull. But this is an imperfection of the minde; Crueltie and Mercy are the two extreames of Seuerity and Clemency: we muſt flye both, the one and the other, for feare leſt vnder appearance of Seueritie we become cruell, and vnder colour of Clemencie ſhew our ſelues mercifull. There is not ſo great danger herein, but they that fall into one extremitie are as much out of the way, as they that fall into the other.

A Paradoxe of the Stoicke, which Ariſtotle anſwereth in the fourth of his Ethicks and Morals.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

In this chapter, he maintayneth the Doctrine of the Stoicks. Against affections, approuing that those Philosophers were not so vnnaturall as they were reported to bee.

EVen as therefore Religion reuerenceth the gods, and Superstition violateth them: so all good men should shew Clemencie and Meeknes, but avoyd Mercie. For it is nought else but a basenes of the heart which melteth in beholding another mans miseries. It is therefore most familiar to those of the baseſt Mettals and Minds. Such as are old women and tender-hearted Females, who weepe to see them weepe that are condemned, who would willingly breake vp Prisons, if so be they were permitted to doe it. Mercie regardeth not the cause but the condition, but Clemencie is conioyned with reason. I know that amongst ignorant men, the Sect of the Stoicks is condemned, for being ouer-seuere and and such a one as could not giue good counsailes to Kings and Princes. For it is obiected against them, that they will not suffer the Wiseman to vse mercie, and to pardon. These obiections considered apart, and by themselues are odious. For this were to cast all those head-long into despayre that haue offended, and to subiect all offences to punishment. If this be so, can a man finde out a Sect more seuere then this is, which forbiddeth vs to remember that wee are men; and excludeth mutuall helpe which is the assuredest Hauen against the tempest of Fortune? But I say that there is no Sect more benigne and gentle then this is, nor that loueth men better, nor that is more intent to the good of all men; in such sort as all the scope thereof, is to serue, succour and procure the good, not only of his schollers, but also of all other men as wel in general as in particular. Mercie is an infirmitie of the minde, by reason of the appearance of other mens miseries, or a sadnesse conceiued for the euils another man suffereth, and supposeth that he suffereth them wrongfully. For a Wiseman neyther troubleth nor tormenteth himselfe, his vnderstanding is alwayes cleere, neither can any thing happen that may obscure the light thereof. Nothing becommeth a man more then greatnesse of courage; But he cannot haue a noble heart, if eyther feare or griefe doe daunt the same, or any of these passions obscure or contract it. This shall not befall a Wiseman; no, not in his calamities, but hee shall dart backe againe all these Arrowes that Fortune hath shot against him, and shall breake them before her face. He shall retayne one and the same countenance, alwayes both peaceable and constant, which he might not doe if sorrow were lodged in his heart. Adde hereunto that a Wiseman is prouident, and hath his counsell in a readinesse. But that which is cleare and pure, neuer proceedeth from sadnesse, which is a trouble of the Soule, and is not proper to examine any action; nor to inuent profitable things, neither oportunely to auoyd dangers. So then a Wiseman is not moued with sadnesse for anothers misery, because he is exempt from misery; but otherwise, hee will willingly and with a ioyfull heart, doe all that which the mercifull would doe either sorrowfull or compassionate.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The discription of a Wiseman according to the doctrine of the Stoicks.

HE will assist his Neighbour that weepeth, without weeping himselfe; he will lend him his hand that is in danger to be drowned; hee will lodge him that is famished, feed him that is poore, not with out-rage, as for the most part they doe, who would bee esteemed mercifull, who disdayne and repulse the poore when they ayde them, and fearing lest they should touch them, but as a man to a man he will giue, as out of the common Purse. Hee shall pardon the Sonne for his Mothers teares, command his greiues to be loosed; hee shall preserue him from the furie of wilde beasts, to whose rage he should haue beene exposed, to the content and pleasure of the people; hee will burie the carcasse of him that was condemned; But he will doe all this with a peaceable minde, and without change of countenance. He will not therefore be mooued, but will helpe, will profit, as being borne for the common good and the seruice of the Commonweale, wherof he will giue euery one his apart. Yea, he will extend his bountie to the miserable by proportion, and will reforme such as are wicked and to be amended. But to those that are afflicted and oppressed, he will yeeld his assistance more willingly. As often as he may, he will not suffer aduersities to touch them. For how might he better imploy his forces and riches, then in relieuing those whom the inconstancie of worldly affaires hath ouerthrowne? Hee will neither be abashed nor dismaid, to behold the disfigured face of a sicke man or a begger, or of an old man leaning on his staffe, but hee will assist all those likewise that deserue, and after the manner of the gods, behold with a bountifull eye the poore that are oppressed. Mercie is a neere Neighbour to miserie, for she hath, and draweth somewhat from her. Know that those eyes are weak which are bloud-shot themselues, in beholding another mans suffusion: euen as assuredly wee ought not to call them ioyfull but sicke, who cough vpon euery occasion, and that yawne as soone as they perceiue another man open his mouth. Mercie is an imperfection of the minde, that is too much affected vnto miserie, which if a man seeke for in a Wiseman, it were as much as if hee should require him to cry out at the Funerals of those whom hee neuer heard of. It remayneth to declare why a Wiseman pardoneth not.

CHAP. VII.

A question depending on the former discourse, whether a Wiseman pardoneth? He answereth by distinction, to maintayne that which he said of Mercie.

LEt vs now set downe likewise what pardon is, to the end we may know that a Wiseman ought not to giue it. Pardon is a remission of deserued punishments. But why a Wiseman ought not to pardon, is fully debated by those who decide this matter to the full. For mine owne part to speake shortly, as in a matter reserued to another mans iudgement, I say that he is pardoned that should be punished. But a Wiseman doth nothing but that he ought, neither pretermitteth any thing of his dutie, and therefore hee quitteth not the punishment which he ought to exact, but that which thou wouldest obtaine by the meanes of pardon, he giueth thee by a more honest expedient. For hee supporteth, counsaileth, correcteth, and doth as much as if he pardoned, although he pardon not, because he that pardoneth, confesseth that hee hath omitted something which ought

ought to be done. He will be contented to admoniſh ſome without chaſtiſing them, conſidering that they are old enough to amend. Hee will diſmiſſe an other in ſafetie, although he be apparently guiltie, becauſe he hath beene deceiued, and fell into the offence being drowned in Wine. He will diſmiſſe his enemies in ſafetie, and ſometimes with commendations, if they haue vndertaken Warre vpon honeſt grounds, as for their faith, Confederates, or liberty. Theſe are not the workes of Pardon but of Clemencie. Clemencie hath free will, ſhe iudgeth not according to vſe and cuſtome, but according to equity and right, and ſhe may abſolue and taxe the charges at what rate ſhe liſteth. He doth none of theſe things, as if hee had done any thing leſſe then iuſt, but as if that which hee had conſtituted were moſt iuſt; but to pardon is this, not to puniſh thoſe things which thou iudgeſt worthy of puniſhment. Pardon is the remiſſion of a deſerued puniſhment. Clemencie effecteth this principally, that ſhee declareth thoſe whom ſhe diſmiſſeth to be exempted from the puniſhmẽt they ſhould ſuffer. She is therefore more accompliſhed and honeſt then pardon. In my iudgement, the controuerſie is vpon the word, not vpon the matter. A Wiſeman will forgiue many things, and ſaue many that are ſcarcely wiſe, yet ſuch as may become capable. He will imitate good Huſbandmen, who not onely cheriſh ſtraight and tall Trees, but applyeth vnder-props likewiſe to vphold thoſe which are made crooked by ſome accident. They lop ſome, leſt the ouer-thickneſſe of their boughes doe hinder their grouth; they nouriſh ſome that are infirme by reaſon of the ſterilitie of the ſoyle; and to thoſe that ſpring vnder the thickneſſe of a couert, they giue them open Ayre. According to theſe, a Wiſeman ſhall ſee how he ought to entertayne euery nature, and by what meanes thoſe that are depraued, may be ſtrengthened and ſtraightned. *Many things are here wanting.*

The end of the ſecond Booke of Clemencie.

A TRACT OF BLESSED LIFE.

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

To IVNIVS GALLIO his Brother.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE wrote this Booke when he was old, and set it downe for an Apologie against those that calumniated his wealth and behauiour. He approueth that Blessed Life consisteth in vertue, yet that she despiseth not these externall things if they befall her. It is a loftie writing, and excellent in the parts thereof, and because it contayneth golden Sentences and excellent Sayings. There are two parts thereof; First, what Blessed Life is, and how a man may attayne thereunto. As touching the former, he denyeth that it is to be sought, either in Opinion or Manners; if we keepe the ordinary way, we stray the farther from her. Reason onely is to bee giuen eare vnto, she saith that Blessed Life is agreeable to Nature, that is placed in vertue, not in pleasure as EPICVRVS *would haue it. No, and diffusedly hee refelleth this with the slaues thereof; so farre as he will neither haue pleasure ioyned with vertue, but aboliseth this name vtterly; This till the sixteenth Chapter. Thence followeth the other part; to the attaynment thereof, therefore is onely Vertue to be embraced. And are the rest to be despised? He denyeth it; He saith that externall things may be admitted, but not as the end. Yea, hee mayntayneth, that they who as yet are but in the way, and amongst the number of those that are proficient, haue need of some indulgence of Fortune. Here cunningly & manfully enough defendeth he his owne cause, and induceth an Aduersarie to say: Why hast thou spoken thus of Vertue? hast thou not other helpes? Why hast thou Seruants, Money, Farmes, and Houshold-stuffe? He answereth diuersly? And first of all that hee is no Wiseman, but that hee endeuoureth to bee wise. Afterwards for these worthy men,* PLATO, ZENO, ARISTOTLE, *against whom in times past these were obiected. Vertue is an high matter; They are to bee honoured who labour to ascend, although during their attempt, they fall or are hindered. Then purposely speaketh hee of Riches, whether a Wiseman ought to haue them; From the one and twentie Chapter. And he auerreth that they are had but not beloued, yet gotten honestly*

neſtly that they are, and muſt be ſpent bountifully. Hee whetteth his Stile againſt thoſe long-tongued bablers, and vnder the perſon of SOCRATES, *armeth the edge of his Stile againſt them. But the end is wanting, and thoſe things that are vſually added, are of another mans writing, and of a different Argument.*

CHAP. I.

It ſufficeth not to deſire happineſſe, we ought to know what true happineſſe is, and afterwards by what meanes we attaine thereunto.

ALl men, Brother *Gallio*, are deſirous to liue happily, yet blinde are they in fore-ſeeing that which maketh the life bleſſed & happie: and ſo difficult a matter is it to attaine this bleſſed life, that the ſwifter euery man is carryed with a deſire to cõpaſſe her, the farther off departeth hee from her, if he haue failed in the way: which when it leadeth vs to the contrary, the very ſwiftnes thereof is the cauſe of our greater diſtance from her. Firſt of all therefore we ought to conſider what that is which we require: then to looke about vs by what way wee may more ſpeedily attaine thereunto, being well aſſured in our iourney (ſo the way bee true and ſtraight) to vnderſtand how much wee haue daily profited, and how neerer wee are vnto that whereunto our naturall deſire impelleth vs. As long as wee wander hither and thither and follow not our guide, but the diſſonant brute and clamour of thoſe that call on vs to vndertake different wayes, our ſhort life is wearyed and worne away amongſt errours, although wee labour day and night to get vs a good minde. Let vs therefore aduiſe, both whither wee tend, and by which way wee pretend; and walke forward vnder the conduct of ſome Wiſeman who is exactly inſtructed & practized in thoſe pathes that we are to tract. For the condition of this Voyage is farre different from other Peregrinations: for in them if any certaine place be limited, and wee doe but enquire and queſtion with the Inhabitants of that place, they will not ſuffer vs to wander; but here the worſt way, and that which ſeemeth the moſt ſhorteſt and vſuall doth moſt of all deceiue vs. There is nothing therefore that is more to bee preuented by vs, then that we follow not like innocent ſheepe, the troope of thoſe that walke before vs, walking not thither whither we ought to goe, but whither the reſt wander. But there is nothing that entangleth vs in greater miſeries, then that wee couple and apply our ſelues to euery rumour, ſuppoſing thoſe things to be the beſt which are moſt approued and receiued by the conceit of all men, and whereof there are moſt examples; and liue not according to reaſon, but only according to other mens faſhion. From thence proceedeth this ſo great heape of men tumbling one vpon another. That which falleth out in a great preſſe of men, when the people themſelues, throng themſelues, where no man ſo falleth, but that he draweth downe another after him, and the foremoſt are the cauſe of the ruine of thoſe that follow: this mayſt thou obſerue, and ſee it fall out in euery eſtate of life. There is no man that erreth to himſelfe, but is eyther the cauſe or Authour of other mens errour. For much are wee hurt becauſe wee apply our ſelues to thoſe that goe before vs, and whileſt euery man had rather beleeue, then iudge, wee neuer iudge of our liues but content our ſelues alwayes to beleeue: thus errour deliuered vnto vs from hand to hand,

vexeth

vexeth and ouerturneth vs, and wee periſh by other mens Examples. But wee ſhall be healed, prouided only that we ſeparate our ſelues from the vulgar; but now the people ſtand out againſt reaſon in defence of their owne errour. The ſame therefore falleth out which is vſuall in common Aſſemblies, wherein, thoſe men whoſe voyces made the Pretor, admire to heare him named; when the inconſtant fauour of ſuch a multitude hath whirled it ſelfe about. We approue and condemne one and the ſame thing. This is the end of all iudgments in deciſion whereof diuers men giue their opinions.

Chap. II.

Hee taxeth thoſe who thinke themſelues well gouerned if they follow the multitude.

When the queſtion is of happy life, thou muſt not anſwere mee according to the cuſtome of thoſe debates which are cenſured by voices. *This part ſeemeth the greater*; for therefore is it the worſt: Humane affaires are not diſpoſed ſo happily that the beſt things pleaſe the moſt men. It is an argument of the worſt cauſe when the common ſort applaudeth it. Let vs enquire what is beſt done, not what is moſt vſually done; and what planteth vs in the poſſeſſion of eternall felicitie, not what is ordinarily allowed of by the multitude, which is the worſt interpreter of truth. I call the multitude, as well thoſe that are attyred in white, as thoſe that are clothed other wayes, for I examine not the colours of the garments wherewith the bodies are clothed: I truſt not mine eyes, to informe me what a man is, I haue a more better and truer light, whereby I ſhall diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood. Let the ſoule find out the good of the ſoule. If once ſhe may haue breathing time to retyre her ſelfe into her ſelfe, O how will ſhe confeſſe vnto her ſelfe, after ſhe hath beene examined by her ſelfe and ſay: Whatſoeuer I haue done, yet I had rather it ſhould be vndone; Whatſoeuer I haue ſaid when I recollect it, I am aſhamed of it in others; Whatſoeuer I wiſhed, I repute it to be the execratiõ of mine enemies; Whatſoeuer I feared, good gods, how better was it then that which I deſired? I haue quarrelled with many men, and (if any ſocietie be amongſt euill men) I haue altered their hatreds and drawne my ſelfe into fauour with them; and yet as yet I am not friends with my ſelfe. I haue indeuoured to the vttermoſt to get in fauour with the multitude, and make my ſelfe knowne vnto euery man by ſome noble action: what other thing did I but oppoſe my ſelfe againſt weapons, and ſhew hatred a place wherein it might bite me? Seeſt thou theſe who prayſe Eloquence, that follow riches, that flatter authoritie, that extoll power? all theſe are enemies or can be enemies, for in effect they are all one. How great ſoeuer the number be of thoſe that admire, as great is their number who doe enuy.

Chap. XXXVII.

Since we ſeeke for that good which is truly & not apparantly good, let vs not derriue our example, either from the exteriour appearance or the publike applauſe.

Why rather ſeeke I not ſome thing out, which is good in vſe that I may finde in my minde, not ſhew in outward appearance? Theſe things whereat wee gaze, theſe things whereat wee ſtay, and with admiration one man ſheweth vnto another, doe outwardly ſhine, but are inwardly miſerable. Let vs ſeeke out ſomewhat that is good not in appearance, but ſolide and vnited, and faireſt in that

which appeareth the leaſt. Let vs diſcouer this, neither is it farre from vs, wee ſhall find it. Yet hadſt thou need to know whither thou ſhouldeſt ſtretch thy hand. But now as if we were in darknes we paſſe by theſe things that are neereſt vs, and ſtumble vpon thoſe things which we deſire. But leſt I draw thee thorow a Labyrinth, I will let ſlip other mens opinions, for it were too long a matter to reckon them vp and confute them, and let thee know our owne. And when I tell thee ours, I will not tye my ſelfe to any one of our principall Stoickes: I haue authoritie enough to ſpeake what I thinke, I will therefore follow ſome one, I will command another to giue a reaſon of his, and happely being cited after all others, I will diſallow none of thoſe things which the former haue decreed, and will ſay: *This thinke I ouer and beſide*, and in the meane while following the common conſent of the Stoicks, I will conſent to Nature which is the Mother of all things. For it is wiſedome not to wander from her, but to forme our ſelues according to her Law and Example. The life then is happie which is according to nature, which can no otherwiſe happen then if the mind be firſt of all ſound, and in perpetuall poſſeſſion of her health. Againe, if ſhee be ſtrong, and vehement, and fierce, and patient likewiſe, apt for the time, curious of the bodie, and thoſe things that appertayne thereunto; yet not ouer carefull or diligent in thoſe things which maintaine life, diſpoſed to vſe the preſents of Fortune, without admiration of any thing, without wondering at any of them, no wayes inclined to ſeruitude. Thou vnderſtandeſt although I ayme it not, that from thence there followeth a perpetuall tranquilitie and libertie, driuing away farre from vs all thoſe things that eyther prouoke or terrifie vs much. For inſtead of theſe fraile pleaſures, (and for thoſe things that are ſmall and friuolous, and that hurt vs at that time, when we make vſe of them to ſatiſfie our paſſions) there ſucceedeth an excellent ioy in aſſured, and a continuall peace and repoſe of the ſoule, and a greatneſſe of the minde accompanyed with mildneſſe. For all furie proceedeth from her infirmity.

CHAP. IV.

The diuers definitions of a happie life.

A Man may likewiſe define our good after another ſort, that is to ſay, expreſſe the ſame thing in other termes. Euen as one and the ſame Armie ſometimes ſpreadeth it ſelfe out at large, ſometimes reſtrayneth and locketh vp her ſelfe in a little place, either bendeth her ſelfe like a *Creſcent* with hornes on either ſide and hollow in the midſt; or marcheth in a Battalion hauing wings to warrant them, and howſoeuer ſhe is diſpoſed, yet hath ſhe alwayes the ſame force and reſolution to maintaine the party for which ſhe is leuied: ſo our definition of the Souereigne good may ſometimes be extended out a far, ſometimes compriſed in few words and gathered as it were into it ſelfe. It will all come to one, if I ſay: The Souereigne good is a minde deſpiſing caſualties, and content with vertue: or an inuincible force of the minde well experienced in the affaires of this World, peaceable in his actions, full of humanitie in regard of thoſe with whom ſhe cõuerſeth. It pleaſeth vs likewiſe to define it thus, that we call him a bleſſed man who eſteemeth nothing either good or euill, except a mind either good or euill; a reſpecter of honeſty, content with Vertue, whom neither caſualties extoll nor depreſſe, who knowes no other greater good then that which he can giue himſelf, who reputeth it for a true pleaſure to contemne pleaſures.

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Thou mayeſt if thou wilt expatiate, turne this definition into one or two other ſorts, prouided that the principall remayne. For what forbiddeth vs to eſteeme him happy that hath his ſpirit free, rayſed, aſſured, and firme, eſtranged from al feare and deſire, that eſteemeth nothing but Vertue, and diſdayneth nothing but Vice? All other the baſe multitude of things, neither detracting any thing nor adding ought to bleſſed Life, come and goe without increaſe or decreaſe of the chiefeſt good. He that hath layed ſo good a foundation, ſhall bee alwayes followed whether he will or no, with a continuall ioy, with a profound content that proceedeth from excellent thoughts, becauſe he contenteth himſelfe with that which he poſſeſſeth, neither deſireth any more then that hee hath at home: why ſhould he make a ſcruple to change willingly theſe light and friuolous and vnaſſured motions and pleaſures of the bodie, for goods ſo certaine as theſe other are? At that very inſtant when voluptuouſneſſe ſhall ouer-maſter a man, at that very time alſo all misfortunes and cares ſhall hang ouer his head.

Chap. V.

He confuteth thoſe that ſet their ſtis on pleaſures of the body, and defineth what a happy man is.

THou mayeſt then ſee into what dangerous & miſerable ſeruitude he falleth who ſuffereth pleaſures and ſorrowes (two vnfaithfull and cruell commanders) to poſſeſſe him ſucceſſiuely. We muſt therefore iſſue out and find liberty, and this doth no other thing giue vs then the neglect of Fortune. Then ſhall that ineſtimable good ariſe, namely the repoſe of the minde retyred into an aſſured place, and mounted ſo high that ſhe ſeeth all the myſts of errours incontinently ſcatter themſelues, in ſuch ſort that from the knowledge of the truth, there proceedeth a great and conſtant ioy, a ſweetneſſe and freedome of conſcience, wherein the vertuous man ſhall take pleaſure, not as they are goods, but as the fruits which proceed from the ground of that good which is in him. Becauſe I haue begun to diſcourſe liberally, I ſay that he may be called bleſſed, who by the benefit of his reaſon, neither feareth, nor deſireth any thing. I make mention of reaſon becauſe ſtones, and beaſts are both of them deſtitute of feare and ſadneſſe, and yet no man will ſay that they are happy Creatures, becauſe they haue no ſence or vnderſtanding of felicitie. Put into this ranke, thoſe men whoſe dulneſſe of nature, and ignorance of themſelues hath drawne into the number of ſheepe and beaſts. There is no difference betwixt theſe and them, becauſe the one haue no reaſon, and the other their reaſon depraued, and if ſhe diſcourſeth it is onely to weaken and ruinate her ſelfe. For no man can bee called bleſſed, who is exiled from the truth. That therefore is a bleſſed life which is grounded vpon an vpright, certaine, and immutable iudgment. For then is the minde pure, and exempt from all euils, when it hath no feeling of any diſtractions or temptations whatſoeuer, reſolued to perſiſt there whereſoeuer ſhe is ſetled, and reſolute to maintrayne her abode, in ſpight of wrathfull and repining Fortune. For in regard of pleaſure, although it be diſperſed in euery place, although ſhe come from euery part, and try and attempt by all meanes whereby ſhe may intangle vs, either in whole or in part: what man is hee amongſt men that hath any impreſſion of man-hood in him, that will ſuffer himſelfe to be flattered and tickled therewith day and night, and forſaking the ſoule, will haue a care of the bodie?

Chap. VI.

An answer vnto those that would confound the pleasures of the body and the soule together.

BVt the soule likewise (sayth hee) shall haue her pleasures. Let her enioy them, and let her sit as Iudge ouer dissolution and pleasures. Let her glut herselfe with all those things that are wont to delight the Senses. Furthermore, let her looke backe to those things that are past, and remembring herselfe of her decayed pleasures let her enioy those that are neereſt her, extend her hand to the future, ruling her hopes, and lifting vp her thoughts to that which is to come, whileſt the body tumbleth in delights and surfets. This in my iudgement is a meere misery, because it is a madnesse to imbrace the euill in stead of the good. Neyther is any man blessed without health, neither any man healthy, that longeth for hurtfull, and letted healthfull things passe. He therefore is blessed, who hath a right iudgment. Blessed is he that is contented with the present whatsoeuer it be, that is a friend to his owne affaires, blessed is hee who in the gouernment of his whole life giueth eare vnto Reason. As for those that haue said that the Soueraigne good consisteth in pleasure, it behoueth them to consider how sordid and abiect a place it is wherein they haue lodged a thing so precious. For their excuse they alleage that a man cannot separate pleasure from Vertue, and they say likewise that no man can liue honestly except hee be pleasant and iouiall: and that to be ioyfull and honest, is one and the same thing. Yet see I not how these two things may be coupled together. And why I pray you may not pleasure be deuided from Vertue? Forsooth, because euery beginning of good proceedeth from Vertue. From the roots hereof euen these things spring which you loue, and desire so much. But if these were inseparable, we should not see that some things are pleasing, but yet not honest, and some things most honest, but difficult, and such as may not be recouered but by dolour and paine.

Chap. VII.

A continuation of the former refutation where hee sheweth that Pleasure is incompatible with Vertue, & consequently is, wholy estranged from the chiefest good.

ADde hereunto likewise that pleasure intermixeth it selfe with a most vicious life, but Vertue admitteth it not: It is with pleasure yea for pleasures sake that some are vnhappy. Which would not come to passe, if pleasure had intermixed it selfe with Vertue, which Vertue often misseth, neuer needeth. Why vnite you things different, nay more, contrarie? Vertue is a thing high, kingly, inuincible, infatigable; pleasure, humble, seruile, weake, fraile, whose actions and bounds are Tauernes and Brothell-houses. You shall finde Vertue in the Temple, in the Market place, in the Court, in the Court of Guard smothered in dust, red with heat, hauing hard hands: pleasure ofttimes lying hidden and affecting darknes about Bathes and Hot-houses, and such places as feare the Constable, daintie, effeminate, souzed in Wine, and Perfumes, pale, painted, and beslabered with Medicine. The chiefest good is immortall, it cannot perish, neither hath it satiety, neither repentance, for the iust mind is neuer altered; hee is neuer hatefull to himselfe, neither being her selfe the best, hath shee changed any thing. But pleasure at that time when she most delighteth is extinguished. Neither taketh she vp great roome, and therfore she quickly filleth and lotheth, and after the first assault pineth away; and as their is nothing certayne, whose nature is

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in motion,ſo can there not be any ſubſtance of that thing that commeth and paſſeth quickly, and ſuch as is like to periſh in the very vſe thereof. For he hath attayned thither where he ſhould end, and in beginning he alreadie regardeth the end.

Chap. VIII.

In continuing his refutation, hee declareth what this manner of ſpeech meaneth, that to liue happily, and according to Nature, is one and the ſame thing.

FVrthermore the euill haue their pleaſures, as well as the good: and the baſeſt take no leſſe contentment in their abſurdities, then great men doe in things that are excellent. And therefore the Ancients haue commanded, that we ſhould follow the better & not the moſt pleaſing life. For Nature muſt gouerne vs, ſhe it is that ruleth and counſaileth Reaſon. To liue then happily and according to Nature is one and the ſame thing. I will now tell you what this is. If we carefully and confidently conſerue the goods of the body, according as wee ought, and as they are agreeable vnto Nature, as gifts that haue no continuance, but communicable, from day to day: If we inthrall not our ſelues to their ſeruitude, and if thoſe that haue beene diſtributed to our Neighbours poſſeſſe vs not, if that which is agreeable vnto vs, and giuen vs as an ouerplus to the bodie, ſerueth vs only in that nature, as ſpyes and forlorne hopes in an Armie: in briefe, if they ſerue vs and command vs not, then may wee ſay that they are profitable and neceſſary for the ſoule. A man that is entyre ought not to be ſurmounted with exterior things, he muſt admire nothing but himſelfe, he ought to be confident, diſpoſed againſt all caſualties, a compoſer of his own life, & ſee that his reſolution be accompanied with ſcience & conſtancie, that that which hee once hath conceiued, remayne vnaltered, & that no exception accompany his reſolution. It is vnderſtood likewiſe although I adde it not, that ſuch a man ſhould be addreſſed and ordered as hee ought, gracious & magnificent in all his entertaynments, that true reaſon be ingraffed in his ſenſes, and that from thence hee take his principles. For thence it is and from no other place, that ſhe extendeth her ſelfe, to apprehend the truth, & afterwards returneth into her ſelfe. The world likewiſe that imbraceth & comprehendeth all things, and God who is the Gouernour of this World, extendeth himſelfe truly to exterior things, and yet he returneth in euery part intyrely into himſelfe. Let our minde doe the like, that after ſhe hath ſerued the ſenſes, and by the meanes thereof, hath extendeth her ſelfe to externall things, ſhe may poſſeſſe her ſelfe, in briefe, that ſhe may rely & ſtay her ſelfe vpon the chiefeſt good. By this meanes ſhe ſhall become a facultie and power according with her ſelfe; and that certaine reaſon ſhal ariſe which is neither ſhaken nor extrauagant in her opinions, apprehenſions, or perſwaſions, but being well ordered and well agreed with her parts with which ſhe ſingeth (if we may ſo ſay it) in the ſame tune, ſhee hath attayned the fulneſſe of her felicity. For ſhe hath no way that is rugged or ſlippery to paſſe thorow, neyther any wherein ſhe may ſtumble or fall. She ſhall doe all that which ſhe liſteth, and nothing ſhall befall her that is vnexſpected, but all that which ſhe ſhall do ſhall turne to her good, eaſily, addreſſedly, and without delay. For idleneſſe & want of reſolution diſcouer contradiction and inconſtancie; thou mayeſt therefore boldly mayntayn that the peace of conſcience is the Souereigne good, becauſe it muſt needs follow, that the vertues remayne there where conſent and vnion haue their abode, and vices at are oddes amongſt themſelues.

Chap. IX.

The peace of Conſcience is the chiefeſt good, but Seneca *placeth this peace in the ſiedge of humane reaſon, which we muſt bear with-all in a Stoicke and a Pagan, who knew not what the gift of Regeneration was.*

BVt thou likewiſe (ſaith he) honoureſt Vertue for no other cauſe but for that thou expecteſt ſome pleaſure thereby. Firſt, Vertue is not therefore ſought after, becauſe ſhe bringeth with her ſome pleaſure, for ſhe produceth it not, and yet is not without it. Neither laboureth ſhe for this, but her labour although intended to another end gayneth alſo this point to produce ſome pleaſure. Euen as in a Field that is ploughed vp for Corne, ſome Flowers ſpring vp amongſt the good Graines, and yet this ground was not manured to that end it ſhould bring forth theſe Flowers, although they delight the eye, neither had the Huſbandman any ſuch intention, and yet the Flowers ſproute vp with the Corne: ſo pleaſure is not the reward or cauſe of Vertue but an acceſſion vnto Vertue. Neyther is it pleaſing becauſe it delighteth, but becauſe it is pleaſing it delighteth. The chiefeſt good conſiſteth and is grounded on iudgement and the habit of a good mind, which hauing fulfilled his habitude, and confined himſelfe within his limits, the chiefeſt good is conſummate, neither deſireth any other thing more. For there is nothing without the whole, no more then beyond the end. Thou art therefore deceiued when thou askeſt me, what that is for which I require Vertue: for thou ſeekeſt for ſomewhat that is aboue the chiefeſt. Thou askeſt mee what I pretend from Vertue? Her ſelfe: for nothing is better, ſhee is the reward of her ſelfe. Is this a ſmall thing, when I ſay vnto thee, that the Souereigne good is an inflexible vigour, a prouidence, a firme diſpoſition, a libertie, a concord, and beautie of the ſoule? doeſt thou looke for any thing more, whereunto theſe may be referred? why nameſt thou pleaſure vnto me? I ſeeke for the good of a man, not of the belly, which is more diſordered then any brute beaſt.

Chap. X.

That there is neyther content nor ioy in the pleaſures of this world, when they are neuer ſo little ſeparated from Vertue, which maketh vſe of thoſe pleaſures with moderation

THou pretendeſt to be ignorant (ſaith he) of that which I ſay: For I deny that any man may liue pleaſingly, except he liue honeſtly likewiſe: which cannot befall brute beaſts, which meaſure their good by their bellies. I proteſt I tell thee both plainely and publikely, that this life which I call pleaſant, cannot conſiſt without the adiection of Vertue. But who knoweth not that euen the very fooliſheſt amongſt you are the fulleſt of pleaſure, and that iniquity aboundeth in delight, and that the minde it ſelfe not only ſuggeſteth ſome kinds of pleaſure, but alſo many? Firſt, inſolence and ouer-great eſteme of a mans ſelfe, a pride ſurpaſſing all other, a blind and improuident loue of that which a man hath, affluent delights, a ioy proceeding from trifling and childiſh occaſions, detraction, and arrogancy, reioicing in contumelies, ſloth and diſſolution of the ſluggiſh mind, that is benummed in it ſelfe. But theſe doth Vertue diſcuſſe, ſhe puls vs by the eare, and eſtimateth pleaſures before ſhe admit them, neither careth ſhe much for thoſe ſhe hath entertayned, (although ſhe admit them) neither is delighted in the vſe of them, but temperance is ioyfull: but when as temperance diminiſheth pleaſures, ſhe iniurieth the chiefeſt good in medling with the ſame. Thou imbraceſt pleaſure, I moderate it. Thou enioyeſt pleaſure, I vſe it: Thou thinkeſt it to bee the chiefeſt good, I ſcarcely deeme it good. Thou doeſt all things

things for pleaſures ſake, and I nothing: when I ſay that I do nothing for pleaſures ſake, I ſpeake of that Wiſe man to whom alone thou granteſt pleaſure.

Chap. XI.

That the voluptuous perſon is not wiſe, and conſequently is deprined of vertue, and hath no part in Bleſſed Life.

YEt I call not him a wiſe man that is ſubiect to any paſſion aboue all things, if he be a vaſſall to pleaſure. For being ſubiect vnto her how ſhall he reſiſt labour, danger, pouertie, and ſo many tempeſts as ſtorme about this life? How ſhall he endure the ſight of death and ſorrow? how ſhall he ſuſtaine the aſſaults of this World, and of ſo many other dreadfull aduerſaries, if he be conquered by ſuch an effeminate enemie? He will doe all that which pleaſure perſwadeth him vnto. Goe to: ſeeſt thou not how many follies ſhe will perſwade him to? She cannot, ſaiſt thou, perſwade any thing vndecently, becauſe ſhe is accompanied with Vertue. Seeſt thou not againe what the chiefeſt good ſhould be, if he had need of ſuch a Guard to make him good? But how can Vertue gouerne pleaſure, when ſhe followeth her, when as it is the part of a ſeruant to attend, and of a Maſter to commaund? You make her the ſeruant that ſhould commaund. But you preferre Vertue vnto a goodly office, you make her a taſter to pleaſures. But we will ſee whether Vertue be lodged amongſt thoſe who haue done her ſo many outrages, ſince ſhe can no more be called Vertue, if ſhe hath giuen ouer her place. In the meane while (for it is that whereof we intreat) I wil ſhew that there are diuers voluptuous men on whom Fortune hath powred all her goods, whom thou muſt needs confeſſe to be euill. Looke vpon *Nomentanus*, and *Apicius*, two carefull ingroſſers (as theſe men call them) of whatſoeuer delicate either Land or Sea affordeth, and who preſent vpon their tables all the choice creatures, that are fit for meat in euerie country. Behold theſe very men who from their beds, behold their Kitchins, who fill their eares with Muſick, their eyes with pleaſing ſhewes, and delight their palats with ſundrie ſauces, with ſoft and gentle fomentations all their bodie is ſupled, and left in the mean while their noſtrils ſhould be idle, that verie place is filled with diuers odours, wherein the funerall banquet of diſſolution is celebrated. Thou wilt ſay that theſe men haue their pleaſures, yet are they not at their eaſe, becauſe they reioyce not in goodneſſe.

Chap. XII.

That the pleaſures of wicked men are not truly pleaſures, but follies, and furies, contrariwiſe, thoſe of the wiſe are modeſt.

EVill will befall them (ſaieſt thou) becauſe diuers things happen in the interim which trouble the minde, and contrarie opinions ſhall diſquiet the ſpirits, which I grant to be ſo. Yet notwithſtanding thoſe verie fooles, thoſe inconſtant fellowes whom repentance attendeth at the heeles, are plunged in delights, ſo as we are inforced to confeſſe that ſuch men are as farre eſtranged from diſcontents and troubles, as from good mindes, and (as as it falleth out in many men) they are pleaſant fooles, and merrie mad-men. But on the contrarie part, the pleaſures of wiſe men are more remiſſe and modeſt, feeble enough, ſecret, and leſſe obſerued, becauſe they are not ſought after; and if they come without calling, they are leſſe made account of or entertayned. For wiſemen intermixe the

the pleaſures of this life, as men are wont to mingle their ſerious matters with ſports and pleaſant diſcourſes. Let them deſiſt therefore to ioyne inconueniences, and to implicate Vertue with Pleaſure, for by ſuch falſe opinions they ſeduce thoſe who are alreadie too much corrupted with vice. The one of theſe abandoned vnto his pleaſures alwaies drunke and tumbling on the Earth, knowing well that he liueth voluptuouſly: beleeueth alſo that he followeth the Tract of Vertue: becauſe he beleeueth that pleaſure cannot be ſeparated from Vertue, and afterwards intitleth his vices with the name of wiſdome, and publiſheth thoſe things which ſhould be hidden. So theſe kind of men (who haue not learned it of the Epicure) ſurfet in their delights, and being drowned in vices, hide their voluptuouſneſſe in the boſome of Philoſophie: and haue their recourſe thither where they heare that pleaſure is prayſed. Neyther eſtimate they rightly (for ſuch vndoubtedly is my opinion) how ſober and moderate his pleaſure is: but flye vnto the name, ſeeking out a patronage and excuſe for their luſts. They therefore loſe that one good which they had in euils, which is the ſhame of offending. For they praiſe theſe things whereof they were aſhamed, and glorie in their vice, and therefore youth cannot rowſe and recouer it ſelfe, when they aſcribe ſo faire a title to ſo fowle an errour.

Chap. XIII.

Why the praiſe of pleaſure is pernicious.

THis is the cauſe why this praiſe of pleaſure is ſo pernicious, becauſe honeſt precepts remayne buried hereby, and that which moſt corrupteth is moſt apparant. But my opinion is (although it be to the diſguſt of thoſe of my Sect) that the precepts of the Epicure are holy, right, and if thou examine them more neerely, ſeuere enough. For he ſcantleth the wing of pleaſure verie much, neither giueth her any libertie, but impoſeth the ſame Law vpon voluptuouſneſſe that we doe vpon Vertue. He commandeth her to obey Nature, but that which ſufficeth Nature, is too little for diſſolution. What is it therefore? He that calleth ſlothfull idleneſſe, and the varietie of gormandize and diſſolution, felicitie, ſeeketh a faire pretext for an euill thing, and whileſt he commeth thither (being ſhrouded vnder a name of reſpect) he followeth pleaſure, not that which hee hath learned; but that which he had in her ſelfe, and thinking his vices had beene taught him in ſome Schoole, he pleaſeth himſelfe in them, not fearefully, not obſcurely, yea he ſurfetteth on them in the ſight and preſence of all men: I will not therefore ſay, as diuers of the Stoicks doe, that the Epicures Sect teacheth nothing but wickednes, but this I ſay that it hath an euill report, and is vndeſeruedly defamed. No man can know this thing, except he be admitted to know the ſecrets of this Schoole. The front and that which appeareth outwardly, is the cauſe why men detract the ſame, and ſpeake ſo ſiniſterly of it. It is as it were a valiant man clothed in an effeminate robe. As long as thou maintaineſt modeſtie, Vertue is in ſecuritie, Thou wilt ſay that thy bodie is not addicted to any vncleanneſſe, but thou holdeſt (as ſome ſay) the Drumme in thy hand, and awakeneſt others to doe euill. Make choice therefore of an honeſt title; and let the inſcription be ſuch as may incite the mind to repel thoſe vices which weaken as preſently as they are intertained: whoſoeuer approcheth Vertue, he giueth hope of ſome generous thing. He that followeth

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pleaſure ſeemeth to bee weake, broken, effeminate, diſpoſed to doe wickedly. Except ſome man decipher vnto him what pleaſures are: to the end he may know which of them are limited within a naturall deſire: which are carried away head-long, and are infinite, and the more they are fulfilled, the leſſe are they ſatisfied. Well then, let Vertue leade the way, and our ſteppes ſhall be aſſured. Ouer-great pleaſure is hurtfull, in Vertue it is not to be feared that there ſhould be any thing exceſſiue, for ſhee her ſelfe onely is the meane. That which is tired with his owne greatneſſe, is not good.

CHAP. XIV.

Againſt thoſe that ioyne pleaſure with Vertue, that is to ſay, honeſtie with diſhoneſtie.

BVt to thoſe that haue a reaſonable Nature, what better thing then reaſon may be propoſed? If this vnion be agreeable, and if a man will trauell in ſuch companie towards happie life, let Vertue goe before, and pleaſure follow after, as the ſhadow doth the bodie. It is a ſmall matter for a great minde to giue pleaſure for a Hand-maid to attend on Vertue, which is the moſt honourableſt Miſtreſſe that a man may meet with all. Let Vertue march before and carrie the Enſigne, yet notwithſtanding, we ſhall haue pleaſure, although we be Maſters and gouernours of the ſame. She will preſſe vs to grant her ſomething, but ſhe cannot conſtraine vs thereunto. But they that haue giuen the ſuperiority to pleaſure, haue wanted both, For they loſe Vertue: Moreouer, they haue not pleaſure; but pleaſure is Lord ouer them, with whoſe want they are either tormented, or elſe in aboundance ſtrangled. Wretched if they be forſaken by her, and more wretched if they be ouer-preſſed. Like theſe who are intangled in the Syrtes: Now are they left on drie Land, preſently hurried away with the violence of the ſtreame. But this falleth out thorow too much intemperance, and the blinde loue we beare vnto the ſame. He that requireth euill for good, caſteth himſelfe into great danger, if he obtaine the ſame. Euen as we hunt wilde beaſts with labour and hazard, and when we haue caught them, it is a hard matter to keepe them: becauſe that oftentimes they teare their Maſters in pieces; ſo fareth it with thoſe who haue great pleaſures, for they turne to their great miſeries; and ſurpriſe them when they imagine they haue the maſtrie ouer them. Which the more and greater they be, ſo the leſſe is he, and more ſubiect and ſlaue vnto many whom the common ſort call, Happie. To continue and proſecute the ſimilitude which I haue propoſed: Euen as hee that ſearcheth the haunts of wilde beaſtes and accounts it a great matter to catch ſuch dumbe Creatures in his nets, and enuiron ſome great Forreſt with a kennell of hounds, to the end to follow their Tract, forſaketh his better affaires, and renounceth many other offices: ſo hee that followeth pleaſure, neglecteth all other things, reſpecteth not his former libertie, but dependeth on his belly, neither buyeth he pleaſures for himſelfe, but ſelleth himſelfe to pleaſures.

CHAP.

Chap. XV.

Against those that will ioyne Vertue with pleasure, honesty with dishonestie together.

But what (saith he) letteth Vertue and Voluptuousnesse to be confounded in one, to the end that from them both the Soueraigne good might be deriued, so that it might be one thing to be honest, and to be pleasant? Because there cannot be a part of honestie which is not honest, neither shall the chiefest good haue his sinceritie, if he discouer ought in his selfe that is vnlike the better. Neyther is that ioy which proceedeth from Vertue, although it be good, a part of the chiefest and absolute good: no more then mirth and tranquilitie, although they are deriued from most excellent causes. For these are goods: yet such as attend the Soueraigne good, but perfect it not. But whosoeuer will associate Vertue, and pleasure, and not equall them; by the frailty of the one, he mortifieth all that which is actiue in the other. Finally, he inthralleth that inuincible libertie that knoweth nothing more precious then her selfe. For he beginneth to haue need of Fortune which is the greatest seruitude of all others. And he is attended by a doubtfull, fearefull, and suspitious life, fearefull of casualties, and suspended vpon the moments of time. Thou giuest not Vertue a setled and immoueable foundation, but commandest her to stand in a slippery place. But what is so vncertaine as the expectation of casualties, and the varietie of the bodie, and such things as affect the bodie? How can he obey God, and entertaine euerie thing that hapneth to him with a good minde, and cease to complaine of Fate, and be a faithfull interpreter of his owne casualties, if he be shaken with the smallest assaults of pleasures or sorrowes? neither can he be a good tutor or defender of his Countrie, nor a maintainer of his friends, if he be inclined to pleasures. Thither therefore doth the chiefest good ascend from whence she may not be drawne by any force: Whereby there is neyther entrance giuen to sorrow, hope, or feare, nor to any other thing which may indempnifie or lessen the greatnesse of the chiefest good. And only Vertue may ascend thereunto, by her steppes this steepie rocke must be broken; she will stand stifly, and whatsoeuer shall happen will endure it, not onely patient but also willing, knowing that euerie difficultie of time is but the Law of Nature. And as a good Souldier will endure wounds, number his scarres; and though thrust thorow with many weapons, will dying loue that Captaine for whose sake he breatheth his last: so will Vertue haue this ancient precept in minde, *March* after God. But whosoeuer complaineth, weepeth, and mourneth, is compelled to do that which is commanded; and notwithstanding is violently enforced to doe that which is enioyned him. But what madnesse is it rather to be drawne then to follow? As great in truth, as if thorow sottishnesse and ignorance of thy condition, thou shouldest lament, because some misfortune is befalne thee; or shouldest be amazed and diffident, that thou couldest not endure that, which hapneth as well to the good as to the euill, that is to say, sicknesse, death of parents and friends, weaknesse, and such other incumbrances of mortall life. Let vs couragiously endure all that which the common condition of all things that are created, submitteth vs vnto. We are obliged vnto this, to endure all the accidents of our life without troubling our selues with those casualties, which we know how to auoid. We are not borne vnder a Royall domination. It is libertie to obey God.

Chap.

CHAP. XVI.

TRue felicitie therefore is placed in Vertue. What wil ſhe counſaile thee to? That thou thinke that neyther good nor euill that happeneth vnto thee, eyther by vertue or by malice. Afterwards, that by the meanes of God thou remaine alwaies firme and confident againſt euill; and that as farre as lieth in thy power thou follow God. What then is that which is promiſed thee, if thou behaueſt thy ſelfe after this manner? Great things and ſuch as are anſwerable to thoſe that are diuine. Thou ſhalt be inforced in nothing; Thou ſhalt want nothing, thou ſhalt be free, aſſured, and exempt from all dammage: thou ſhalt vndertake nothing in vaine: thou ſhalt doe that which thou pleaſeſt without trouble or diſturbance. All things ſhall fall out as thou wiſheſt: Aduerſitie ſhall not touch thee. What then? ſhall Vertue onely which is thus perfect and diuine, ſuffice to liue happily? And why ſhould it not ſuffice? I ſay this, it is more then ſufficient. For what can he want that is contented with euery thing, & deſireth nothing whatſoeuer? He that hath gathered all things that are his into himſelfe, hath no need of any external thing. But he that tendeth vnto Vertue, although he hath gotten the greater part of his way, yet hath he need of ſome indulgence and fauour of Fortune, who as yet is intangled amidſt the cares of this life, and hath not as yet acquit himſelfe of thoſe bonds which tye him captiue to this World. What difference then is there, ſome are tyed, ſome are lockt vp, and ſome are fettered. But he that hath gotten more high, and is as it were lifted vp from the Earth, draweth his chaine, being as yet not at full liberty, and reputed for a man that is wholly free.

He concludeth, that a happie Life conſiſteth in Vertue, and ſheweth what counſailes this Vertue giueth, and what good ſhe bringeth.

CHAP. XVII.

IF therfore any one of theſe that barke at Philoſophie alledge that which they are accuſtomed, Why then ſpeakeſt thou better then thou liueſt? whence commeth it that thou flattereſt a man more greater then thy ſelfe? that thou eſteemeſt money to be a neceſſarie ayde, that thou art moued if thou loſeſt the ſame, that thou weepeſt if thou heareſt news of the death of thy wife, or of thy friend, that thou art glad if thou be praiſed and ſpoken well of in all places, and that detractions torment thee? Why are thy Countrie grounds better trimmed then the naturall vſe requireth? why keepeſt thou no ordinary rule in taking thy repaſt? what meaneth thy houſe better furniſhed then other mens? What moueth thee to drinke Wine more older then thy ſelfe? why is euerie thing ſo well ordered in thy houſe? whence commeth it that thou planteſt trees, which ſerue for no other vſe but for ſhade? whence is it that thy wife weareth the reuenew of a rich family hanging at her eares? And what is the cauſe that thy Pages are ſo richly apparelled? why haſt thou an art in thy houſe to know how to ſerue the Table, and that thy plate is not ſet vpon thy boord raſhly, and at euerie mans pleaſure, but is ſerued in by courſes, and that thou haſt a caruer to cut vp thy dainties? Adde hereunto if thou wilt: Why haſt thou goods beyond Seas? and why art thou Maſter of ſo many goods, that thou knoweſt not how to number them? Art thou ſo diſhoneſt and negligent that thou knoweſt not three or foure of

Hauing ſo highly ſpoken of the ſouerayne good, and of a happie life, he taxeth thoſe that flatter vices.

of thy ſeruants? or ſo diſſolute that thou haſt them in ſo great number that thy memorie ſufficeth not to containe their names? Hereafter I will aſſiſt thee in ſpeaking euill of me, and beſides this, will propoſe againſt my ſelfe, more then thou thinkeſt. For the preſent, behold what anſwer I will make thee. I am not wiſe (and to ſatisfie thy diſpleaſure the better) I ſhall not be wiſe. I require not therefore of my ſelfe to be equall with the beſt, but to be better then the worſt. It ſufficeth me to cut off day by day ſome part of my vices, and to checke my imperfections; my health neither is, nor ſhall be intire. I prepare vnguents, but no exact remedies for my paine of the gowt, contenting my ſelf if it trouble me not often, and that it be leſſe furious and burning then it is. If I be compared with thee for ſwiftneſſe of pace, I am but a weake runner.

Chap. XVIII.

That this reproach is not new, That a wiſeman in condemning other mens vices, beginneth with his owne, and hath a deſire to mend himſelfe. That we ought patiently to endure ſcoffes becauſe the beſt men haue not eſcaped them.

I Speake not this for my ſelfe (for I am drowned in vices) but for him that alreadie hath gotten ground. Thou ſpeakeſt, ſaiſt thou, in one kinde, but beleeueſt in another. This hath beene reproched by ſome leud companions, enemies of all good men, to *Plato*, to the Epicure, and to *Zeno*. For all theſe ſhewed how wee ought to liue, and not how they themſelues liued. I ſpeake of Vertue not of my ſelfe. When I blame vices, I firſt of all reprooue mine owne, and when I may poſſibly, I will liue as I ought. This malignitie infected with diuers poyſons, ſhall not driue me from my laudable deſſignes. This venome which you vomit out againſt others, and wherewith you poiſon your ſelues, ſhall not hinder me from prayſing that life, according to which I know that I ought to gouerne my ſelfe, although I gouerne not my ſelfe in that ſort as I ought therein. Your malignitie (I tell you) ſhall not reſtraine me from adorning that vertue, which I follow not, although it be eſtranged and farre off from me. Shall I expect that reproach, ſhall I in any ſort reſtraine her hands which neither reſpected *Rutilius*, nor forbare *Cato*? Why ſhould not any man in theſe mens opinion, bee ouer-rich, to whom *Demetrius* the Cynick ſeemed not poore enough? O exact perſon and aduerſarie to all the deſires of Nature, ſo farre as he forbad himſelfe to demand thoſe things from the vſe whereof he had reſolued to abſtaine. For he maintaineth that the wiſeman wanteth nothing. Markeſt thou this? he profeſſed not the ſcience of Vertue, but of pouertie.

Chap. XIX.

A paradox of the Stoickes, who praiſe thoſe that murther themſelues. The iniquitie of thoſe men that accuſe others, and yet amend not themſelues.

THey denie that *Diodorus* the Philoſopher, and the Epicure, who not long ſince haſtened his own death, by cutting his throat with his owne hands, followed in this act the Doctrine of the Epicures. Some impute this vnto furie, ſome vnto folly, and vaine glorie. He contrariwiſe content and furniſhed with a good conſcience hath giuen teſtimonie to himſelfe in departing out of this life, and hath praiſed the repoſe of his daies, and arriued at the port, pronouncing that which you haue heard, in diſpight of your teeth, and that which you your ſelues alſo muſt ſay when your turne commeth:

Long haue I liu'd, and fully haue I ended
That race of life that Fortune firſt commended.

You

You diſpute of another mans life, of another mans death, and barke like little Dogges, againſt the names of great and laudable men, as if you met with men that were vnknowne. For it is expedient for you, that no man ſhould ſeeme good, becauſe another mans vertue ſhould not reproch your iniquities. To your great hearts griefe you compare famous things with your abſurdities, neither perceiue you that this boldneſſe of yours woundeth you wonderfully; For if the Schollers of Vertue be couetous, voluptuous and ambitious, what name ſhall we allot you, who haue the very name of Vertue? You obiect that no man doth that which he teacheth, and that he doth other wiſe then he ſpeaketh. Is this to be wondred at? conſidering that they propoſe great and valorous things, which are aboue all the tempeſts of the world, and ſtriue to nayle themſelues to the croſſe, wherein euery one of you hath planted ſome nayle: yea, before they are at the place of puniſhment, they are content to bee tied to any wood that they meete withall. They that doe not chaſtice and reproue themſelues by themſelues, are ſo many times tied vnto the Gibbet, as there are paſſions that draw them hither and thither, and are ſo ready to out-rage an other; I would beleeue them, were there not ſome of them that from the gallowes curſed and ſpit on thoſe that beheld them.

CHAP. XX.

That a man hath purchaſed much, that hath gotten himſelfe good thoughts, although the effects follow not always.

THe Philoſophers performe not what they ſpeake, yet performe they very much, becauſe they ſpeake that which they haue conceiued with an honeſt minde. For if their words and deeds were one, what were more bleſſed then they? In the meane ſpace, thou haſt no cauſe to deſpiſe good words, neither thoſe hearts that are full of good thoughts. You ought to praiſe the faire and honeſt occupations of the minde, and the ſtudie of good Sciences, although there follow no effect thereupon. What wonder is it if they that haue attempted high matters, attaine not to honour? Reuerence thou the hardy and difficult enterpriſes of vertue, admire the men, although attempting great matters, they faile of their purpoſe. It is a generous thing, for a man that conſidereth not his owne, but natures forces; to attempt and vndertake high matters, and to conceiue that in his thought which the moſt ableſt men in the world cannot effect; who hath purpoſed and ſaid this vnto himſelfe; I will keepe the ſame countenance in beholding death, as I kept when I heard that ſhee approched mee. How great waight ſo euer ſhall be impoſed on me, I will yeeld my ſhoulder, and my minde ſhall ſuſtaine my body. I will make as ſmall reckoning of thoſe goods that I haue, as of thoſe that I haue not, if they lye on the ground in another mans houſe, it ſhall not trouble me, neither if they ſhine about me will I bee proude. I will neither reſpect the preſent proſperitie or future aduerſitie; I will looke vpon euery mans land as if it were mine owne, and on mine as if it were all mens; I will ſo liue, as if I knew that I was borne for others, and for that will I giue thanks to nature that hath appropriated mee to that vſe. What could ſhe doe more for me? She hath giuen mee only vnto all men, and all men vnto me alone; whatſoeuer I haue, I will neither keepe it too nigardly, nor ſpend it too prodigally. I will beleeue that I poſſeſſe nothing more, then that which is well giuen me. I will not eſteeme any benefits by the number or waight, nor eſtimate them any other wayes, but in reſpect of him that receiueth them.

That ſhall neuer ſeeme too much to me, which a worthy man receiueth at my hands; I will doe all things, not for opinion but for conſcience ſake. I will beleeue it is done in the ſight of all men, whatſoeuer I doe vnwittingly. The end of my eating and drinking ſhall be to ſatisfie the deſires of nature, not to fill and empty my belly. I will bee pleaſing to my friends, gentle and facile to mine enemies. I will grant before I be asked, and will preuent all honeſt demandes. I will remember that the world is my Countrie, that the gods who gouerne the world are aboue me, and ſtand about me as cenſors of my deedes and words. And as often as nature ſhall redemand my ſoule, or reaſon diſmiſſe it, I will depart this life with this teſtimony, that I haue loued and laboured to haue a good conſcience, and to be exerciſed in laudable actions; that no mans libertie hath beene diminiſhed by me, nor mine by any man.

CHAP. XXI.

That good thoughts are the beginnings, and the high wayes to good works.

WHoſoeuer reſolueth with himſelfe to doe this, hee will aſſay, hee will walke towards the gods, and aſpire vnto great things, although he alwaies attaine them not. But you that hate Vertue and ſuch as are vertuous, doe nothing new. For ſicke eyes are afraid of the Sunne, and thoſe creatures which ſee not cleerely but by night, are aſtoniſhed as ſoone as the bright-ſome day appeareth, and retire themſelues to their lurking holes; In briefe, thoſe creatures that feare the light, locke them vp in their retreates. Grieue and ſpend your wretched tongs in detracting good men; barke and bite at them, ſooner ſhall you breake your teeth then lay hold or hurt them. But why liueth ſuch an one who ſaith hee is a friend of Wiſedome, ſo deliciouſly? Wherefore ſaith hee a man ſhould deſpiſe riches, and yet he hath them? He doth nought elſe but ſpeake againſt the loue of this life, and yet he liueth. Why commendeth he ſickneſſe, and yet ſo diligently maintayneth and longeth for health? Baniſhment with him is but a word of no vſe, and hee ſaith that the change of a mans Countrie is no euill thing: Notwithſtanding if he may make choice, hee endeth his dayes in the place where he was borne. Hee iudgeth that there is litle difference betwixt a ſhort and long life, yet if nothing let him he extendeth his age, and flouriſheth in quietneſſe for many yeeres. Hee ſaith that theſe things ſhould bee contemned, not in regard of the proprietie and poſſeſſion, but in reſpect we ſhould not haue them with labour; he will not driue them from him, but will follow them ſecurely when they flit away. In what ſtore-houſe may Fortune better locke her riches then there, from whence ſhe may fetch them, without complaint of him that keepeth them? *Marcus Cato* when he praiſed *Curius* and *Coruncanius*, and that Age wherein it was an offence worthy of cenſure to haue ſome few plates of ſiluer, was himſelfe maſter of a million of gold, farre leſſe in reſpect of the treaſure which *Craſſus* had, yet farre more then *Cato* the Cenſor was Lord of. By farre more had he ſurpaſſed his great Grand-father, had they beene compared together, then he was ſurpaſſed by *Craſſus*; And if greater fortunes had befalne him, he had not refuſed them. For a wiſe man thinketh himſelfe worthy of all thoſe preſents of fortune. He loueth not riches, and yet he preferreth them before pouerty; hee receiueth them into his houſe, but not in his minde, neither treadeth them vnder foote in poſſeſſing them, but containeth them, and will haue an excellent ſubiect to exerciſe his vertue vpon.

CHAP.

Chap. XXII.

BVt who doubteth, but that a wiſe man hath a greater meanes to expreſſe the worthineſſe of his minde, when he hath riches, then when he hath pouertie, when as in pouertie there is but one vertue not to be deiected, not to be depreſſed? In riches a man may ſay that temperance, libertie, diligence, diſpoſition, and magnificence, haue a ſpacious field to ſhew themſelues in. A wiſe man will not contemne himſelfe, although he be of a low ſtature, yet could hee wiſh that he were higher. Though he be ſlender in body, and haue loſt an eye, yet will he bee content, yet had he rather that his body were ſtrong enough, and to this end, that he may learne that there is ſomething in him more ſtrong and more vigorous; hee ſhall bee patient in ſickneſſe, and wiſh for health. There are ſome things although they be ſmall in appearance, and ſuch as may bee taken from vs without the ruine of the principall good, yet adde they ſomething to perpetuall ioy which ſpringeth from vertue. So doe riches affect and comfort him, as a faire and merrie winde doth a Sailer; as a faire day, or as a couert in colde weather and raine. But who is he, ſay I, amongſt our wiſe men, who accounteth vertue for the onely good, that denieth likewiſe that theſe which we call indifferent, haue ſome worth in them, and that ſome are to be preferred before others? To ſome of theſe ſome honour is giuen, to ſome great. Doe not therefore deceiue thy ſelfe, riches are amongſt thoſe things that are to bee deſired. Why then ſaiſt thou, doſt thou mocke me, when as they are as highly eſteemed by thee as they are by me? Wilt thou know how differently they are affected? If riches ſlip out of my hands, they ſhall carry nothing away with them but themſelues; Thou wilt bee aſtoniſhed, and ſeeme vnto thy ſelfe to be left without thy ſelfe, if they depart from thee. Riches with me are in ſome requeſt, with thee in high eſteeme. In briefe, my riches ſerue me, Thou art a ſlaue to thine.

Why a vertuous and good man deſpiſeth not riches, & to what vſe they ſerue him.

In this place there is a noble diſcourſe of the vſe of riches.

Chap. XXIII.

GIue ouer therefore to forbid Philoſophers to haue money. No man hath condemned Wiſedome to perpetuall pouertie. A wiſe man may haue great wealth, but taken from no man, nor bought with the effuſion of other mens bloud, gotten without any mans preiudice, without vnlawfull gaine, whoſe departure ſhall be as honeſt as their entrie, whereat no man ſhall grieue except he be enuious. Vrge againſt them as much as thou pleaſeſt, they are honeſt; in which whereas there are many things which euery man would haue called his, yet is there nothing that any man may ſay it is his. But the wiſeman will not eſtrange the bountie of Fortune from himſelfe, neither will he glory or bee aſhamed of that patrimonie that he hath gotten with honeſtie; yet ſhall he haue wherein to glorie, if his doores being open, and the Gittie admitted to enter to examine his ſubſtance, he might ſay; Let euery man take that hence which he knoweth to be his! O great man, happily rich, if his actions be anſwerable to theſe ſpeeches of his, if after this ſpeech he haue ſo much; this I ſay, if ſafe and ſecure he hath ſubmitted himſelfe to the Cities ſearch, if no man hath found ought in his

That riches are honeſt, both in regard of the getting of them, as in reſpect of the poſſeſſion and vſe of them.

houſe that another man may challenge, boldly and openly, hee ſhall bee rich. Euen as a wiſe man admitteth no money into his houſe that is badly got, ſo will he not refuſe nor exclude great riches, which are the gifts of fortune and the fruites of vertue. For what cauſe is there, why hee ſhould enuie them a good place? Let them come and dwell with him; he will neither boaſt of them, nor hide them: the one is the ſigne of an inſolent minde, the other of a fearefull and weake minde; as if containing a great good within his boſome. Neither as I ſaid, will he caſt them out of his houſe. For what will he ſay? whether this, You are vnprofitable; or this, I know not how to vſe riches? Euen as he that although he can walke his iourney on foote, yet hee had rather get vp into his Coach, ſo if he may be rich he will, and he will entertaine riches; yet as ſlight and tranſitorie things, neither will he ſuffer them to be burthenſome to any other, nor to himſelfe. He will giue them: what, hearken you now? Why open you your boſomes? he will giue, but either to good men, or to thoſe whom he may make good. He will giue, but with great deliberation, making choice of the worthieſt as remembring himſelfe, that he is to giue an account both of his expences and receits. He will giue vpon a iuſt and reaſonable cauſe, for to giue euilly, is a ſhamefull loſſe. He will haue his boſome open, but not rent, out of which much money ſhall paſſe, but nothing ſhall be loſt.

Chap. XXIV.

Of the vſe of Goods in regard of the diuers reliefe of our neighbours, and how we ought to giue.

HE deceiueth himſelfe, whoſoeuer thinketh that it is an eaſie matter to giue; This thing hath great difficultie in it, if ſo be it be giuen with iudgement, not ſcattered by aduenture or raſhly. I gaine the heart of ſuch a man, I reſtore vnto another; I ſuccour this man, I take pittie on that man; I furniſh ſuch an one, becauſe he deſerueth to be warranted from pouertie, and to be no more buſied in ſeeking his fortune. To ſome I will not giue although he want; becauſe, although I ſhould giue, yet will he ſtill be needie. To ſome will I offer, and otherſome will I preſſe to take, I cannot be negligent in this thing, I neuer obliege ſo many vnto my profit as when I giue. What ſaiſt thou, doſt thou giue to receiue againe? Yea, to the end I may not loſe; yet muſt the gift that is giuen be in ſuch hands whence it may not bee redemanded, it may be reſtored. Let a benefit bee beſtowed like a treaſure that is deepely hidden, which thou wilt not digge vp, except thou haſt neede of it. What? hath not a rich mans houſe aboundant matter to doe good? For who would tie liberality only to cittizens and men of account? Nature cõmandeth vs to doe good vnto men, whether they be ſlaues or freemen, whether they be naturally bred, or by manumiſſion freed of iniuſt libertie, or giuen amongſt friends. What is that to the matter? Whereſoeuer a man is, there is a place of benefit. The wiſe man likewiſe may ſpred his money in his owne houſe, and exerciſe liberalitie, which is not ſo called, becauſe it is giuen to free-men, but becauſe it proceedeth from a free minde. This liberalitie of a wiſe man, is neuer employed vpon filthy and vnworthy perſons, neither is it euer ſo wearied, but that as often as he findeth out a worthy receiuer, it floweth abundantly; you are not therefore to giue a ſiniſter interpretation, to thoſe things that are ſpoken honeſtly, manfully, and ſtoutly, by thoſe that are louers of wiſedome. But conſider this firſt of all, that there is a difference betwixt him that is ſtudious of wiſedome, and him that is wiſe and hath gotten wiſedome.

He

He that hath wiſedome will ſay vnto thee, I ſpeake iuſtly, yet am I entangled with many vices. You are not to require of mee a life that is euery way correſpondent to my words, whereas I indeuour as much as I may to make and form my ſelfe, and addreſſe my ſelfe according to an excellent patterne. If I proceede as well as I haue intended, require this of me, that my deedes may bee anſwerable to my words. But he that hath attained the fulneſſe of wiſedome, will deale otherwiſe with thee, and will ſay. Firſt of all, thou art not to permit thy ſelfe to giue ſentence of thy betters; for now already (which is the argument that I am in the right way) I haue gotten thus farre as to diſpleaſe euill men. But to let thee know, that I enuie no mortall man, heare what I promiſe thee, and how much I eſtimate euery thing. I denie that riches are good, for if they were, they ſhould make good men: but now ſince that which is found amongſt euill men, cannot be called good, I deny them this name, yet confeſſe I that they are to be had, that they are profitable, and bring great commodities.

Chap. XXV.

Although a wiſe man poſſeſſeth riches, hee accounteth them not for true goods, and why he had rather haue them, then haue them not.

Heare therefore what the cauſe is, why I number them not amongſt goods, and what thing I conſider in them, more then you, ſince it is agreed betweene vs both that they are to bee had. Put mee into a rich houſe; put me there where I ſhall bee ordinarily ſerued in ſiluer and golde; I will not be proud for all this, which, although I haue by me, yet are they without me. Transferre mee to a woodden bridge, and driue me amongſt the beggers, I will not therefore deſpiſe my ſelfe, becauſe I ſit amongſt them, who thruſt out their hand to haue an almes giuen them; for what is this to the matter, whether a cruſt of bread bee wanting to him, who wants not the power to die? What then is it? I had rather haue that faire houſe then a bridge. Lodge me in a rich bed with delicate hangings and goodly furniture, I will not ſuppoſe my ſelfe more happy, becauſe I haue ſoft and ſilken couerings vpon me, and becauſe purple carpets are ſpred for my gueſts to ſit vpon. I ſhall bee no whit more miſerable, if my wearied head reſt it ſelfe vpon a locke of haye, or if I lie vpon a Circenſian and broken pad, whence the ſtraw breaketh forth, through the rotten and ragged linnen. What therefore is it? I had rather ſhew what my manner were in cleanly and decent apparrell, then with halfe couered or naked ſhoulders. Though all the dayes of my life ſhould be pleaſant, and that one honour ſhould draw on others that are new, I would not bee a whit prouder for all this. Change to the contrary this indulgence of time; let my mind bee wounded euery wayes with loſſes, ſorrowes, and diuers incurſions: Let not an houre ſlip without ſome complaint, yet will I not ſay, that I am wretched amongſt the wretcheſt; I will not therefore curſe my day, for I haue already reſolued with my ſelfe, that no day ſhould ſeeme fatall vnto mee. What therefore is it? I had rather temperate my ioyes, then ſtill my ſorrowes. This will *Socrates* ſay vnto thee: Make me the conqueror of all nations; let that delicate and triumphant Chariot of *Bacchus* carry me as far as *Thebes* from the ſun-riſe; Let the *Perſian* Kings require Lawes at my hands, then will I thinke my ſelfe moſt of all to be a man when all the world ſhall ſalute me for a god. Ioyne to this ſodaine greatneſſe, a contrary change; Let them caſt me vpon a hurdle, to bee led in ſhew in the triumph of ſome proud and inſolent enemy by reaſon of his victory; I will

march with such a countenance behind his Chariot, as I did when I was mounted in mine. What therefore is it? I had rather ouercome then be taken. I will despise the whole Kingdome of Fortune; out of that if I may take my choice, I will chuse the best and most pleasing. Whatsoeuer betalleth me, I will repute it good, but I desire they should be easie and pleasant, and such as should least trouble me in the handling of them. For, thou must not thinke that there is any vertue without labour, but some vertues neede spurs, other some raines: Euen as the body that ascendeth a hie place ought to be kept backe, and he that ascendeth vpon shou'd beare forward: so some vertues are as it were descending, some that are troublesome to mount. Is it to be doubted, but that patience, valour, and perseuerance, (and other vertues opposed to afflictions, and tread fortune vnder foote,) are such vertues as mount and aduance themselues with trauell, and outstrip many difficulties? What therefore? Is it not as apparent, that libertie, temperance and clemency march downewards? In these we containe our minde, lest it slip. In those we encourage and incite: So then when there shall be question of pouertie, we will arme our selues with the strongest, best disposed, and such as know best how to fight: in the vse of riches, wee will call the other which will march leasurely, and sustaine the weight.

Chap. XXVI.

What difference there is betwixt a foole and a wise man, when as both would be rich.

THis being thus distinguished, I had rather haue the vse of those vertues, the exercise whereof is peaceable, then to assay those other that make a man sweate bloud and water. I therefore, saith the Wise-man, liue not otherwise then I speake, but you heare otherwise then you should: onely the sound of words is come to your eares, but what they signifie you inquire not. What difference then is there betwixt me a foole, and thee a wise man, if both of vs will haue wealth? Great: for riches are to the wise man as his slaues, to the foole as his commanders. The wise man giueth not any authority to riches, but they master you wholly: you, as though some one had promised you an eternall possession of them, accustome your selues to them, and cleaue vnto them. The wise-man doth then most of all meditate vpon pouertie, when as he is in the midst of his riches. Neuer doth an Emperour so trust to peace, that he prepareth not for warre, which he reputeth to be already proclaimed, although as yet they are not come to handy strokes. A faire house, as though it could neuer burne nor fall downe, maketh you insolent. Riches doe amaze you, as if they were out of all danger, and were greater then that fortune had power enough to consume them. Idleing you enuie your riches, neither foresee you the danger of them. Wherein you behaue your selues like Barbarians besieged in a place, who set their armes acrosse, beholding those that besiege them trauelling after certaine engines, and know not what they be, neither vnderstand wherto men will make vse of these engines of battery, which are addressed farre off from the Wall. The same befalleth you, you rot in your goods, neither thinke you what casualties hang ouer your heads euery waies, and that sodainely shall plucke from you the faireſt and the richest spoiles. Whosoeuer shall take away a wise mans riches shall leaue him that which is his, for he liueth being contented with those things that were present, and secure of the future. I haue neuer so much perswaded my selfe, saith *Socrates*, or any other that hath the same right and

power

power ouer humane affaires, as to apply my manner of liuing to your opinions. Vſe your accuſtomed habits euery way. I wil not thinke them to be the iniuries of men, but the cries of little children. Thus will hee ſpeake that hath gotten and attained wiſedome, whoſe mind being freed from all vice, will loathe him to reprehend others, not becauſe he hateth them, but becauſe he would amend them. To theſe will he adde: Your reputation moueth me, not in mine owne reſpect, but for your cauſe: When I ſee you hate and harrow vertue, it is a forſwearing of good hope. You doe me no more iniurie, then they doe the gods, who ouerturne their altars; but your euill intent, and euill counſell appeareth euen there where it could not hurt. Thus beare I with your impertinencies, euen as almighty *Iupiter* doth the follies of the *Poets*; Wherof one of them giueth him wings, another hornes, another brought him forth as an adulterer; another, as a night-watcher; another, as cruell towards the gods; another, as vniuſt towards men; another as a rauiſher, and corrupter of children of free condition and of good parentage; another, for a parricide, and ſuch a one as hath inuaded other mens dominions, yea, the kingdome of his owne father: all which was to no other end, but to take from men (who beliued that the gods were ſuch) all ſhame of doing euill. But although theſe things hurt mee nothing, yet doe I warne you for your owne ſakes, and counſell you to embrace vertue. Beleeue thoſe that haue long time followed her, crie out that they follow ſome great thing, and that one day or other, will ſhew it ſelfe more excellent and honour her as the gods, and reuerence thoſe that ſerue her, as you would doe the profeſſors and prieſts of the gods: and as often as there is any mention made of the ſacred letters, keepe your ſilence: for this word is not deriued from fauour, as diuers men ſuppoſe, but ſilence is commanded, that the ſacrifice might be duely performed without any interruption.

Fauete linguis non à fauore.

Chap. XXVII.

By reaſon of ſilence whereof he entreateth, he ſheweth by an expreſſe compariſon, that there are not any people in the world more carefully to be liſtned vnto then wiſemen, and they that are vertuous, & therefore he introduceth Socrates as the moſt excellent who magnifieth vertue, and ſheweth that happy life conſiſteth in the ſame.

WHich ſo much the rather ought to be inioyned you, becauſe that as often as any thing is vttered by that Oracle, with an intent and humble voice, you may heare the ſame. When ſome apoſtate Prieſt maketh a man beleeue, that the ſiſter of *Apollo* hath ſwouned, when any one well learned to carue the fleſh from his muskles, woundeth himſelfe both in armes and ſhoulders with a ſparing hand: when ſom woman creeping vpon her knees along the waies howleth, and an old man apparelled in liunen, carrying in his hands a lanterne and a candle at midday, crieth out that ſome one of the gods are diſpleaſed; you flocke about him, and liſten, and entertaining one anothers mutuall amaſe, you affirme, that he is ſome Prophet. Behold *Socrates* crieth out from that priſon, into which when he entred it, he clenſed it, & made it more honeſt then any Court of plea. What madneſſe is this? What nature is this ſo oppoſite againſt gods and men? to defame vertues, and to violate holy things with malignant ſpeeches? If you can, praiſe good men; if not, paſſe by them. But if you take pleaſure to exerciſe this vnbridled liberty, aſſaile one another: for when you are mad againſt heauen (I ſay not that you commit ſacriledge) but you loſe your labors. Sometimes I miniſtred matter to *Ariſtophanes* to breake his ieſt vpon me, and all that band of comicke Poets powred out their enuenomed ſcoffes againſt mee: my vertue grew more famous by theſe very meanes, whereby they aſſayled her; for it behoueth

behoueth her to be produced and attempted; neither doe any men more vnderſtand what he is, then they, who by prouoking her, haue tired her forces. The hardneſſe of the flint ſtone is knowne to no men more then to thoſe who ſtrike vpon it: I preſent my ſelfe vnto you in ſuch ſort, as a rocke in midſt of a tempeſtuous ſea, the which is on euery ſide, and inceſſantly beaten with the waues; and yet notwithſtanding continues in his place, and neither by length of time, nor by the aſſaults of the ſame, is any wayes conſumed. Enforce your ſelues againſt me, and leaue me at your pleaſure, I will ouercome you with patience; whatſoeuer he be that attempteth thoſe things that are firme and impregnable, imployeth his forces to the ruine of himſelfe. And therefore ſeeke out ſome more ſoft and yeelding matter, wherein you may fixe your weapons. But haue you ſo much leaſure as to examine other mens faults, and to giue your cenſures of any man: why this Philoſpher hath ſo faire a houſe? why the other ſuppeth more daintily? you obſerue puſtules and little ſpots in other men, being your ſelues beſieged with vlcers. It is as much as if you ſhould carpe at ſome mens freckles and warts which ſhould appeare in their faireſt bodies, and you your ſelues were ouergrowne with a loathſome ſcab. Obiect againſt *Plato*, that he deſired money; againſt *Ariſtotle*, that hee receiued the ſame; againſt *Democritus*, that he neglected it; againſt the Epicure, that hee ſpent it; obiect againſt me *Alcibiades* and *Phædrus*. O how happy ſhould you be! when you could but counterfeit our vices! But why rather examine you not you owne vices which wound you on euery ſide; the one aſſayling you outwardly, the other burning in your bowels? The affaires of the world are not brought to that paſſe, (although you are wholly ignorant of your eſtates) that you may haue ſo much leaſure as to employ the reſt of your time, and your tongues in detraction of good men.

Chap. XXVIII.

The continuation of a wiſe mans diſcourſe in the perſon of Socrates.

THis vnderſtand you not, and you carrie another countenance then becommeth your fortune; euen as many men doe, who ſitting in the Circus or Theater, haue ſome one dead in their houſes, and are wholly ignorant of that which hath happened. But I beholding from a high place, ſee what tempeſts either hang ouer your heads, (that will ſomewhat later breake from out their cloud, to ſuch as are neere at hand,) which ſhall rauiſh both you and yours away, as ſoone as they ſhall meete you. And why? ſee you not already likewiſe, (although you haue little ſence thereof,) a certaine tempeſt that tranſporteth your mindes, and hurleth you vp, flying and purſuing the ſame thing, and rauiſheth you now lifted vp on high; now battereth you againſt the ground.

The end of the Diſcourſe touching a bleſſed Life.

THE TRANQVILITIE AND PEACE OF THE *MINDE.*

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

AND DEDICATED TO *SERENVS.*

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

AND this Booke is to be numbered amongst those that are profitable and worthie both for their matter and handling. It was written in the beginning of his returne from his banishment when he was admitted to the Court and preferred to be NEROES *Schoolemaster. This appeareth by these words, in his first Chapter. This dissolution abashed me, and this aboundance of delight spreading it selfe, and sounding round about mee, rauished mee, comming from a place where I had long time setled my selfe to liue in obscuritie. He toucheth and taxeth the dissolution of the Court, which before times was vnknowne and hatefull vnto him. The order in the handling hereof is confused, yea scarcely is there any, neither any one ouer-sight or defect (vnlesse I bee deceiued) appeareth in many things; but this is the summe hereof. The occasion of his writing hee draweth from his inconstancy and irresolution, his minde being neither setled or quiet in any sort. This saith he is their custome who are in the way to wisedome, but haue not as yet attained the same, nor tasted the fruit thereof, which is Tranquilitie. O great good, and what is it? he describeth the same. How shall I attaine thereunto? by flying inconstancy. What then is she? her he punctually describeth, she is driuen away by diuers remedies, first by occupation, and that either publike (if the times or thy vnderstanding admit it) or priuate, to the end, thou mayest conuerse amongst the best studies and meditations. Yet must not we suddenly flie from the Common-weale, that there are many parts thereof, and that wee haue libertie to embrace any one of them. This vntill the fourth Chapter. Then addeth he, if we intend businesse, three things are to bee considered; our selues, the businesse, or men for whose cause, or with whom we act. In our selues our forces are to be examined, what and how farre they may, neither let vs attempt further. In our affaires, what are we able to ouercome them, whether likewise there be a chaine of them, and whether*

whether they leade vs farther that our returnes ought to be alwaies free. In men: whether they be worthie of our labor or expence of time. But they are not vaine, ambitious, neither occupied in any ſerious matter. Afterwards in the ſeuenth Chapter, he addeth but ſcarce to the purpoſe: That an eſpeciall and perfect friend is an entertainement of Tranquility and delight, but ſuch an one as is not of an euill diſpoſition, and ſuch as accuſeth all things: Againe, there is no perfect text; and in the eight Chapter of the meanes of Patrimonie, that it bee not great nor ſmall to nouriſh Tranquilitie, but meane and apt, and that may be maintained by parſimony. But exceſſe is to be auoided, yea in the very inſtruments of life, as in our Libraries or Bookes. After this he ouer-ſlippeth in the tenth Chapter, and prooueth that troubles befall in euery eſtate of life, but that they are mollified by cuſtome, by beholding another mans Fortune, which oftitimes is the worſt. Likewiſe that deſires are not to be baniſhed farre from vs, but left neere vnto vs, and eaſie to be laid hold on. And thus inſtructeth he a proficient and young Scholler, for a wiſe man hath no neede to fight, for he ouercommeth all Fortune, which hee fore-thinketh to bee this or that, and by fore-ſight thereof mollifieth and breaketh it. This vntill the twelfth Chapter. After that another Tract, that we are not to trauell in vnneceſſary matters, neither as much as in vs lyeth, in forraine. He vrgeth Democritvs *heauenly precept: That many things are not done, either priuately or publikely. Preſently after in the foureteenth Chapter, he driueth vs from Leuitie and Pertinacy. That is, neither buſily to change in life, neither if thou haſt choſen euill, obſtinately to cleaue vnto that, but to behold all things with an equall and almoſt a pleaſing countenance. For what is life, but a ieſt? Laſtly in the ſixteenth Chapter, that ſimulation is to be fled, and too carefull compoſition of a mans ſelfe. Let ſimplicitie be entertayned, and ſometimes mirth, yea, and ſometimes, banquet and freer drinking. This drowneth cares, and freeth and extolleth the minde. In the end he concludeth, that he hath ſet downe what they are that may maintaine Tranquilitie, and may reſtore it, by which you may ſee what the partition was, but truely it is not exſtant at this preſent. Therefore as many things of* Senecaes, *are the wordes to bee prayſed in part, the order of the whole is defectiue, and that either by the iniuries of the time, or at leaſtwiſe by the negligence of tranſcriptors.*

Chap. I.

Seneca introduceth Serenus *or ſome other in his beginning, to whom he diſcouereth the infirmitie of his mind, and demandeth remede at his hands to ſettle them.*

DEbating with my ſelfe *Serenus*, and examining my preſent life, there were ſome vices of mine that appeared openly, and ſubiect to euery eye, and ſuch as I might touch with the hand; ſome more obſcure and cloſely hidden, ſome other that were not continuall, but ſuch as returned at certaine times and ſpaces; and theſe of all the reſt were moſt troubleſome, becauſe (if I may ſo ſpeake it) they reſemble ſuch enemies, as charge and aſſault at vnawares, which keepe me either from being alwaies ready, as in time of warre; or to liue in ſecuritie, as I ought to doe, in time of peace: yet principally obſerue I this habitude in my ſelfe, (for why ſhould I not diſcloſe the truth, ſince thou art my Phyſitian?) that neither I am truely and intirely deliuered from theſe which I feared and hated, neither againe ſubiect vnto them. I am in your eſtate,

ſtate, that is not altogether ſo euill; yet doe I nothing but complaine my ſelfe, neither find I any thing that may content me: I am not ſicke, and yet I am not well. Thou muſt not here tell me, that all the beginnings of vertues are feeble, and that in time their continuance and ſtrength is increaſed: I know well that theſe things which are of conſequence, as honour and reputation, to be eloquent, and all that whereupon our neighbours ground their iudgement, are fortified by time; and thoſe that require ſome prouiſion of true force, and they that are farded to pleaſe the eyes, reſpect ſome yeares, vntill ſuch time as by little and little they get ſome time that may giue them tincture. But I feare leſt cuſtome which bringeth conſtancy to things, fixe this imperfection more deepely in mee. A long conuerſation either with good or euill men induceth loue. But I cannot ſhew thee ſo well at once, as in part, what this infirmity of the mind is, which is houered now this way, now that way, without ſtaying it ſelfe reſolutely on that which is good, and without declining alſo vnto the euill. I will tell thee what befalleth mee; giue my infirmity afterwards what name thou pleaſeſt. Great is my loue to parſimony, I confeſſe it; I like not a bed ambitiouſly furniſhed, I like not a garment newly drawne from the coffer, nor brought from the preſſe, where to make it ſhine it hath indured a thouſand weights and torments; but a homely rayment, proper for the time, that hath not beene horded vp, nor is to be worne with too much care; that meate pleaſeth mee that few men may dreſſe, and leſſe Pages attend, that is readily prepared, and that paſſeth through a few mens hands, that is eaſily gotten and eaſily dreſt, that is neither ſcanty nor deare, that may be found in all places, that neither ſpendeth the patrimony, nor hurteth the body, nor is like to bee returned by the way it entred. I like a homely and a home-bred ſeruant, olde and ruſtike plate, ſuch as my father vſed, without theſe neſh faſhions, and the workemans marke: a table not checkered nor renowmed amongſt the people, becauſe that diuers men had beene maſters of it, who loued to make good cheere; but fit for my vſe, which for the beauty thereof ſhall not bewitch the eyes of my gueſts with pleaſure, nor inkindle them with enuy. After I had taken pleaſure to ſee theſe things abouеſaid, if I happen to fixe mine eye vpon ſome mans ſeruants and ſlaues, better furniſhed and more richly apparreled then mine; if I ſee a houſe wherein nothing is trod vpon but that which is precious, where riches are ſcattered in euery corner of the houſe, where the rooфes ſhine with gold, and where the flattering people haunt, which follow and attend thoſe patrimonies that fall to ruine. If I behold the fountaines ſo cleere that a man might ſee the bottome, which inceſſantle runne about thoſe places where the feaſts are ſolemnized: the princely ſeruices of the table anſwerable to the reſt of the magnificence; theſe things amaze mee, and this delicious abundance comming to ſpread it ſelfe, and to ſound about me who came from a place where I haue liued a long time ſetled in a ſolitary life, rauiſheth mee wholly, my ſight is dulled ſomewhat, I more eaſily lift vp my minde then mine eyes againſt ſuch pompe: I depart therefore not worſe but diſcontent; neither walke I ſo ioyfull and merrie amidſt my brittle houſhold-ſtuffe, and a ſilent diſguſt and doubt aſſaileth mee, whether that traine were not better then mine: none of theſe change me, yet euery one of them ſhake me. Sometimes I am ready to follow that which my Maiſters haue commanded me, and to thruſt my ſelfe into the affaires of Eſtate. I am content to accept of honours and magiſtracy, not perſwaded to vndertake the ſame, either for purple ornaments or golden rods, but that being thus aduanced I might bee more proper and

and better disposed to doe pleasures to my friends, my kinsfolke, my Citizens, yea, and all mortall men. I follow *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, *Crysippus*, no one of all which intermedled with the Common-weale, though euery one of them counsailed others thereunto. But when I had induced my minde thereunto, which is not accustomed to such debates, if any vnworthy matter present it selfe (as in all humane life there are too many,) or if it goe not forward easily, or that things slight and friuolous require much time to be imployed in them; I returne backe againe to my solitude, and doe as beasts that are tired and wearied, that runne more swiftly then they haue done all the day before when they draw neere vnto their Stable: then is my mind conceited to containe it selfe within mine owne walles. Let no man hence-forward take one day from me, which cannot restore mee a sufficient recompence for so great a losse, let my mind cleaue vnto him selfe, let him seeme himselfe: let him not intend forraine businesses, or any thing that is subiect to euery mans censure; let Tranquillitie be loued which is voyde of priuate and publike cares. But when as reading hath rouzed and lifted vp my minde to more confidence, and noble examples haue pricked me forward: I take a pleasure to haunt the iudgement court, to lend one man my voice, another man my labour, which although it profit him not, yet was it aimed for his profit, to restraine another mans pride in the iudgement court, too badly puffed vp by his too great fortunes. In studies me thinks vndoubtedly that it is better to contemplate the things themselues and to discourse vpon them, and to fit them with conuenient words, so as without search they may be subiect to the thing that is in question. What neede wee to compose workes that shall continue for many ages? Wilt thou beate thy braine to the end that men may speake of thee when thou art out of the world! Thou art borne to dye, the secret funerall hath the least troubles. If therefore thou wilt write any thing to passe the time withall, write it in a simple stile for thine owne vse, not to affect praise. They that studie for a day need no great labour. Againe, when my soule is lifted vp with the greatnesse of thoughts, she is ambitious in coyning words, and as her conceptions are great, so endeuoureth she to be eloquent; and according to the dignitie of the subiect is the carriage of the stile. Then forgetting this law, and this restrayned iudgement, I am carried aloft, and speake now by another mans mouth. And not to prosecute the rest more at large, in al things this infirmity of a good mind altereth me, and I am afraid lest it should escape me by litle & litle, or (which is yet more tedious) that I am not alwaies in suspence and doubt as hee that feareth to fall, and hath as yet no more euill then I could foresee. For we iudge of our priuate affaires and behold them familiarly, and fauour is alwaies a hinderance vnto iudgement. I thinke that many men might haue attained wisedome except they had thought that they had attained the same; except they had dissembled something in themselues, and ouerpassed some things with open eyes. For thou must not thinke that other mens flattery maketh vs so euill as our owne doth. What man is hee that dare speake truth vnto himselfe? Who is hee that being placed amidst the troopes of his commenders and Flatterers, that flattereth not himselfe more then all the rest? I pray thee therefore if thou hast any remedy to stay this debate of my soule, that thou wilt honour mee with this good, that I may say that thou art hee that hast set mee at quiet. I know well that the motions of my soule are not dangerous, prouided that they be not ouer violent. To expresse vnto thee in an apt similitude the matter whereof I complaine, I am not tormented with the storme

but

but I haue a prouocation to vomit. Take from me then this paine whatſoeuer it be, and helpe him that is ſicke in the ſight of the land.

Chap. II.

He ſheweth firſt of all the difference that is betwixt thoſe that feele troubles of their minds, and others that haue no apprehenſion thereof, or that take pleaſure to be in trouble. Then declareth he how the firſt ſhould be handled.

TRuly, my *Serenus*, I haue long agoe ſought for ſuch a one without ſpeaking a word of it, that had ſuch and the like thought in his mind. There is nothing that admoniſheth me more neerely then their example, who being deliuered from a long & grieuous ſickneſſe, feele as yet by times ſome ſhiuering and ſlight motions: and when as they haue bin freed from the reliques of their infirmitie, yet are they diſquieted by ſome ſuſpitions of a relaps; and being already whole, offer their hand to the Phyſition to feele their pulſe, and ſuſpect euery heat and motion of their bodie. Such mens bodies, *Serenus*, are healthfull enough, yet are they not as yet well accuſtomed thereto, but haue a certaine trembling agitation, reſembling that of the calme ſea or ſome lake when a tempeſt is ceaſed on it. They haue therfore need not of thoſe harder remedies which we likewiſe ouer-paſſe, as in ſome place to oppoſe thy ſelfe againſt thy paſſions, in ſome place to be diſpleaſed, in ſome other place to be more grieuouſly angry: but we haue moſt need of that which commeth laſt, that thou truſt thy ſelfe, & belieueſt that thou art in a good way, being no waies diſtracted by the by-walkes of many men wandring here and there, and of ſome that erre about the way. But that which thou deſireſt, which is, not to be ſhaken, is a great and perfect thing, and approcheth the felicitie of God. This ſtable ſeate of the minde the Grecians call εὐθυμίαν, whereof *Democritus* hath written an excellent volume. I call it *Tranquillitie*, neither is it neceſſarie to imitate or to mould new words, according to their forme. It ſufficeth that the thing which is in queſtion hath a name which expreſſeth the force of the Greeke word, without repreſenting the letters. So then we demand how the ſpirit may remaine alwaies like vnto himſelfe, march with an equall traine, be fauourable to himſelfe, and behold his attempts with a good eye, to be ioyfull and content, neither raiſing nor depreſſing himſelfe ouer-much. This ſhalbe called Tranquillity, but let vs inquire in general how we may attaine hereunto: take thou as much of the publique remedy as thou wilt; meane while, I will diſcouer the whole vice, whereby euery man may know his part, and thou likewiſe mayeſt vnderſtand how leſſe trouble thou haſt with the loathing of thy ſelfe, then they who tying themſelues to a faire ſhew, and labouring vnder a great title, would willingly diſcouer themſelues, but I know not what ſhame entertaineth them. All are in the ſame ranke, both they which are vexed with leuity & anxiety, and a continual change of their purpoſe, who are alwaies better pleaſed with that which they haue left; and thoſe that watch and gape after vain hopes. Adde vnto thoſe men likewiſe, ſuch who are not trãſported in their life by the means of inconſtancie, but thorow their ſloth. They liue not as they would, but as they began: moreouer, there are innumerable other properties, but only one effect of the vice, which is to diſpleaſe themſelues. This ſpringeth from the intemperature of the mind, & from feareful and ſcarce proſperous deſires, whereas they dare not as much as they deſire, or attain not the ſame, and are wholly bent vpon hope alwaies inſtable and mutable, which muſt needes befall thoſe that liue in ſuſpence. Their whole life is in expectation, and they teach and inforce themſelues to diſhoneſt and difficult things, and whereas their labour is in vaine, they are vexed with their fruitleſſe diſgrace:

neither are they ſorie becauſe they haue done euill, but that they willed the ſame in vaine. Then repent they themſelues that they had begun, and feare to beginne it againe, and afterward they are ſurpriſed with a confuſion of the mind which cannot finde iſſue, becauſe they neyther can commaund nor obey their deſires; ſo that they leade a life which cannot be exempt from confuſion, and haue their minds tied and languiſhing amidſt fruitleſſe vowes and deſires: and all theſe are more grieuous vnto them, when as in deſpight of that misfortune that trauaileth them, they would haue recourſe vnto repoſe, and to ſecret ſtudies, which the mind cannot indure that is fixed on the affaires of the world, deſirous to be in action, by nature vnquiet, and hauing little ſolace in himſelfe. And therefore their delights being drawne from them, which their occupations miniſtred vnto them; being thus left vnto himſelfe, the mind endureth neither houſe nor ſolitude, the walls are diſpleaſant to him, and being thus abandoned by himſelfe, he vnwillingly beholdeth himſelfe, now in one ſort, and after in another. From thence proceedeth this tedioufneſſe, this contempt of himſelfe, this perpetuall agitation of the minde, this ſad and feeble patience in repoſe, eſpecially when he is aſhamed to confeſſe the cauſe, when ſhame tormenteth him inwardly, when couetous deſires cloſe vp his heart, when none of theſe finding iſſue, ſtrangle one another. Thence commeth that ſadneſſe and conſumption, and a thouſand flouds and aſſaults of the vncertaine mind, held in ſuſpence by the enterpriſes he hath begun, abated by the remẽbrance of the remediles eſtate of his preſent affairs. Thence groweth that thought which maketh them deteſt the repoſe they enioy, complaine themſelues that they haue nothing to doe, and to beare endleſſe hatred and enuie at other mens proſperitie; For vnhappie idleneſſe is the nurſe of enuie, and all of them deſire to be dead, becauſe they could not outſtrip others. This enuie conceiued againſt other mens fortunes, and his owne diſgraces, cauſeth the minde to fret and murmure againſt fortune, to accuſe the malice of the time, to retire himſelfe into ſome corner apart, and to ſtoope vnder his torment, in fretting and conſuming himſelfe. For mans mind is ſwift, and readie to be moued, and reioyceth verie much when any occaſion is offered to exerciſe himſelfe. But aboue all others, this pleaſeth thoſe men that are malignant, whoſe mindes are ſharpened and ordinarily whetted in mannaging affaires. Euen as there are certaine vlcers that are glad to be rubbed, and deſire to be handled, & their itch is not pacified except a man ſcratch it; So theſe ſpirits which are ſeazed with deſires, as with malignant vlcers, take no pleaſure but in trauaile and affliction; For there are certaine infirmities which delight our bodies with a kind of paine, witneſſe thoſe that turne themſelues on this ſide, now on that, and refreſh themſelues in changing their bed. Such was *Achilles* in *Homer*, ſometimes he lay vpon his belly, then vpon his backe, and could neuer remaine in one eſtate. It is the true act of a ſicke man not to be able to ſuffer any thing long time, but to think that his health conſiſteth in his toſſing and turning. Hence are diuers trauells vndertaken, and ſhoares ſought out, and leuitie which is alwaies an enemie to thoſe things which are preſent, now by ſea, and then by land, aduentureth daily. Let vs goe now into *Campania*, now that delicate ſoyle delighteth vs, let vs viſite the wood Countries, let vs viſite the Forreſt of *Calabria*, and let vs ſeeke ſome pleaſure amidſt the deſerts, in ſuch ſort as theſe wandring eyes of ours may be relieued in beholding at our pleaſure the ſtrange ſolitude of theſe ſauage places. We muſt goe ſee *Tarentum*, and the hauen ſo much eſteemed, and the aire ſo ſweet in Winter, and the ſtately houſes of theſe ancient people.

Let

Let vs returne to *Rome* backe againe, our eares haue too long time beene eſtranged from the applauſe of the Theater, and the Circenſian ſports, now would I take pleaſure to ſee mens bloud ſpilt. Behold here how one voyage begetteth another, and how after we haue ſeene one thing we long for another.

After this manner each man flies himſelfe.

But what profiteth it him to flie if he cannot eſcape, he runneth after himſelfe, and hath a verie dangerous companie that attendeth him. Let vs therefore know that the euill that preſſeth vs, commeth not from the place, but from our ſelues. There is no affliction how light ſoeuer it be, that is not ouer-waighty for vs, we are neither patient of labour or pleaſure, we cannot beare our owne affaires, nor any thing elſe. Some by reaſon hereof haue procured their owne deaths, becauſe that oftentimes hauing changed their deliberation, they fell backe againe alwaies into the ſame, and met with nothing that is new, by means whereof both their life & this world began to diſpleaſe them, and theſe words which are the ſignes of fooliſh and enraged pleaſures, come into their heads: *How long ſhall we alwaies ſee the ſame?*

Chap. III.

THou askeſt mee, what remedie I thinke neceſſarie againſt this perplexitie. It ſhall be good (as *Athenodorus* counſaileth vs) to detaine our ſelues in affaires of Eſtate, and to ſerue the Common-weale. For as ſome ſpend the day in taking the Sunne, and in exerciſes and care of their bodies, and as it is profitable for wraſtlers to employ the moſt part of their time in exerciſing their armes and ſtrength whereunto they haue onely dedicated themſelues; ſo is it requiſite for vs who prepare our minds to the managing of publique affaires, to be alwaies in action. For he that hath reſolued himſelfe to become profitable to his Citizens, yea vnto all men, at one time doth two things, handling (according to that indeauour that is giuen him) both the publique and his particular affaires. But becauſe (ſaith he) in this ſo mad ambition of men, where ſo many detractors wreſt all things to the worſt; ſimplicitie is ſcarce ſecure, and there will be alwaies more lets then ſucceſſull euents, we ought to retire our ſelues from the managing of publique affaires; conſidering this, that a well ſetled heart hath the meanes to ſhew it ſelfe in his priuate houſe. It fareth not ſo with men who for the moſt part haue their actions ſecret and hidden, as with Lyons and other bruit beaſts, who are locked vp in their grates to reſtraine their furie; yet in ſuch ſort ought a man to ſeeke out ſolitude, that whereſoeuer he remayneth in quiet, he may deſire that the vigor of his mind, his ſpeech, & action, may ſerue euery one in particular, and all in generall. For not onely he alone ſerueth the Common-weale that produceth the Candidates to ſue for offices, that defendeth the accuſed, who giueth his aduice as touching the affaires of peace and warre, but alſo that other that inſtruct youth, that in ſo great want of good maners informeth mens mindes with vertue, that layeth hold on, and reſtrayneth thoſe who are addicted to auarice and diſſolution, or at leaſt wiſe that hindereth them from paſſing further, and who in his priuate houſe procureth the publique good. Who doth more, eyther the Iudge in a Citie that with his aſſiſtant pronounceth a briefe ſentence in a proceſſe that ſtrangers and Citizens haue before him? or hee that teacheth what iuſtice is, that ſheweth what

For a firſt remedy he requireth that the minde ſhould be occupied in ſome vocation which might be profitable to others.

pietie, wiſedome, pureneſſe, contempt of death are, and how excellent a good conſcience is? If then thou imployeſt thy time in ſtudie, thou haſt not loſt theſe honours that are due to the execution of thy charge concerning the publique, neyther ſhalt thou be exempted from the ſame. Neyther is he a ſouldier that ſtandeth in the front of the battell, and defendeth both the right and left wings: but he alſo that gardeth the gates, & ſtandeth ſentinell in a place though not ſo dangerous, yet neceſſarie, and keepeth his watch, that hath the gouernment of the Ammunition houſe; which charges though they be not bloudie, yet haue they (that execute them) their pay as well as the reſt. If thou ſhalt retire thy ſelfe to thy ſtudies, thou ſhalt auoyde all care that tortureth mans life, thou ſhalt not be troubleſome to thy ſelf, nor vnprofitable to others; thou ſhalt get thee many friends, and the better ſort of men will accept thee. For vertue, although ſhe be poore and abiect, yet is ſhe neuer obſcured, but ſhe ſheweth the beames of her brightnes a farre off, and whoſoeuer is capable wil acknowledge, and follow her ſteps. For if we renounce all conuerſation, and flie from humane ſocietie, and liue onely to our priuate reſpect, this ſolitude depriued of all honeſt occupation, wil find nothing at laſt whereto to addict her ſelfe; we ſhall begin to build ſome houſes, and to ouer-turne others; we ſhall turne the ſea out of his place; we ſhall cauſe the riuers to alter their courſes, and diſpence the time very euilly which Nature gaue vs to beſtow well. Sometimes we are too ſparing, ſometimes ouer-prodigall, ſome of vs imploy the ſame in ſuch ſort that we can yeeld no account thereof, others haue none left them. And therefore there is nothing more ſhameſull then to ſee an old man (that to approue that he hath liued long time in this world) can produce no other witneſſe but the number of his yeres. For mine owne part (my deareſt *Serenus*) me thinkes that *Athenodorus* ſubmitted himſelfe too much to times, and fled from them ouer haſtily. I confeſſe well that wee ought ſometimes to retire our ſelues, but leaſurely, and with a ſecure retreat, our enſignes diſplaied, & without impeachment of our worldly dignity. They are more valiant, & more aſſured then their Conquerors, that make a faire and honeſt retreat. So in my opinion ought vertue to behaue her ſelfe: and if the inconſtancie of worldly affaires diſturbe all, and taketh away from a vertuous man the meanes to do good; yet for all this ought he not to turn his back, nor to caſt away his weapons to ſaue himſelfe by flight, and to thruſt himſelfe in a ſecret place, as if there could be any corner where fortune could not find him out: but he ought to be leſſe buſie in affairs, and find out ſome expedient with iudgement to make himſelfe profitable to his Countrie. Is it not lawfull for him to beare armes? let him aſpire toſome publique charge: muſt he not liue priuately? let him plead. Is he put to ſilence? let him helpe his Citizens by his priuate counſel. Is it dangerous for him to enter the iudgement place? let him ſhew himſelfe a faithfull friend, a gracious companion, a temperate gueſt in houſes, in Theaters, at feaſts. If he haue loſt the office of a Citizen, let him vſe that of a man. And therefore with a great mind, haue we not ſhut our ſelues within the wals of one Citie, but haue thruſt our ſelues into the conuerſation of the whole world, and haue profeſſed that the world is our Countrey, that we might giue vertue a more ſpacious field to ſhew her ſelfe in. Is the *Tribunall* ſhut againſt thee, art thou not admitted to plead, or to aſſiſt the common Counſels of the Citie? looke backe and ſee what great Nations and peoples are behind thee, neuer ſhall ſo great a part be kept from thee, that a greater be not left thee. But beware that all this proceede not from thine owne error; for thou wilt not vndertake a publique charge except thou

thou be a *Conſull*,* a *Pritanes*, an Embaſſador, a ſupreme *Dictator*. What? refuſeſt thou to be a Souldier, except thou be a commander or a tyrant? Although that others haue the vant-gard, and fortune hath put thee in the rere-ward, doe thy deuoire in that place, fight with thy voice, thy exhortation, & thy courage. He alſo that hath his hands cut off in fight, findeth ſome meanes to animate his companions, who ſtandeth onely, and encourageth them with crying. So muſt thou doe, if fortune hath drawn thee from the firſt ranke of publike charge, yet ſtand thou, and thou ſhalt helpe with thy crying. If thy mouth be ſtopped by any man, yet ſtand; and thou ſhalt helpe with thy ſilence. The induſtrie of a good Citizen is neuer vnprofitable; for by his hearing, by his ſight, by his countenance, by his becke, by his obſtinate ſilence, and by his very gate, he may profit. Euen as certaine holeſome drugs by their onely ſmell (without either touch or taſte) do comfort greatly; ſo vertue, whether it be ſowed or locked in it ſelfe, whether it be by authority, or by accident, whether ſhe be conſtrained to ſcantle her ſailes, or to be idle or mute, confined in a ſtreight, or lodged at large; ſpreadeth a farre and vnperceiued, performeth ſome great and profitable good. In briefe, ſhe ſerueth in whatſoeuer eſtate and countenance ſhe be conſidered. What? thinkeſt thou that the example of a man that liueth retired and to purpoſe, is of little vſe? I ſay, that it is an act of a ſingular vertue to know how to forſake affaires, and to repoſe a mans ſelfe, when as the actiue life being hindered by diuers accidents, or by the condition of eſtate, cannot effect hir deſignes. For neuer ſee we affaires brought to that extremitie, but that a vertuous man hath the meanes to doe ſomewhat that is good. Canſt thou finde a City more wretched then that of the *Athenians* was, at ſuch time as thirtie Tyrants rent it in pieces? They had put to death thirteene hundred of the moſt noble and moſt vertuous in the City, & for all that crueltie ceaſed not thus, but inceuſed it ſelfe and augmented daily. In that Citie (which was adorned with the moſt venerable Counſell of the *Areopagites*, where there was a Senate and an aſſembly of people worthie of ſo noble an aſſembly of Senators;) there were gathered daily a miſerable troupe of murtherers, and a wretched court of tyrants, too ſmall to containe them. Could this Citie be in repoſe, wherein there were ſo many tyrants, as there were Souldiers? There was not any hope for theſe poore Citizens to recouer their liberty, nor any remedie whatſoeuer againſt ſuch a multitude of miſchieſes. For where is it that this poore Citie might find ſo manie *Harmodians?* Notwithſtanding (all theſe miſeries) *Socrates* was in the midſt of them, who comforted the mournful Fathers, and exhorted thoſe that deſpaired of the Common-weale, and reproued the rich (who feared their goods) for the ouerlate repentance of their dangerous auarice, and to thoſe that would follow him, bare about a worthie example, whileſt amongſt the thirtie tyrants he walked confident and free. Yet this man did the *Athenians* murther in priſon, and he that ſafely inſulted ouer the troupes of Tyrants, his libertie could not a free Citie endure, to the end thou mayeſt know, that a wiſe man hath an occaſion to ſhew himſelfe in an afflicted Common-weale; and how in a flouriſhing and bleſſed ſtate, mony, enuie, and a thouſand other diſarmed vices doe reigne. Howſoeuer therefore the Common-wealth is diſpoſed, howſoeuer fortune permitteth, ſo either may we enlarge or contract our ſelues, prouided alwaies that we be ſtirring, & ſuffer not our ſelues (being chained with feare) to be dulled and aſtoniſhed. Nay he ſhalbe truely a man who (when as daungers are imminent euery waies, and when as ſwords & chaines thunder in his eares) neither breaketh his fortune, nor hideth it. *Curius Dentatus* was wont to ſay,

* *A chiefe magiſtracie among the Athenians.*

That he had rather be dead then liue. It is the laſt of all euils to depart from the number of the liuing before thou dieſt. But thou art to endeauour that if thou light on ſuch a time wherein thou canſt not intermeddle with the Commonweale without danger, to vſurpe more time for thy repoſe and ſtudie, and no otherwaies then in a dangerous nauigation make ſaile towards the hauen, neyther exſpect thou, vntill ſuch time as affaires leaues thee, but diſioyne thou thy ſelfe from them.

CHAP. IV.

The meanes to effectuate this remedy, is to flie vaine glorie, fooliſh baſhfulneſſe, pride, wrath, and follie.

FIrſt, therefore, we ought to examine our ſelues; next, that buſines we vndertake; laſtly, what they are for whoſe cauſe we vndertake it, or with whom wee deale. Aboue all thing, a man ought to eſtimate himſelfe; for, for the moſt part, in our owne iudgements we ſeeme to be able to doe more then we can. There is one that loſeth himſelfe in ouer-truſting his owne eloquence; another, hath ſpent more then his reuenue mounteth vnto; another, hath oppreſſed a weake bodie with laborious offices. There are ſome that are too baſhful to entermeddle with ciuil affaires, which require a confident countenance and reſolution: ſome mens contumacie is vnfit for Court; ſome there are who haue no gouernement ouer their wrath, and euery ſlight occaſion drieth them to intemperate language; ſome cannot refraine from ieſting, neither can they abſtaine from dangerous gybing. To all theſe, repoſe is more profitable then buſineſſe: a fierce and impatient man by nature, will auoid the prouocations of harmefull libertie.

CHAP. V.

That we charge not, and occupie not our ſelues aboue meaſure.

NExt of all, theſe things which we vndertake are to be eſtimated, and our forces are to be compared with thoſe things which we wil attempt. For there muſt alwais be a greater force in him that beareth, then in the burthen. Theſe weights muſt needs beare him down, that are greater then he is that carrieth them. Beſides there are ſome affaires that are not ſo great as they are fruitfull, and breed many other buſineſſes; and theſe are to be auoided, from whence a new and diuers occaſion of trouble ariſeth: neither muſt thou aduenture thither, whence thou canſt not freely returne againe. Set thy hand to theſe things, whoſe end thou maiſt either effect or at leaſt hope. Theſe things are to be left that extend themſelues farther then the act, & end not there where thou intendedſt they ſhould.

CHAP. VI.

He diſſwadeth vs to ſhun the ſecrets of vngracefull perſons, and ſuch as are proud or to thinke that all the world is bound vnto thē, and feed on nothing but vaine glorie.

WE muſt likewiſe make ſome choyce of men, and ſo conſider whether they are worthie on whom we ſhould imploy a part of our life, and whether the loſſe of our time may be redeemed to our profit. There are ſome that thinke that we are bound to doe them pleaſure before we be deſired. *Athenodorus* ſaith, that he would not goe to Supper with him who would not thinke it a courteſie in him to accept the ſame. I beleeue thou conceiueſt, that much leſſe would he be

be inuited by them, who requite their friends curteſies with Feaſts, & account their many diſhes for a debt, as if they were intemperate to doe another man honour; take from them their witneſſes and ſpectators, they will conceiue no delight in their ſecret Banquets. Thou art to conſider whether thy nature be more apt for publike buſineſſe, or for idle ſtudy and contemplation; & thither art thou to encline, whither the vigour of thy minde carryeth thee. *Iſocrates* being layd hold on by the Ephore, withdrew himſelfe from publike Pleas, ſuppoſing himſelfe to be more fit and profitable to write Hiſtories; for inforced wits neuer ſatisfie expectation, and the labour is in vaine where Nature repineth againſt it.

CHAP. VII.

A remedy againſt a troubled mind, is to haue a truſty friend.

YEt nothing will ſo much delight the mind as a faithfull & pleaſing friendſhip: how great a good is it when the hearts are prepared, wherein a man may ſafely bury all his ſecrets, whoſe conſcience thou feareſt leſſe then thine owne, whoſe words may terrifie thy diſcontents, whoſe counſels can reſolue thy doubts, whoſe mirth may diſſipate thy ſorrow, and whoſe countenance may comfort thee? Such friends as theſe let vs make choice of as farre as is poſſible for vs: for vices creepe into vs, and inuade euery one that is neereſt them, and hurt by touching. Therefore as in the plague time we ought to take heed, leſt wee ſit by thoſe who are alreadie attainted and infected with the burning ſickneſſe, becauſe thereby we ſhall incurre danger, and be poyſoned with their very breath; ſo muſt wee endeuour in the choice of our friends, that wee admit ſuch as are leaſt polluted. It is a beginning of ſickneſſe to accompany thoſe that are infected: neyther will I enioyne thee this to follow, and contract friendſhip with none, except hee bee a Wiſeman; for where wilt thou finde out ſuch a one, whom for ſo many Ages we haue ſought after? but we are to take him for the beſt who is the leaſt euill. Scarce couldſt thou make a happier choice, hadſt thou leaue to ſeek for good men amongſt *Platoes* and *Zenophons*, or amidſt the troope of *Socrates* Schollers, or if it were granted thee to reuiew the time wherein *Cato* liued, which as well brought forth many that were worthy to be borne in *Catoes* age, as many worſe then euer were, who were the plotters of many hainous crimes. For there is need of both ſorts, to the end that *Cato* might be the better knowne: Of good, to whom he might approue himſelfe; of bad, in whom he might make tryall of his forces. But now adayes ſince there is ſo great a ſcarcity of good mē, be not too curious in making thy choice: aboue all things, let ſuch be auoyded who are melancholy, and deplore all things, for ſuch as theſe vpon euery occaſion are readie to complaine: although his faith and beneuolence be vnfayned, yet ſo diſtempered a companion, that grieueth and grudgeth at all things, is an enemy to tranquillity.

Markes to ſhew and know what friends wee ought to chooſe.

Who they are that are not to be entertayned into friendſhip.

CHAP.

Chap. VIII.

The third remedy is not to feare pouertie, because the poore haue many aduantages aboue the rich.

LEt vs passe ouer to riches which are the causes of all mens miseries: for, if you compare all things wherat we are agrieued, (as deaths, sicknesses, feares, desires, patience of sorrowes, and labours) with those euils which our money ministreth vnto vs, this part will weigh heauiest: wee ought therefore to bethinke vs, how farre lighter the sorrow is not to haue them, then to lose them, and wee shall vnderstand that pouerty hath by so much the lesse torments, by how much she hath the lesse matter of losse: for thou art deceiued, if thou thinkest that rich men doe with greater courage endure their losses. The paine of a wound is equall both in the greatest and smallest bodies; *Bion* speaketh very elegantly, *That it is no lesse troublesom for those that are bald, to haue their hairs pulled off, thē to those that haue long lockes.* Know thou this both in rich and poore, that they haue equall torments; for both of them told their money, neither without griefe & sence thereof could they endure to lose it. But as I said, it is more tolerable and easie not to get riches, then to lose them, and therfore shall you see them more merry, whom Fortune neuer lookt vpon, then those whom she hath forsaken. *Diogenes* saw this, who was a man of a great mind, and endeuoured himselfe that nothing might be taken from him. Call thou this pouerty necessity, or want, and impose whatsoeuer ignominious name thou list vpon security, I will not thinke this man happy if thou find mee out another that can lose nothing. Either I am deceiued, or it is a Kingdome for one to be among deceiuers, the thiefe, and lewd persons, whom no man may hurt. If any man doubt of *Diogenes* felicity, hee may likewise doubt of thee state of the immortall gods, whether they liue blessedly enough, because they haue no Fields, nor Gardens, nor Lands for an Husbandman to plow vp, nor a great banke of Money in the Market place. Art thou not ashamed whosoeuer thou art that admirest riches? Behold I pray thee the Heauens Throne, and thou shalt see the gods wholy naked, giuing all things, and hauing nothing. Thinkest thou him poore, or like vnto the immortall gods, that hath dispoyled himselfe of all transitorie things? Callest thou *Demetrius* more happy who was *Pompeyes* Libertine, because he was not ashamed to be more richer then his Master? The number of those Seruants that euery day attended him, resembled an Emperours Armie, who not long before might haue thought himselfe rich to sleepe in a Cellar, and to haue two Seruants. But *Diogenes* only Seruant ran away from him, neither thought he him so much worthy as to recall him when he was shewed vnto him. *It were a shame* (saith he) *that* Manes *could liue without* Diogenes, *and* Diogenes *could not liue without* Manes. Me thinkē, he said, meddle with thine owne busines Fortune, thou hast no more power ouer *Diogenes*. Is my Seruant run away? no, he is departed free. A Family requireth maintenance, men must take charge of the feeding of so many greedy beasts, rayment must be bought, Theeues hand-sell preuented, and such as weepe and detest, must be admitted to seruice. Hence, far more happy is he that oweth nothing but to himselfe, whom he may easily deny: but because wee haue not so much strength, our Patrimonies be to be husbanded that we may be lesse exposed to the iniuries of Fortune. The bodies of meanest proportion, and who may locke themselues in their armes, are more addressed then those great and vnweeldy bodies, which by reason of their length and thickness are exposed to strokes.

A continent speech of Diogenes.

An excellent example to shew the aduantages of the poore.

The

The beſt meaſure in riches is that which neither falleth into pouerty, neither is farre eſtranged from pouerty.

CHAP. IX.

The fourth remedie is to keepe a meaſure in deſire, gathering, poſſeſſing and vſing worldly goods.

AND this moderation will be well pleaſing vnto vs, if firſt of all parſimony content vs, without which neither any riches will ſuffice vs, neither any prooue great enough, eſpecially whereas the remedie is at hand, and pouerty it ſelfe by the aſſiſtance of frugality may conuert it ſelfe into riches. Let vs accuſtome our ſelues to remoue pompe from vs, and to meaſure the ornaments of our honour by the neceſſary vſe of things. Let our meat appeaſe famine, our drinke thirſt; let our deſires be appeaſed by things that are neceſſary. Let vs learne to walke vpon our owne feet, not to clothe and feed our ſelues according to euery new faſhion, but as the cuſtome of our Anceſtors perſwadeth vs vnto. Let vs learne to encreaſe Continency, to decreaſe laſciuiouſneſſe, to temper our exceſſe, to pacifie our wrath, to behold pouerty with equall eyes, to reſpect frugality, not to be aſhamed to yeeld ſuch remedies to our naturall deſires as coſt very little; to haue our vnbridled hopes, and our mind that dependeth on future things, kept as it were vnder bonds, to behaue our ſelues ſo that we require not our riches at Fortunes hand, but rather from our ſelues. So great variety and iniquity of caſualties cannot (I ſay) be ſo repulſed, that many ſtormes preſſe not vpon thoſe that rigge forth much Shipping. Our affaires muſt bee drawne into a ſtreight, to the end that aduerſities may attempt vs in vaine. And therefore Baniſhments and calamities haue ſometimes become remedies, and thoſe incommodities that are moſt grieuous haue bin healed by lighter; which vſually happeneth where the mind is diſobedient to precepts, and will not bee cured by gentle meanes. But why may not this be profitable? If both pouerty and ignominy, and the ouerthrow of a mans fortunes accompany theſe: one euill is oppoſed againſt another. Let vs therefore accuſtome our ſelues to bee able to ſup without any gueſts, to be ſerued with leſſe attendants, to be apparelled according to our neceſſities, and to dwell more retyredly. It is not only in the courſe of the Circean ſports; but alſo in the Careers of this life that we ought to retyre and contract our ſelues. And in Bookes likewiſe (in buying which the expence is moſt commendable) I ſhall behaue my ſelfe as it becommeth me as long as I keepe a meaſure. To what end ſerue ſo many infinite Bookes and Libraries, when as their Maſter in all his life time can ſcarſly ouer-reade their Tables? A multitude of Bookes burtheneth, and inſtructeth him not that learneth, and it is better for thee to addict thy ſelfe to few Authours, then to wander amongſt many. Forty thouſand Bookes were burned at *Alexandria*, a worthy monument of kingly riches. Some men may prayſe this as *Titus Liuius* did, who ſaith, *That it was a worke that ſhewed the magnificence and wonderous care of Kings*. But this was not magnificence or any other laudable act, but a ſtudious exceſſe. Nay more, it was not ſtudious, becauſe they had gathered them, not to profit ſtudies, but to ſhew their pompe, as it fals out with diuers Ignorants, who ſcarce knowing the Letters wherein their Slaues are exerciſed, heape vp Bookes not as inſtruments of ſtudy, but ornaments of their ſuppers. Let vs therefore gather ſo many Bookes as may ſuffice, and collect nothing for oſtentation ſake. It ſhall bee more honeſt (ſayeſt thou) to employ my mo-

mony herein, then in veſſels of *Corinth* and painted Tables. That is euery way vicious where there is ouer-much. Why wouldeſt thou leſſe pardon him that would get reputation by meanes of his Marble and Iuorie, then another that ſearcheth through all Countries to buy vnknowne Authours, and haply ſuch as are reproued and cenſured, and doth nought elſe but breathe vpon his Bookes, and takes no pleaſure but in their couers, or in their titles? Thou ſhalt ordinarily ſee amongſt the moſt idle, and whatſoeuer Oratours or Hiſtories there are, and find their ſtudies filled vp from the top to the bottome: And at this day amongſt the Bathes and Stoues are Libraries builded, as if they were a neceſſary ornament in the houſe. But all theſe Workes of Learned men excellently written, bound vp, and inriched with their Pictures, are bought to no other end but for ſhew and beautifying of wals.

If a great company of bookes be not accompanyed with a ſerious ſtudy, and well gouerned, they are but a mockerie.

Chap. X.

The firſt remedie is to endure quietly the difficulties of a mans vocation, and to accuſtome himſelfe, becauſe he ſeeth that pleaſures are intermixed with perplexities.

BVt it may be, thou art falne into ſome troubleſome and difficult courſe of life, and ere thou knewſt it; ſome Fortune either publike or priuate hath entangled thee, in ſuch ſort, as thou neither canſt looſe or breake the bonds. Think with thy ſelfe, that ſuch as are fettered at the firſt can hardly bear their ſhackles or the irons on their legs, but afterwards being better reſolued doe ſuffer the ſame, and conclude to endure them patiently; neceſſity teacheth them to ſuſtayne them conſtantly, and cuſtome eaſily. Thou ſhalt find in whatſoeuer kind of life it bee, delights, remiſſions, and pleaſures, except thou hadſt not rather thinke thy life euill, then make it hatefull. The greateſt good that we haue receiued by nature is, that ſhe (fore-ſeeing how many troubles wee are to endure in this world) hath found out a remedie to lenifie the ſame, which is cuſtome, which in ſhort time maketh the greateſt euils familiar and ſupportable; no man could endure it, if the continuance and ſence of aduerſitie were as bitter as it is at the firſt. For we are all of vs coupled by Fortune, ſome of vs haue a golden and eaſie chaine, ſome a more baſe and ſordide inthralment. But what skilleth it, what is it? all of vs are enuironed with the ſame guard, and they that enchaine others are enchained themſelues. It may be thou thinkeſt that the chaine which is tyed to the left arme weigheth not as much as that on the right. Some are enthralled by their honours, other ſome by their baſe eſtate. Theſe are made ſubiect to anothers Empery, others are vaſſals to themſelues; there are ſome that are confined in one place, others that are arreſted by thoſe charges that are committed vnto them. All our whole life is a ſeruitude, we ought therefore to accuſtome our ſelues to our condition, and no wayes to complaine of the ſame, and to apprehend al thoſe commodities which are about vs. There is nothing ſo diſtaſtfull wherein an equall mind cannot find ſome ſolace. Oft-times an ingenious man may write infinite things in the ſmalleſt Tables, and he that knoweth how to march readily, maketh the ſtreighteſt aboad habitable that a man may find. Adde reaſon to thy difficulties, and the hardeſt things may bee mollified, the ſtreighteſt laid open, and thoſe things that are moſt grieuous, will preſſe them leaſt that diſcreetly can endure them. Beſides, deſires are not to be ſent farre off from vs, but let vs ſuffer them to houer neere about vs, becauſe they endure not to be reſtrayned wholy. Leauing thoſe things which either cannot be done, or hardly can be atchieued; let vs follow thoſe things that are neere vs, and are anſwe-

anſwerable to our hopes. Yet let vs know, that all that which outwardly hath diuers appearances is equally light, and inwardly vaine. Neither let vs enuie thoſe that are more highly preferred thoſe things that ſeeme moſt higheſt are in moſt danger. They likewiſe whom aduerſity holdeth in ſuſpence, ſhall bee more aſſured by withdrawing pride from thoſe things which of themſelues are proud, and reducing their Fortune (as much as in them lyeth) to an humble place and out of danger. There are many that are inforced to remayne in their high degree, from whence they cannot deſcend but by falling; but hereby they teſtifie, that the greateſt weight they beare vpon their backes, is to know that they are conſtrayned to be grieuous and troubleſome vnto others. That they are not relieued but tyed vnto their charge: and that by Iuſtice, Clemencie, and humane Lawes, and by a gracious manner of demeanour they prepare themſelues diuers ſuccours and defences againſt the aſſaults of Fortune that happen, by the hope whereof they may be more aſſured in their Feuers. There is nothing that can ſo much exempt theſe men from theſe agitations of the mindes, then alwayes to prefix a certaine limit to their encreaſe, and not to attend till Fortune retyre them from the ſame, but to take counſell of thẽſelues, not to attend the extremities. So ſome deſires, but they finite, ſhall acuate their minds, and ſhall not be infinite nor vncertaine.

CHAP. XI.

He maintayneth alwayes the doctrine of the Stoicks, and diſtinguiſheth the ſtudious ſtoas the wiſe, whom he rayſeth aboue all humane fortunes, and deſcribeth him here with his contentments.

THis Diſcourſe of mine appertayneth to imperfect, infirme, and men of meane iudgement, and ſuch as haue little knowledge, and are of depraued iudgement, not vnto a Wiſeman. For hee muſt not walke fearefully or ſlowly. For ſo great a confidence hath he in himſelfe, that he doubteth not to encounter Fortune, neither will he euer giue place vnto her; neither hath he cauſe at any time to feare her, becauſe not onely he numbreth his ſlaues, his poſſeſſions, and dignities, but his owne body likewiſe, his eyes and hands, and whatſoeuer it be that maketh his life deare vnto him, yea, himſelfe, as things that are hired: and liueth as though he were but lent vnto himſelfe, ready to reſtore the whole willingly to thoſe that redemand the ſame; neither therefore miſpriſeth hee himſelfe, becauſe he knoweth that he is not his owne, but ſo diligently and circumſpectly dealeth hee all things, as a religious and holy man is wont to doe with thoſe things that are committed to his truſt. And whenſoeuer hee ſhall be commanded to make reſtitution, he will not queſtion with Fortune, but will ſay, I giue thankes for that I haue poſſeſſed, and had: It hath coſt me much to entertayne thoſe things which thou haſt giuen mee, but becauſe thou commandeſt mee, I gratefully and willingly reſtore them againe, and if thou wilt haue ought continue in my hands, euen now will I keepe it: if thou bee otherwaies minded, I reſtore vnto thee, and redeliuer into thy hands, my Money and Plate, my Houſe and Family whatſoeuer. If Nature ſummon vs which firſt gaue vs credit, to her will we anſwere: Receiue a minde better then thou gaueſt me, I neither delay nor hide my ſelfe, I willingly and readily deliuer thee that which thou gaueſt me, when I knew it not. Take it to thee; what euill is it to returne to that place from whence thou cameſt? He ſhall liue badly that knoweth not how to dye well. Wee muſt therefore aboue all things ſet light by this life, and account our ſoules amongſt the number of thoſe things that are not ours: We hate

The ſeuenth remedy is not to prize this life, nor that which we poſſeſſe more then we ought, but to diſpoſe our ſelues courageouſly vnto death, and to whatſoeuer caſually.

nate (ſaith *Cicero*) thoſe Skirmiſhers, if in any ſort they deſire to begge their liues, we fauour them if they pretend to contemne the ſame. Know that the like befalleth vs; for oftimes the cauſe of dying, is to dye fearefully: that Fortune that maketh ſport for her ſelfe, whereto (ſaith ſhe) ſhall I reſerue thee wretched and fearefull Creature as thou art? Thou ſhalt receiue more wounds and skarres, becauſe thou knoweſt not how to yeeld thy throat: but thou ſhalt both liue longer, and dye ſooner, that manfully entertaineſt thy death, not in plucking backe thy necke, or oppoſing thy hands. He that ſhall feare death, will neuer doe any thing worthy a liuing man: but he that knoweth that this ordinance of life and death was decreed and preſently ordered in him at ſuch time as he was conceiued, he will liue according to the rule and ordinance was prefixed him, and this likewiſe with no leſſe conſtancie of mind will he performe, that none of thoſe things that befall him, may ſeeme ſodaine to him. For to foreſee that which is to come, as though it were already paſt, is the meane to repulſe the aſſaults of all neceſſities, which ſhake not theſe who attend them conſtantly, and know that there is nothing new in them: but they oppreſſe thoſe men that make themſelues beleeue that no misfortune ſhall euer ſurpriſe them, and who thinke on nothing but pleaſure and content; for there is no ſodaineneſſe eyther in ſickneſſe, or in captiuitie, or in ruine, or in fire. For I know well into what tumultuous retreat of dangers nature had locked mee: ſo oftimes haue men cryed Fire and Water amongſt my Neighbours, ſo oftimes haue the Torches and Tapers which were carryed before the dead bodies of this or that mans children paſt by my doores. Oft haue I heard the noiſe of high Buildings that ſodenly fell downe to the ground. One night hath carried away diuers friends that I had made in the Pallace, in the Market place, in company, and hath as it were cut off the hands of thoſe which had promiſed and ſworne fidelitie vnto me. Shall I wonder then that thoſe dangers that haue houered ſo long about mee, are finally falne vpon me? The moſt part of thoſe that are ready to ſet ſayle, thinke not vpon a ſtorme; for mine owne part in doing well I will neuer be aſhamed of the danger that may befall me. *Publius* that had a more vehement ſpirit then either the Tragick or Comick Poets had, as often as he had giuen ouer his Mimick Fopperies, and ſuch as ordinarily he vſed to delight the common people with: amongſt many other words, not onely beſeeming the Comick but the Tragick *Scene*, he vſeth theſe:

The eighth remedy is to remember that all euils that befall vs and all other men cannot happen, and conſequently to detaine our ſelues in good time.

That which hapned to one man may chance to euery man.

Whoſoeuer beareth theſe words in his heart, and conſidereth how many miſeries his Neighbour ſuffereth from day to day, and thinketh that they are intended againſt him, will arme himſelfe long time before hee bee aſſayled. Too late is the mind inſtructed to endure danger when the aſſault is giuen: I would not haue thought that this ſhould haue bin: I would not haue beleeued that this ſhould come to paſſe. And why not? what riches are there that are not readily attended at their heeles with Miſery, Famine and Beggery? what Dignitie is there, what Scarlet Robe, what Augures Purple Garment, what Noblemans Slipper, that is not attended with Diſgrace, Baniſhment, Diſhonour, Imputation, and extreme Contempt? what Kingdome is there, for which ruine, Deſolation, Tyranny and Tormenters are not prepared? neither are theſe diuided by great ſpaces of time, but there is but a moment of an houre betwixt Royalty and Captiuity. Know thou therefore that euery condition is ſubiect

to

to alteration, and whatſoeuer aſſaulteth one man, may aſſaile thee in like ſort. Art thou rich? What richer then *Pompey?* who after that *Caius* his ancient Couſin and new Gueſt had opened *Cæſars* houſe to locke vp his owne doores, wanted both bread and water, in ſuch ſort, that he who poſſeſſed ſo many Riuers, that had their courſes and fals within the precinct of his Lands, begged for drops of water, and dyed for hunger and thirſt in his Kinſmans Palace, whileſt his heire prepared a publike Funerall for the Starueling. Haſt thou had great honors? What ſo great or ſo vnexpected, or ſo generall as *Seianus?* that very day wherein the Senate conducted him with honour, the people tare him in pieces with furie, and he whom gods and men had loden with ſo many honours as could be heaped vpon him, had not a Mammocke left of him for the Hangman to faſten his hooke in. Art thou a King? I will not ſend thee to *Cræſus*, who was commanded to mount the pile where hee ſhould be burned, and whence he deſcended, hauing recouered both his life and Kingdome; neither will I ſend thee to *Iugurth*, whom the Roman people ſaw led in triumph that very yeere wherein he was ſo much feared. We haue ſeene *Ptolomey* King of *Africa*, and *Mithridates* King of *Armenia*, amongſt the number of thoſe Souldiers that were of the Emperour *Caligulaes* guard; the one of theſe was ſent into baniſhment, the other wiſhed for it but vnder more faithfull conditions. In ſo great incertaintie and mutabilitie of affaires (now mounting, then falling) if thou reputeſt not that already done which may be done; thou giueſt aduerſitie power ouer thy ſelfe, which hurteth not him that hath fore-ſeen her. The next after theſe is, that we labor not in ſuperfluous & vnneceſſary things, that is, that we neither deſire thoſe things which we cannot attaine, or that hauing attained the ſame, we feele not ouerlate, and to our great ſhame the vanitie of our couetouſneſſe; in fine that our trauell be not vnprofitable and of no effect, or the effect vnworthy our trauell: for the moſt part, ſorrow and ſadneſſe ſucceedeth by theſe, if either that we expected faile vs, or we be aſhamed of the ſucceſſe.

For he was ſlain by the way.

The ninth remedie is, to flye vnneceſſary occupations.

Chap. XII.

The tenth, to flye vaine curioſitie.

WE muſt cut off theſe trottings vp and down practiſed by the moſt part of men, who doe nought elſe but runne from houſe to houſe from the Market place to the Theater. They entangle themſelues with other mens affaires, reſembling thoſe who ſeeme to be alwayes buſie about ſomewhat. If thou aske any of theſe that goeth out of his doores: *Whither goeſt thou? what thinkeſt thou?* He will anſwer, verily I know not, but I will viſit ſome friend, I will doe ſomewhat. They loyter about to no purpoſe, ſeeking out buſineſſe, neither finiſh they thoſe that they intended, but thoſe they meet by chance. Inconſiderate and vaine is their courſe, reſembling that of the Antes, which creepe along the ſhrubs, and now get vp to the top, and ſtraight runne downe to the bottome, without ought elſe doing but running. Such a life doe many men leade, and a man may well ſay that they are idle without repoſe. Thou wilt haue compaſſion of ſome of thoſe who runne as it were to a fire, and who ouer-turne all thoſe that they meete with, and fall vpon them; for they runne to ſalute ſome man that will ſcarce looke vpon them, to goe to attend ſome Stranger to his Funerall, or

to accompany ſome Lawyers: or to honour a Bridall, or to follow ſome Litter, or ſometimes to beare it themſelues: then returning home very weary and toyled into their houſes, thou ſhalt heare them ſweare, that they knew not why they went out, neither why they left the houſe, and notwithſtanding the next day they will idle it after the ſame manner. Let therefore all our labour tend to ſome end, and haue ſome ſcope. It is not induſtry but the falſe apparence of things that tormenteth, and diſquiet mad men: for they buſie themſelues not without ſome hope, the exterior beauty of this or that inflameth them in ſteade of taxing their vanitie, by reaſon that the ſence is occupyed. In like caſe are all they (who haunt the Market place to the intent to multiply the number of the people that walke about the ſtreets,) are carryed away by vaine and light occaſions; and hee that hath nothing to employ himſelfe in, gets him out of doores vpon the day-ſpring, and after hee hath knockt at diuers mens doores, whence he hath bin honeſtly diſmiſſed by the Porter, and by others, who haue hindered him from entrance; there is no man with whom he acquainteth himſelfe more vnwillingly then with himſelfe. On this euill there dependeth a moſt pernicious vice, which is curioſitie; ſearch into affaires and ſecret knowledge of many things that are dangerous, both to bee ſpoken and heard. *Democritus* hauing had proofe hereof, ſaid; *That hee that will liue peaceably, ought not to entermeddle with many affaires, either priuate or publike.* Hauing a reference to thoſe things that are vnneceſſary, for if they are neceſſary, there are not many but innumerable things to be done, both priuate and publike: but whereas no ſolemne office inuiteth vs, our actions are to be reſtrayned.

Chap. XIII.

To what danger they that are curious oppoſe themſelues, and why the Wiſeman is exempt from theſe dangers.

FOr hee that doth many things, yeeldeth himſelfe ſubiect to Fortunes power, but the ſureſt way is to make tryall of her very little, and to thinke alwayes of her, but neuer to put confidence in her. I will fayle except ſomewhat hinder me; I will be Pretor except ſome one let me, and my buſineſſe ſhall come well to paſſe except ſome accident croſſe it. This is the cauſe why we ſay, that nothing befalleth a Wiſeman contrarie to his opinion; we ſay not that he is exempt from the chances of this life, but from the errors; neither doe all things fall out vnto him as he wiſheth, but as he thought: and firſt of all he thought that ſomewhat might reſiſt his purpoſes. The ſorrow a man conceiueth, for that he could not attayne to that which hee pretended, is light, and ſcarſly toucheth the heart, when hee promiſeth not himſelfe that things ſhall ſucceed as hee deſired.

Chap. XIV.

WE ought likewiſe to accõmodate our ſelues to affairs, without preſuming ouer much of our conceptions. Let vs diſpoſe our ſelues thither whither Fortune leadeth vs, neither let vs feare the charges of our counſels or condition, prouided that leuity tranſporteth vs not, which is a mortall enemy to Tranquillity: for it muſt needes

needes be, that obſtinacie is both doutfull and miſerable from which Fortune alwayes extorteth ſomewhat; and leuity much more grieuous, that no wayes contayneth it ſelfe: both of theſe are enemies to Tranquillitie, both too vnable to change any thing, and vnapt to ſuffer any thing. In all caſualties a man ought to retayne his mind farre from all externall things, and to reflect vpon himſelfe, to procure that he truſt in himſelfe, to reioyce in himſelfe, to content himſelfe with his thoughts; to eſtrange himſelfe, as much as he may, from other mens affaires; to apply himſelfe to himſelfe, not to haue any ſence of his loſſes, and take in good part his aduerſities. When *Zeno* the Stoicke vnderſtood that his ſhip was caſt away, and all his goods drowned, *Fortune* (ſaith hee) *willeth me to follow the ſtudie of wiſdome more freely.* A Tyrant threatned the Philoſopher *Theodorus* with death, and that his bodie ſhould not be buried: *Thou haſt* (ſaith he) *an occaſion wherein to delight thy ſelfe; thou haſt a pint of blood in thy power: For as touching my buriall, thou ſhouldeſt bee a great Foole, if thou thinkeſt that I care whether I rot aboue or vnder-ground.* CANNIVS IVLIVS an excellent man, whoſe glorie is no wayes diminiſhed although he was borne in our age, conteſted long time with the Emperour *Caius*; who, as *Caius* departing from him ſaid vnto him, *Leſt happily thou flatter thy ſelfe with fooliſh hope, I haue commanded thee to be put to death: I thanke thee* (ſaid he) *worthy Prince.* I know not well what he meant or thought by theſe words, for diuers conſiderations preſent themſelues vnto me. I thought hee beſt to vpbraid him, and to ſhew how great his crueltie was, wherein death was a benefit? Or did he reproch him for his ordinary fury? for they gaue him thankes likewiſe whoſe children were ſlaine, and whoſe goods were taken from them. Or did he willingly entertaine his death as a libertie? whatſoeuer he thought he anſwered worthily. But ſome man may ſay that *Caius* after this might haue granted him life. *Cannius* was not affraid of this: *Caius* faith was too well knowne in ſuch like commands. Thinkeſt thou that hee paſſed thoſe ten dayes without feare, betwixt the day of his Sentence and that of his execution? It is vncredible to be ſpoken what words he ſpake, what he did, and how peaceably he liued during this delay. He was playing at Cheſſe at ſuch time as the Centurion who led a Troope of condemned men to death commanded him likewiſe to be cited. Hauing ſcarce finiſhed his game hee counted his men, and ſaid to him with whom hee played, *Beware* (ſaith hee) *when I am dead that thou belyeſt me not, and ſayeſt thou haſt wonne the game.* Then nodding his head to the Centurion hee added, *Beare me witneſſe* (ſaith he) *that I haue the vantage of one.* Thinkeſt thou that *Cannius* cared for the man? no, hee mocked. His friends were diſmayde becauſe they were to loſe ſuch a man. *Why* (ſaith hee) *are you ſad? enquire you whether ſoules bee immortall? I ſhall know it preſently.* Neither ceaſſed hee to ſearch out the truth euen vntill his latter breath, and according to his cuſtome to propoſe alwayes ſome queſtion. There followed him a Philoſopher of his owne traine, and when hee approched neere the place where the Toombe ſtood whereupon daily Sacrifice was made to *Diuus Cæſar: Cannius* (quoth hee) what thinkeſt thou now, and whereon fixeſt thou thy minde? *I am reſolued* (ſaid CANNIVS) *to marke in this moſt ſwift moment of time, if the ſoule ſhall feele that ſhee is paſſing forth.* And he promiſed that if he found out any thing, he would returne to euery one of his friends, and tell them what the eſtate of ſoules were. Behold Tranquillity in the midſt of a Tempeſt; behold a minde worthy of Eternitie, which ſummoneth his deſtinie for an argument of the truth, who ſeeing himſelfe readie to

deliuer his laſt breath, queſtioned with his departing ſoule, and that will not onely learne vntill death, but learneth ſomething likewiſe out of death it ſelfe. No man philoſophied longer. But this ſo great a man ſhall not be obſcured ſo ſlightly, his prayſe ſhall bee carefully eternized, wee will commend thee to euerlaſting memorie, O worthy *Cannius*, the greater part of *Casus* cruell murthers.

Chap. XV.

The twelfth remedy is that wee ought to deſpiſe all humane things, beare them contentedly that are impoſed on vs, and laugh with Democritus.

But it profiteth nothing to haue caſt away the cauſe of priuate ſadneſſe. For ſometimes the hatred of Mankind poſſeſſeth thee, and a troope of ſo many fearefull ſins preſent themſelues, when thou bethinkeſt thy ſelfe how rare ſimplicitie is, how vnknowne innocencie, how ſeldome faith, except when it miniſtreth profit, how the diſaduantages of diſſolution are as hateſull as the aduantages, and ambition is ſo exceſſiue and proud, that ſhe cannot contayne her ſelfe within her limits, and boaſteth not but in her villanies. The mind is blinded and obſcured, and as if all vertues were ouer-turned, which neither we may hope for, neither is it profitable for vs to haue, darkneſſe ouercloudeth all things; we muſt therefore diſpoſe our ſelues, that the vices of the common ſort bee not diſpleaſing vnto vs, but that they may ſeeme ridiculous, & rather let vs imitate *Democritus* then *Heraclitus*. For this man as often as he went abroad wept, and the other laught. To this man, all thoſe things which we do, ſeemed miſeries; to that man, follies: All things therefore are to be ſet light by, and to be endured with a patient minde; for it is more fitting to laugh at life, then to bewayle it. Adde hereunto alſo, that he deſerueth better of Mankind who laugheth thereat, then he that bewaileth it: for he that laugheth leaueth ſome good hope, the other ſo fooliſhly bewayleth it, that he deſpayreth of the recouery thereof, and hee that cannot abſtayne from laughter, in beholding all that which the World doth, is of a greater minde then the other that ſpendeth himſelfe in teares: when as he mooueth the lighteſt paſſion of the minde, and thinketh that there is nothing great, nothing ſeuere, nor any thing ſerious in this ſo great preparation and ſhew of men. Let euery one preſent vnto himſelfe the occaſions which may eyther diſmay or reioyce vs, and he ſhall know that that which *Bion* ſaid is true, *That all the affaires of men are anſwerable to their beginnings, and that their life is neither more holy nor more ſeuere then their deſignes, conceiued onely in their ſoules.* But it is better peaceably to behold mens publike manners & imperfection, then to torment himſelfe thus for other mens afflictions: and inhumane is that pleaſure that delighteth in other mens euils; euen as it is an vnprofitable humanitie to weepe and counterfeite ſadneſſe, becauſe ſome man carryeth forth his Childe to bee buryed. In thine owne misfortunes likewiſe it behoueth thee to carry thy ſelfe ſo, that thou yeeld ſo much vnto thy ſorrow as it requireth, not as cuſtome demandeth. For many men powre forth teares for a ſhew, and ſo often haue they their eyes dry as they want witneſſes of their ſorrow, iudging it an abſurd thing not to weepe when all men are diſcomforted. So deepe an impreſſion hath this euill fixed in our mindes, to depend on other mens opinions, that ſorrow (which of it ſelfe is the ſimpleſt thing) is conuerted into diſſimulation. There followeth another point which is accuſtomed to diſmay and make men penſiue, and not without cauſe, that is, be-

A compariſon betwixt Democritus *and* Heraclitus.

be cauſe good men dye miſerably. As *Socrates* is compelled to dye in Priſon, *Rutilius* to liue in Exile, *Pompey* and *Cicero* to yeeld their neckes to be ſtrucken off by thoſe whom formerly they had defended, and that *Cato* (the liuing Image of vertues) leaning on his Sword ſhould at once looſe his life and his Countries libertie. It muſt needs torment vs to ſee Fortune recompence good deſerts ſo vniuſtly, and what now may any man hope for himſelfe, when as he ſeeth the beſt men ſuffer the worſt afflictions? What ſhall be done hereupon? Conſider how euery one of them behaued himſelfe conſtantly, and if they were valiant, deſire their mindes; if they periſhed effeminately and baſely, there is nothing loſt. Eyther they are worthy that their vertue ſhould pleaſe thee, or vnworthy that a man ſhould bewayle their cowardiſe. For what is more hatefull then to ſee great men dying valiantly, to cauſe other men to be Catifes and Cowards? Let vs prayſe him that was ſo often worthy to be prayſed, and ſay; *The more conſtant, the more happy thou art:* thou haſt fled humane caſualties, hatred and ſickneſſe, thou haſt left thy Priſon, thou wert not worthy in the gods opinion of an euill fortune, but vnworthy againſt whom Fortune might now doe any thing: but thoſe that would retyre themſelues, and in the inſtant of death looke backe vnto life, muſt haue hands laid on them. I will neither weepe for any one that laugheth, or any one that weepeth. The one hath himſelfe wiped away my teares, the other hath by his teares effected this, that he is vnworthy of any teares. Shall I weepe for *Hercules* becauſe he was burned aliue, or *Regulus*, becauſe his fleſh was pierced with ſo many nailes, or *Cato*, becauſe he couragiouſly endured the wounds he gaue himſelfe? All theſe men by a light expence of time found out the meanes to make themſelues eternall, and by dying attayned to immortality. There is yet another great ſubiect of carefull thoughts that thou diſguiſe and counterfeit cunningly, neither euer ſhew thy ſelfe to be ſuch outwardly, as thou art inwardly, reſembling the liues of many, which are fayned and faſhioned onely for oſtentation for it is a death to ſtand thus alwayes on our guard, and to feare to bee ſurpriſed in an other eſtate then we are accuſtomed. We are neuer void of care, as long as this opinion gouerneth vs, and that men eſtimate our perſons as oftentimes as they ſee vs: for many things fall out which diſcouer vs in ſpight of our hearts, and although ſo retyred an obſeruation of a mans ſelfe ſucceedeth well, yet ſo it is, that to liue alwayes thus diſguiſed, doth but afflict and affright the life which would enioy a thouſand pleaſures if ſhe were beautified with an open and ſimple manner of action, and ſet not a veile before her manners. True it is that this life is an hazard of contempt, if all things were diſcouered vnto all men; for ſome there are that diſdaine all that which they approch ſomewhat neere vnto and obſerue; and better were it to be contemned by reaſon of ſimplicitie, then to be tormented with a perpetuall diſſimulation. Yet oughteſt thou to keepe a meaſure, and it importeth thee as very much to be aduiſed, whether thou liueſt ſimply or negligently; we ought to retyre our ſelues very inwardly within our ſelues: for the conuerſation of thoſe men that are of different humour from vs, diſturbeth thoſe things that are well compoſed, and renueth affections, and exulcerateth whatſoeuer is eyther weake or vncured in the minde, yet notwithſtanding it is needful to intermixe ſolitude and freedome together, in ſuch ſort as the one may be practiſed neere vnto the other. Conuerſation will make vs loue our ſelues, ſolitude inciteth vs to goe and find out others, the one will comfort the other, ſolitude will heale the diſcontent we haue conceiued againſt the preſſe of ſo many people that we haue met withal; and to frequent with di-

The thirteenth remedy is to thinke, that good men are neither miſerable in their life nor in their death, and that for the ſame cauſe we ought to reſemble thē.

The foureteenth remedie is to flye hypocriſie.

The fifteenth, to keepe a meaſure in ſolitude and conuerſation.

The sixteenth to giue some repleuite the minde, according to Socrates, Cato, and Scipioes examples.

uers men remedieth that diſcontent which ſolitude breedeth. Neither is the mind to be entertained equally in the ſame intention, but to be reuoked vnto ſome paſtimes. *Socrates* was not aſhamed to play with children, and *Cato* made him merrie with Wine when publique affaires had tyred him, and *Scipio* exerciſed his warlike and triumphant bodie in dancing (not fooliſhly as men are wont to doe at this day with refluences and tricks that are more then effeminate) but as the Ancients were wont to dance in their ſports and feſtiuall daies, with a decent and comely behauiour, whilſt no diſhonour or reproch might enſue, though he had bin noted by his very enemies. There muſt ſome remiſſion be giuen to our mindes; for after a little repoſe, they will become more better and actiue in all things. Euen as we ought not to ouerlay our fruitfull lands, leſt by continuall fecunditie their heart and forces be ſpent and conſumed; ſo continuall labour ruinateth mens minds; if you ſuffer them to expatiate and delight themſelues a while, they will recouer new forces. Continuall trauell dulleth and blunteth the edge of vnderſtanding; neither to this viciſſitude would the deſire of man bend ſo much, except that ſport and paſtime had ſome pleaſure and naturall content, the frequent vſe whereof taketh away all that which preſſeth and afflicteth our ſpirits. For ſleepe is neceſſarie for diſgeſtion, and if a man continue the ſame both day and night, it will be death. There is a great difference betwixt giuing ſome libertie to a thing, and leauing it wholly at randome. The Law-makers haue ordained feſtiual daies, to the end that men ſhould aſſemble together to entertain publike ſport, enterpoſing the ſame as a neceſſary temperament and refreſhing of trauels. And as I haue ſaid, great perſonages allowed themſelues certaine play-dayes in euerie moneth, and ſome other neuer paſſed day which was not as it were diuided betwixt trauell and repoſe: ſuch (except I forget my ſelfe) was the great Orator *Aſinius Pollio*, who gaue ouer all occupations after ten of the clocke; nay more, he would not reade ordinarie letters, for feare leſt ſome new affaire might fall out, but he incloſed all the trauel of the day time, from the morning vntill that houre. Some tooke their pleaſure about twelue of the clocke, and referred ouer thoſe affaires that were of ſmalleſt importance till after dinner time. Our Anceſtors haue forbidden to make any new report vnto the Senate after ten of the Clocke. The Souldier diſpoſeth his Sentinels by houres, and they that returne from ſome voyage of warre, are exempted from night watch. It is a neceſſary thing to giue liberty to the mind, & to grant him intermiſſion, which may ſerue to nouriſh, and reinforce the ſame; Furthermore, to walke here and there amidſt the fields, to the end that hauing free and open aire, he may be the more comforted and lightned. Sometimes to goe in Coach, to trauell and change Countries, augmenteth the forces; likewiſe to make good cheare, and to drinke ſomewhat freely more then cuſtome, and ſo farre as we drowne not our ſelues in Wine, but to drowne our cares in it: for wine drieth away cares, ſearcheth the ſecrets of the minde, drieth away all ſickneſſe, and is the remedy of ſadneſſe; and therefore *Bacchus* the inuentor of Wine was not therefore called *Liber*, becauſe of the liberty of his tongue; but becauſe he deliuereth mens minds from the ſeruitude of cares, and maketh them more diſpoſed and forward to attempt anything. But as a moderation in vſing liberty, ſo a temperance in wine is commendable and wholeſome. It is ſuppoſed that *Solon* and *Arceſilaus* were good drinkers: and *Cato* was taxed for drunkenneſſe: but whoſoeuer reprocheth him in this ſort, ſhall rather proue that this crime of drunkenneſſe is an honeſt thing, then that *Cato* behaued himſelfe diſhoneſtly. But

The order of the ancient Romans in the manner of their liues.

Of the libertie which is ſometimes allowed good mindes.

ney-

neyther is it to be done often, leſt the minde ſhould contract ſome euill cuſtome, although at ſometimes a man ought to giue him libertie, and preſent ſome meanes of delight, and lay aſide for a while the ouer ſeuere and ſober maner of life. For if we giue credite to the Greeke Poet,

Its ſometimes pleaſure to be mad and fooliſh:

Or *Plato*, He that is in his right wits, loſeth his labour to goe and knock at the gate of the Muſes: or *Ariſtotle*; There was neuer any great wit that had not ſome ſpice of folly; if the mind be not ſtirred, and as it were mounted aboue it ſelfe, he can ſpeake nothing highly, nor aboue others. After he hath contemned vulgar and ordinarie things, and that a holy heate hath raiſed him aboue ordinarie, then beginneth he to ſing with a mortall mouth, I know not what that is more then humane. As long as hee is in himſelfe, he can attaine to nothing that is hie and difficult. He muſt deſiſt from his vſuall cuſtome, and rowſe himſelfe, and bite the bridle betwixt his teeth, and beare away him that gouerneth him, and carrie him thither whither of himſelfe he was afraide to aſcend. Thou haſt, my *Serenus*, theſe inſtructions that may conſerue and reſtore the tranquillity of the minde, and make head againſt thoſe vices that daily ſteale vpon vs; yet know thou that none of theſe are forcible enough for thoſe that ſlight them ouer, but it behoueth the minde which is inclined to fall and erre, to be retained by an intentiue and continuall care.

The meanes how to make all theſe remedies effectuall.

* * *

The end of the Booke of Tranquillitie, and repoſe of the Mind.

OF

THE CONSTANCIE OF A WISE MAN:

OR,

THAT A WISE MAN CANNOT FEELE ANY INIVRIE.

VVritten by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis Booke betokeneth a great minde, as great a wit, and much eloquence: In one word, it is one of the best. It was published (as I suppose) about the time of the former Booke which he wrote of Tranquillitie, *whereunto they annex this, but vnproperly. The Argument is different, and thus handled. He beginneth with the praise of the Stoicks, whose Paradox he debateth vpon, That a wise man is not affected with iniurie. What then? (said* Serenus) *Was not* Cato *touched with contumelious strokes and spittings vpon him? From this obiection hee entreth into the matter, and yet (saith he) he was not affected with iniuries. For he was a wise man, and iniurie hath no power ouer a wise man: which notwithstanding (saith he) is spoken in that sence, not that iniuries are not offered him, but that he admitteth them not. This worthily handleth he vntill the fourth Chapter. Then diuideth he that whereupon he is to debate into two parts, by setting downe the difference betwixt Iniurie and Contumelie. Touching the former, hee denieth that it is incident to a wise man; and as for the last, he admitteth it not. Of Iniurie these are his Arguments. A wise man suffereth no euill, but iniurie is an euill thing. Secondly, Iniurie detracteth and diminisheth: but nothing is taken from a wise man, for he hath all things reposed in himselfe, and that strongly, as* Stilpo. *The third. The stronger is not harmed by the weaker: and therefore not vertue by malice. Here it is obiected: But was not* Socrates *vniustly condemned? He was so, but without his iniuries. They proffered it him, he reiected them by wisdome. As for example, thou giuest me venome, and I represse the force thereof by an Antidote: thou committest the crime, and I suffer. The fourth Argument. Iniurie is mixed with iniustice, but this befalleth not a wise man;* Ergo, *not the other. The fist Argument. No man profiteth a wise man;* Ergo, *no man hurteth him. The sixt. Iniurie is eyther through hope or feare: but a wise man is touched with neither of them. The seuenth and last. No man receiueth iniurie that is not moued: A wise man is not moued. And in this place is the conclusion*

of

of the first part, and an exhortation to imprint this lesson in our mindes. The other was of Contumelie, which he explicateth in the tenth Chapter, what properly it is, and then driueth he it from a Wise man. First, because a Wise man knoweth his owne greatnesse, and therefore Contumely appertaineth not vnto him, which hath both her name and being from Contempt. Secondly, Proud and insolent men inferre Contumely; The Wise man contemneth such men, and therefore this vice is condemned by them. Thirdly, No man contemneth his superiour or his better? but such is the Wise man. Therefore smileth he at those things that are spoken against him, as in banquets at childrens toyes. But what? Doth a wise man endure all these things? Doth he not correct and moderate them? Yes, hee doth it sometimes, as men are wont to checke their children, not because he hath receyued any iniurie, but because they haue done it. And hitherto vntill the 14. Chapter, he argueth against Contumely or iniurie onely, now refuteth he them both together, by this argument, Securitie is proper to a Wise man. It is not if either he entertaine or can admit any of them. The like the Epicures maintaine, though not so confidently. In conclusion, he aduiseth vs to reiect diuers slight and friuolous things, whereat the common sort are offended, and to laugh at them, lest we be derided. His conclusion is how iniuries are to be borne, eyther by him that seeketh after wisedome, or him that hath attained the same. The one suffereth it with some touch of mind, and with some resist also. The other with both, and like a conqueror chaseth them before him, and triumpheth ouer them. I repeate it againe; This Booke was written by a man of great minde, let vs confirme our selues thereby in this so great malice both of times and men.

Chap. I.

He iustifieth the doctrine of the Stoicks, and discouereth their vprightnesse in animating men to vertue.

IMay well say (my *Serenus*) there is as much difference betwixt the *Stoickes* and other Philosophers, as betweene Females and Males, whereas both the one and the other are equally assistant to the good of humane societie; but the Sect of the Stoicks is borne to command, and the other are made to obay. For other Philosophers handle mens infirmities tenderly and flatteringly, as for the most part domesticall and familiar Phisitions are wont to doe to their sicke patients, not healing them by the best and speedyest meanes, but by feeding their humors. The Stoicks entertaining a more constant course, they care not whether their followers find the way pleasant or no, but labour to pull vs presently out of danger, and to conduct vs to so high a place, which is so farre raised aboue any humane miserie, that it ouer-looketh Fortune. But the waies whereunto we are called are high and rugged, for who ascendeth to an high place that keepeth the plaine? Yet is not the way so difficult as some men suppose. True it is, the first entry ouer is stony, steepy, and seemeth vnaccessible as they that behold from a farre suppose, that the Countrey through which they trauel, is wholly of one leuel, and hath neither path nor way; which proceedeth from the great distance that deceiueth their sight: but in drawing neerer and neerer, these diuers waies which the error of our eye had confounded, seeme by little and little to be distinct, and that which happened a farre off to

to be a ſteepe, proued afterwards an ordinarie path, eaſie, and to be mounted. When as of late we happened to diſcourſe of *Cato*, thou waſt mightily diſpleaſed (as thou art alwaies impatient of iniquitie) becauſe ſo great a perſon as he was not ſo well knowne in his time, becauſe (although he were farre more worthy then either *Pompeys* or *Cæſars*) they rancked him lower then the Vatinians; and it ſeemed an vnworthy matter in thy iudgement, becauſe that diſſwading the Law they tooke from him his gowne in the Market place, and drew him from the place where the laws were publiſhed, as farre as the Arke of *Fabius*, by the hands of the ſeditious faction, and for that he endured the cruel reproches, ſhamefull ſpittings, and other contumelies of the vnbridled multitude. To this, I anſwere thee at that time, that thou hadſt more occaſion to be moued in the behalfe of the Common-weale, which *Clodius* on one ſide, and *Vatinius*, and other wicked men on the other ſide ſet to ſale, and being blinded with couetouſneſſe ſaw not, that in ſelling their Country they likewiſe ſold themſelues.

The occaſion of the queſtion.

CHAP. II.

AS touching *Cato*, I beſought thee not to trouble thy ſelfe about him, for I told thee that a wiſe man could neyther be iniured by words or deedes: but that the immortall Gods had given vs in *Cato* a more liuing example of a wiſe man, then either *Vlyſſes* or *Hercules* in former ages. For theſe haue our Stoickes pronounced to be wiſe men, inuincible in labours, contemners of pleaſure, and conquerours in all Countries. *Cato* contended not with ſauage beaſts, which Huntſmen and Peſants are to proſecute and hunt; neither by fire and ſword ſubdued he monſters; neyther liued he in thoſe times wherein it was thought that one man could carry the whole heauen on his ſhoulders, for theſe old fables are out of credite, and men in theſe daies are better aduiſed. But he waging warre againſt ambition, a monſter of diuers formes, and with the immeſurable deſire of rule (which the whole World being diuided into three parts could not ſatisfie,) againſt the vices of a degenerate Citie that ſunke vnder the weight of her owne burthen, ſtood alone and vpheld the decaying Common-weale, as much as one hand could then ſuſtaine, vntill ſuch time as being either rauiſhed or torn from his Countrey, he accompanied long time the ruine that he had ſuſtained, vntill ſuch time that ſuch things (which without hainous crimes could not be ſeparated) were extinguiſhed together. For neither did *Cato* liue after liberty was loſt, neither liberty after *Catoes* death. Thinkeſt thou the people could in any ſort iniurie this man, becauſe they eyther tooke from him the Pretorſhippe or his Gowne, or foyled his moſt ſacred head with the excrements of their mouths? A Wiſeman is ſecure, neyther can he be touched with any iniurie or contumelie.

The reſolution of the ſame in a word, the ſubiect whereof which is Cato, is compared with Vlyſſes and Hercules, whereat we are not to marueil, becauſe the Stoickes haue taken Cato as the exemplary image of a wiſe man.

CHAP.

Chap. III.

A reply to this reflution, grounded on the Paradox of the Stoickes.

Me thinks I see thy mind incensed, and boiling with anger, and thou art addressed to cry out; These are they that lessen the authority of your precepts: you promise great things, and such as neyther may be wished, nor can be believed. Afterwards, after so many great words, and when you haue denied that a Wise man is poore, you confesse that oftentimes he hath want of a seruant, of cloathing, of a house, and of meat. Hauing denied that a Wiseman is a foole, you auow that he is sometimes transported, and that he speaketh some things vnproperly; in briefe, that he suffereth himselfe to be distracted thither, whither the violence of his passion carrieth him. You deny that a Wise man is a slaue, and yet confesse that he may be sold, that he will doe that which is commanded him, and will subiect himselfe as a slaue to all that seruice which his Master shall require at his hands. Thus, after you haue braued a long time, you fall into the condition of other men; and there is no difference betweene you, but in change of names. I therefore suspect that there is some such like thing in this, that vpon the first appearance seemeth faire and magnificent, in that thou proposest, that a wise man cannot be outraged eyther in deed or word. But these things be different; that is, if you say, that a wise man cannot be angrie, or cannot be iniuried. For if you say that he endureth the iniurie patiently, he hath no priuiledge. He partaketh onely a common good, that is to say, patience, which is learned by a custome of hearing, and bearing iniuries. If thou sayest that he cannot be outraged, that is to say, that no man wil attempt to doe him iniurie: I will giue ouer all other affaires, and become a Stoicke. But my intent is not to dignifie a Wise man with an imaginarie honour of words, but to lodge him in such a place where no iniurie may attaine vnto him. What then? shall there be no man that will attempt or prouoke him? There is nothing so sacred in this World, that meeteth not with some sacriledge. But the gods cease not to be raysed aloft, although there be some so wicked men that will assaile a greatnesse and maiestie, so high placed that they cannot hurt or attaine vnto. That thing is exempt from harme, not because it is not stroken, but because it is not interessed. By this marke I will make thee know a Wise man. Doubtest thou that an inuincible force, although it be assailed, is no more assured then that force which is not prouoked, considering that there is not any force in those forces that are vnapproued, and that contrariwise the constancie which despiseth all assaults, is iustly held for the most certaine? So know thou that a Wise man is more to be esteemed, because no iniurie can doe him harme, then if no man prouoked him any wayes. I will call him a valiant man that is inuincible in warre, that is not astonished vpon the enemies charge; who taketh no pleasure in fatting idlenesse, nor in the conuersation of such as doe nothing. I say then that a Wise man is not subiect or exposed to any iniurie whatsoeuer, neyther careth he how many darts are shot against him, since hee knoweth that bee cannot bee pierced. Euen as there are certaine hard stones which Iron cannot enter, and the Adamant will neither be cut, filed, or beat to powder, but abateth the edge of those tooles that are applied vnto it: as there are certaine things which cannot be consumed by fire, but continue their hardnesse and habitude amidst the flames; and euen as the rocks that are fixed in the heart of the sea, breake the waues, and although they haue beene assaul-

An answere to this reply.

Diuers comparisons to fortifie his answere.

ſaulted, and beat vpon many infinite times, retaine no impreſſion of the ſtormes that haue aſſailed them; euen ſo the heart of a wiſe man is ſolide, and hath gathered ſuch force that hee is as ſecure from iniurie, as thoſe I made mention of.

Chap. IV.

Hee particularly deſcribeth the priuiledges of a wiſeman, and firſt that the outrages that are done vnto him, touch him not.

What then? is there no man that will attempt to doe iniury to a Wiſe man? Yes, hee will attempt, but it ſhall not attaine vnto him; for hee is ſo highly raiſed aboue all the attaints of worldly things, that there is no violence whatſoeuer that can aime his attempts ſo high, be it your Princes and Monarkes who haue ſo many engines and ſeruants at their command, ſhould enforce themſelues to hurt him. All their endeauours ſhall be fruſtrate before a Wiſe man bee offended; euen as Arrowes and Bullets that are ſhot into the ayre, mount more hie then our ſight, but they fall backe againe without touching heauen: what? doeſt thou thinke that that fooliſh King when hee had darkened the day with the multitude of his arrowes, could hit the Sunne with any one of them? that caſting his chaines into the bottome of the ſea, hee could haue touched or enthralled *Neptune?* Euen as celeſtiall things are not ſubiect to humane hands, and they that ouerturne temples, and melt downe Images, doe no wayes hurt the Deitie: ſo whatſoeuer is attempted eyther crabbedly, immodeſtly, or proudly againſt a wiſe man, is done in vaine. But it were the better if there were no man that would attempt the ſame. Thou wiſheſt the world a thing hard to come by, that is to ſay, innocencie. As touching thoſe that doe the euill, it were better for them that they did it not, but in regard of him that endureth the ſame, it is no euill for him. I will ſay further, that I thinke that wiſedome diſcouereth the forces of his content, more where he is barked at and aſſailed; as ſecuritie is in an enemies Countrie, a great argument of a worthie Generall, and exerciſed Captaine. But if thou pleaſeſt, my *Serenus*, let vs diuide iniurie from contumelie. The former of theſe by nature is more tedious, the other more light and diſtaſtfull, onely to thoſe that are delicate, whereby they are not hurt but offended. Yet ſo great is the diſſolution and vanity of mens minds, that ſome men thinke there is nothing more diſpleaſing and tart. So ſhall you finde a ſeruant that had rather bee ſcourged with whips then buffeted with ſtrokes, and that ſuppoſeth that death and ſtripes are more tollerable then contumelious words. The world is growne to that folly, that wee are not onely vexed with ſorrow, but with the opinion of ſorrow alſo: as children are wont to doe, who are affrighted with their ſhaddowes, with deformitie of men, counterfeite faces, and are prouoked to teares, when they heare ſome name that they like not, and ſtart at the motion of our fingers and other things, which the weakeneſſe of their iudgement makes them readily condemne.

The ſecond, that although he is touched, yet endureth he the euill.

Chap. V.

The third, he can neither suffer detriment in body or mind, or goods, and therefore that he can no wayes be injured.

INiurie hath this intent to harme some man. But wisedome leaueth no place for euill: for there is no euill for her but vice, which cannot enter there where vertue and honesty dwell; and therefore iniury doth not affect a Wiseman: for if iniurie be the sufferance of some euill; and a Wiseman cannot suffer euill; there is no euill that appertaineth to a Wiseman. Euery iniury is a diminution of him to whom it is offered, and no man may receiue iniury without some detriment eyther in honour, body or in goods; but a wise man can lose nothing: hee hath all his good inclosed in himselfe; hee no waies putteth confidence in Fortune; he entirely possesseth his riches, contenting himselfe with vertue, which hath no neede of accidentall things, and therefore may neither increase nor decrease: for hauing attained to the height, there is no place for increase. Fortune taketh away nothing but that which shee hath giuen; shee giueth not vertue, and therefore cannot take it away; vertue is free, inuiolable, immutable, assured, and so hardned against casualties, that she neither may be shaken or ouercome. She holdeth her eyes fixed against the most dreadfull obiects in this world, she neuer changeth her countenance, whether they present her with prosperities, or tempt her with aduersities. So then a wise man loseth nothing of that which he perceiueth is subiect to losse; for he is in possession of vertue onely, from whence he may neuer be driuen, and vseth other goods as things that are borrowed. But what man is hee that is moued at the losse of that which is not his? but if iniury can attempt nothing which is proper to a Wise man, because the whole is conserued by his vertue, it followeth, that a man cannot iniury a Wise man. *Demetrius* named *Poliorcetes*, that is, a taker of Cities, hauing brought in subiection the City of *Megara*, asked *Stilpo* the Philosopher if he had lost any thing? No (saith he) for I carry all my goods with mee, and yet his house had beene ransackt, his daughters rauished, and his Countrie ruined: But *Stilpo* got the victory ouer *Demetrius*, and although his Citty were taken, he shewed himselfe inuincible, yea, exempt from all dammage, for hee kept with him the true goods which may well bee laid hold on. But as touching those goods that were pillaged & taken from him, he iudged them not his, but reputed them to be casuall, and such as followed the becke of Fortune; and therefore setled he not his heart vpon them, as if they had beene his owne. For the possession of all those things that abound externally, is slippery and vnassured. Bethinke thy selfe now whether either a thiefe, a backbiter, a dangerous neighbour, and enuious rich man, or some King broken with olde age could doe him iniury, from whom warre, and that enemy, who professed a goodly Arte, to subuert and shake Citties, could take away nothing. Amidst so many naked weapons, amidst the tumult of so many boote-haling souldiers; betwixt fire and bloud, and the sacke of a Citie, surprised by assault, amidst the ruine of temples falling vpon the gods; one only man remained quiet and constant. Thou art not therefore to thinke that I promised thee more then I can performe, for if thou wilt not credite me, I will giue thee sureties; for thou scarcely beleeuest that there is so much constancy in a man, or that his minde may be so great, except he presse forth and tell thee.

The image of Vertue confirmed by a succeeding and notable example.

Chap.

Chap. VI.

TO the end thou mayeſt know (ſaith hee) that a mortall man may raiſe himſelfe aboue all the accidents of this life, may regard with an aſſured eye the paines, loſſes, wounds and ſtroakes, and the hurliburly of infinite calamities that enuiron him; that hee may endure aduerſitie, content himſelfe moderately in proſperitie, without relying on this, or grudging himſelfe at that, but remaining alwaies like himſelfe in good aud euill fortune, not to eſteeme any thing his except it be himſelfe, or in regard of that part of himſelfe which maketh him vertuous: I am ready to proue this vnto thee, and to ſhew thee that vnder this ouerturner of ſo many Cities, the walles are beaten downe by the violence of his Rammes, the high Towers fall to the ground by the meanes of his Mines, and if he rayſeth his platformes as high as the talleſt Towers, yet notwithſtanding hee cannot finde out any engines that may ſhake a heart that is well aſſured. I haue crept out from vnder the ruines of mine owne houſe, I haue paſt thorow fire, flame and ſword, wherewith I was enuironed on euery ſide; I know not whether my daughters are more courteouſly vſed then the reſt of the City, I am old, and alone, ſeeing nothing but acts of hoſtility; on what ſide ſo euer I turne my ſelfe, yet I maintaine that all my goods remaine in ſecurity, I auerre, that I haue all that whatſoeuer was mine before. Thou muſt not thinke O *Serenus*, that I am ouercome, or thou art victorious. Thy fortune hath ouercome mine: I know not what is become of theſe my gooods which are ſubiect to loſſe, and change their maſter. As touching my true goods, they are and ſhall bee mine, and with me. The rich haue loſt their riches, the voluptuous their liues and minions which they had entertained with the hazard of their honour, the ambitious neither haunt the Pallace nor the Market-place as before, nor thoſe retreats wherein they made ſhew of their vanities; the Vſurers haue loſt their bonds and bookes of account, wherein Auarice made drunke with the loue of her ſelfe, imagineth commodities of all ſorts. For mine owne part I haue all my goods in ſuch ſort, as no man hath either touched or ſpoyled them in any ſort: Speake vnto thoſe that weepe, that lament, who to ſaue their money, preſent their diſarmed boſomes to naked weapons, that flie with a heauy burthen vpon their backes before the enemy. Reſolue thy ſelfe therefore *Serenus*, that this perfect man, full of vertues both diuine and humane, loſeth nothing: his good are enuironed with ſolide and impregnable ramparts, with him thou canſt not compare the walles of *Babylon*, vpon which *Alexander* mounted, nor the fortreſſes of *Carthage* or *Numantium*, enforced by one onely hand, nor the Capitoll or any place whatſoeuer, how ſtrong and defenced ſo euer it may be. The enemies either haue or might ſet foote therein: but the fortreſſes that defence the Wiſe man, cannot bee ſurpriſed, neither feare they fire, they cannot be entred or ſcaled, or vndermined, they are impregnable like the nature of the gods.

What profite we may reape by Stilpons conſtancy & example.

The deſcription of a vertuous man.

The miſerie of thoſe that ſeeke content in corruptible things.

Chap. VII.

An excuse of that which he hath propoſed of a wiſe mans vertue.

SAy not therefore as thou art accuſtomed to doe, that this our Wiſe man is found in no place; we paint not vaine glory in a mans vnderſtanding, neither conceiue we a *Coloſſus* of counterfeite vertue, but ſuch as wee haue confirmed and approued, wee both haue and will preſent thee. Haply ſuch a one is rarely found, no not in many ages; for theſe things that are great and exceede cuſtome and vulgar meaſure, are ſeldome engendred and brought to effect: but I beleeue that *Cato*, for whoſe cauſe we entred into this diſpute, exceedeth by farre the wiſe man which is now in queſtion. To returne to my purpoſe, that which offendeth ought to haue more force then that which is offended. But wickedneſſe hath not more force then vertue, whereupon it followeth, that a wiſe man cannot be offended, good men cannot be iniured but by euill men, peace and friendſhip is entertained by good men: But if none but the weaker can be wronged, and the euill is more weake then the good; neither can iniury bee done to the good, except it be by the bad, the wiſe man cannot be iniured. For I am not now to remember thee, that no man is good but a wiſe man. But (ſaiſt thou) *Socrates* was condemned vniuſtly, and receiued iniurie. In this place we ought to obſerue, that it may ſo fall out, that ſome man may outrage me, and yet I ſhall not be iniured; as if a theefe had ſtolne ſomething out of my grange in the Countrie, and locked it vp in my houſe: he hath robbed me, but I haue loſt nothing. A man may be guilty although he hath committed no offence; if he lie with his owne wife, imagining that he lay with another mans, he ſhall be an adulterer, although his wife ſhall not be an adultereſſe. Some one hath giuen me poyſon, but hauing intermixed it with my meate, it loſt his force; in giuing me this he is guilty, although no euill enſue thereupon. Hee ceaſeth not to bee a murtherer, who hath thruſt his ſword at me, although I haue put by the blow by the benefit of my cloake. All wickedneſſes are accompliſhed in regard of the offence before the miſchiefe be acted. There are certaine things of that condition, and ſo vnited, that the one cannot be without the other: that which I ſay, I will endeauour to lay open; I can moue my feete, and yet runne not, I cannot run except I moue my feete: although I am in the water, I can chooſe whether I will ſwimme, and if I ſwim I cannot chuſe but be in the water: ſo is it in this caſe that is in queſtion; if I haue bene iniured, it muſt needes be that the iniury hath beene done: but although the iniury hath beene done, it followeth not conſequently that I haue receiued it: for many things may fall out that may preuent the iniury, euen as the hand that is lifted vp to ſtrike, may be preuented by ſome accidents: and arrowes that are ſhot, may be auoided in ſome ſort, ſo may ſome things repulſe and ſtay all iniuries whatſoeuer, in ſuch ſort as they ſhall neither be done nor receiued.

The fourth priuiledg, the vertuous cannot be iniured by the vitious, but vertue is more powerfull then vice, and eaſily ſubdueth the ſame.

Chap. VIII.

Furthermore, Iustice cannot endure any iniustice, for contrary things cannot be vnited together: but an iniury cannot bee done but vniustly. It followeth therefore, that a man cannot doe iniury to a wise man; neither oughtest thou to wonder that no man can doe him iniury, since there is not any man that can bring him any profit: for a wise man wanteth nothing which hee can receiue in way of gift, and an euill man can bestow nothing on a wise man: for hee must haue it before he giue it; but hee hath nothing which a wise man would bee glad hee should bestow vpon him. Therefore no man can either hurt or profit a wise man. As the immortall gods neither desire to be aided, neither can bee hurt; no more also can a wise man, who is neighbor to the gods, and like vnto God, except in this that he is subiect to death: Tending and walking towards those thing that are high, gouerned, assured, permanent, peaceable, impregnable, gracious, and created for the good of all men; assisting himselfe and others, he will couet no base thing, he bewaileth nothing because that in all accidents hee dependeth on reason, and marcheth with a diuine thought. He cannot receiue iniury by any meanes, I say, not only in that respect that hee is a man, no not from Fortune her selfe, which as often as shee encountreth with vertue, neuer retireth but to her disaduantage; if wee entertaine that great euill with a willing and constant heart, in respect whereof the most rigorous laws of the world can doe nothing, and the most cruell tyrants can doe nothing, wherein fortune seeth all her Empiry consumed. In briefe, if we know that death is not an euill thing, lesse cruell shall we deeme an iniury to be, more couragiously shall wee endure all other euils, such as are lesse displeasures, ignominies, banishments, the death of our parents and quarrels; for although all these incommodities inuiron a wise man, yet stifle they him not, nay more, he grieueth not at any of their assaults. And if he patiently endure the iniuries of Fortune, how farre more easily suffereth he these of the rich and mighty sort, who are but the instruments of Fortune?

The fifth, since a wise man wanteth nothing, hee can receiue no iniurie, for his felicitie is compleate, a mere Stoicall Paradox; the Christian expected a greater complement.

Chap. IX.

Hee therefore endureth all these misfortunes as hee would abide the rigor of the winter, raines, heats and other accidents; neither iudgeth he of any man so well, that hee imagineth that hee did any thing by counsel, which is only incident to a wise man. The rest doe nothing with prudence. All their actions consist in fraudes, ambushes, and disordered motions, which the Wise man ranketh amongst casuall things. But all that which is casuall assaileth and enuironeth vs externally. Remember thy selfe likewise, that these things, by meanes whereof men endeuour to hurt vs, produce many occasions of offences. As if a man should wrongfully accuse vs, or suborne some witnesse against vs, or if they should disgrace vs in the presence of great men, or attempt such other accustomed practises amongst men that haue either leasure or credit. It is likewise another ordinary iniury, if a man take that profit which another man thought to make, out of his hands, or a reward long deserued, or an inheritance recoue-

All iniuries to a wise man are but as cold and heate, raine and sickneſſe.

red with much trauell, or the credite of a houſe wherein he had done faithfull offices. The wiſe-man neither liueth in hope nor in feare, but disburtheneth himſelfe of theſe difficulties. Furthermore, no man is iniured except hee be moued, and hee is moued and troubled, as ſoone as he is touched: but an vpright man is neuer vexed, hee brideleth in his extrauagant diſcourſes, he enioyeth a deepe and peaceable repoſe, and although an iniury touch him, and moue, and hinder him, yet is hee not attainted with choller, which groweth from a pretended iniury; and the reaſon why hee is not diſpleaſed, is, becauſe he knoweth that a man cannot wrong him. Thence proceedeth it, that hee walketh alwayes with an vpright countenance, a merry cheare, poſſeſſed with a continuall ioy, which in ſuch ſort ſtrengthneth it ſelfe, that in ſtead of being abaſhed at thoſe iniuries which men may offer him, and for thoſe diſaſters that may happen in life, hee maketh vſe of theſe difficulties, as meanes to know and make proofe of his vertue. Let vs make profite I beſeech you of this diſcourſe, and let vs liſten attentiuely both with heart and eare, how a Wiſe man behaueth himſelfe when hee is outraged, although that for all this wee are not ſo well aduiſed, as to cut off any thing of our wantonneſſe, of our violent couetouſneſſe, nor of our pride and arrogancy. The Wiſeman ſeeketh this liberty without medling with your vices, neither is it a queſtion here, whether it bee lawfull for you or no to doe iniury; but how a Wiſeman beareth all iniury, and continueth firme, patient, and confident in courage. In this ſort haue diuers borne away the palme in combates and exerciſes, when by their inuincible patience they had wearied the hands of thoſe that ſtrooke at them. Suppoſe our Wiſeman to be one of thoſe men, who by long and conſtant exerciſe haue recouered the force to endure and weary the force and aſſaults of their enemies.

The ſeuenth, he brideling in his paſſions, iudgeth of euill otherwiſe then paſſionate men doe, and conuerteth all to good.

Chap. X.

The eighth, that all complaints of thoſe that ſuppoſe themſelues iniured, are ſo vild and vnworthy, that it were a diſgrace for a Wiſe man to thinke that he ſhould be moued at ſuch things.

SInce we haue diſcourſed vpon the firſt part, now let vs deſcend vnto the ſecond; in which, by ſome particular reaſons, and by diuers common, wee will confute that opinion men haue of contempt and contumely. Contumely is an iniury ſo ſmall, as no man either complaineth or reuengeth himſelfe, therfore neither do the lawes themſelues prefixe any penalty thereunto. This paſſion is mooued by a certaine baſeneſſe of the heart that is diſpleaſed, for ſome either diſhonorable deede or word. As for example: This Lord hath not giuen mee audience to day, yet hath admitted another: He hath careleſly turned his head aſide when I ſpake vnto him, or hath mocked me before all men: In ſtead of placing mee at the vpper end of the table, hee hath ſet me below. What ſhall I call theſe complaints (or ſuch like) but vomiting of a ſicke ſoule, whereunto they are ſubiect, who are ouer delicate, and ſuch as liue too much at their eaſe; for I haue no leiſure to note theſe in particulars, when as worſe doe follow. Our mindes weakened and made effeminate by too much repoſe, and become inſolent for want of knowing what true iniury is, are mooued at ſuch things which (for the moſt part) proceede from this, becauſe hee that either ſayeth or doth them, vnderſtandeth not himſelfe. By meanes whereof, the other that is mooued and paſſionate, pretending to be iniured, ſheweth himſelfe to bee a man both heartleſſe and witleſſe. For vndoubtedly hee ſupoſeth himſelfe to bee

bee contemned, and this misprision of his proceedeth from nought elſe but his baſe, vilde, and abiect courage. But a wiſe man is contemned by no man, hee knoweth his owne greatneſſe, hee is reſolued that no man (except himſelfe) can attempt any thing to his aduantage or diſaduantage. And as touching all theſe miſeries (or rather diſtractions of the mind) ſo farre is he from not ouercomming them, that he feeleth them not. There are other croſſes likewiſe, although they ouerthrow him not, as paines and weakeneſſe of body, loſſe of friends, and children, ruine of Countries afflicted by warre. I deny not but a wiſe man hath ſome ſence of theſe euils, for we ſay not that he is hard and ſtupide, like a flint or as a barre of Iron. There is no vertue that hath not a ſence of that which ſhe ſuffereth.

Chap. XI.

WHat is it then? I confeſſe that a wiſe man receiueth ſome ſtrokes, but he rebateth them, he healeth them, and maketh them without effect: as for theſe that are leſſe he feeleth them not, neither vſeth he his accuſtomed vertue, conſtancy and patience, in reſpect of theſe, but either he marketh them not, or thinketh them worthy of deriſion. Beſides, whereas the greater part of contumelies are offered by proud and inſolent men, and ſuch as know not how to carry their good fortune: the wiſe man hath a meanes to deſpiſe that ſwolne affection, which is the conſtancy and greatneſſe of his mind; which is the greateſt of all vertues, the which paſſeth ſwiftly aboue all theſe vanities, as vaine appearances of dreames and nightly viſions, which haue nothing ſolide or true in them. He thinketh likewiſe that all other men are ſo baſe, that they haue not ſufficient courage to contemne that which is ſo highly raiſed aboue them. Contumely is ſo called of contempt, becauſe he that outrageth another doth it but in contempt. But no man contemneth his better or him that is more excellent then himſelfe, although he ſay, or doe ſomething which contemners are accuſtomed to doe. For young children, ſtrike their parents on the face, and an infant hath towſed and torne his mothers lockes, and ſpit vpon her, and diſcouered ſuch things in the ſight of the ſeruant which ſhould haue been hidden, and hath not abſtained from diſhoneſt and diſorderly ſpeeches, and yet none of theſe doe we call contumelies. And why? becauſe they doe it not in contempt. The ſame is the cauſe why wee beare with the vrbanity of our ſlaues, and take delight to heare them ieſt at their maſters, and after they haue gibed at them firſt, they haue liberty to taunt others that are at the table; the more contemptible and ridiculous a man is, the more liberty hath hee of his tongue. There are ſome men that buy wanton children, and animate them in impudencie, and giue them maſters to teach them to ſcoffe and bite at euery man, as if they had but recorded their leſſon, neither call wee theſe contumelies, but merry ieſts.

The ninth. Although he feele the ſtroakes he hath a remedy at hand, whence followeth his cure which deſerueth not this name; conſidering that the hurt is rather an imagination then any other thing, if we conſider thoſe who pretend to doe thee wrong.

Chap. XII.

The tenth, Hee esteemeth the iniuries that are offered to him by the vicious, as slightly as hee would the words of children, which know not what they say. A comparison betwixt yong & old fooles of the world.

BVt what folly is it now to bee delighted, and strait againe offended with the same thing? and to call that a reproch which is spoken by a friend; and a bitter iest that is vttered by a seruant? The same mind whiche we haue towards children, the same hath a wise man towards all men, who after their youth are become childishly old. Haue these men profited any thing, whose minds are depraued, and errors increased, and who differ in nothing from children, but in the bulke of their bodies, and outward formes? but are no lesse inconstant and vncertaine, and desirous of pleasure, without choice, fearefull, and quiet, not in mind, but for feare. Neither therefore will any man say, that there is a difference betwixt them and children, because the one is couetous of checke-stones, nuts, and small money; the other, of gold, siluer and Cities. Children make Princes and Iudges, amongst themselues, counterfeit Senators, and with staues and peeces of wood represent ridiculously the ensignes and markes of Iustice. These play the like sports in good earnest in the field of *Mars*, in the Market place, and in the Senate. Children sitting by the riuers side, make them houses of sand. These as if busied about some great matter, are occupied in stones, in walles, and building houses, and haue made those things dangerous which were inuented for the conseruation of our bodies. So then both the young and olde are infants, but the one are more aduanced in beastlinesse, and more fooles then the other. And therefore vpon good ground the wise man taketh pleasure and pastime in the outrages of these great Infants, and sometimes he chastiseth them as children, not because he hath receiued iniury, but because they haue done it, and to the end they should doe it no more; for so are wild beasts tamed by strokes, neither are we angrie with them, because they cast their rider, but wee stroke them and checke them with the bit, to the end that by managing them we may make them tame. Know therefore that this is answered which was opposed against vs, why a wise man, if hee hath neither receiued iniurie or contumelie, punisheth those that did the same: for he reuengeth not himselfe, but punisheth them.

Why a wise man sometimes chastiseth those that offend in deeds and words.

Chap. XIII.

In this place hee answereth some questions, and the first is, why the wise man suffereth the insolency both of young and old.

BVt why is it that thou thinkest not that the same infirmity of minde attendeth a Wise man, when thou mayest obserue the same in others, though not vpon the same cause: for what physition is angry with a lunatike person, who will interprete a sicke mans reproches to the worst, that is vexed with a feuer, and is forbidden to drinke colde water? The same affection hath a Wise man towards all men, as the Physition hath towards his sick Patients, who disdaineth not to handle their priuities, if they haue needs of remedy, nor to see their vrines and excrements, nor to heare the outrages which feare maketh them to vtter. The wise man knoweth that all these which iet in their gownes, or are apparrelled in purple, who, although they are well coloured and faire, are sicke and diseased: whom in no other sort he looketh vpon but as intemperate sicke men. Therefore is he not angry with them, if during their sickenesse they haue beene

beene ſo bold as to ſpeake iniuriouſly againſt him who would heale them; and as he ſetteth light by all their honours, ſo tormenteth he himſelfe as little with their deſpight and inſolencies. Euen as he taketh little pleaſure, if a begger doe him honour, no more will he iudge it a contumely, if the baſeſt companion returne him not the like when he hath ſaluted him; ſo will hee neither waxe prouder, if many rich men doe him honour; for hee knoweth that they differ nothing from beggers, nay, that they are more wretched then the other, for the one neede little, the other much. And againe, the wiſe man will not bee moued, if ſaluting the King of *Medes*, or *Attalus* of *Aſia*, hee paſſe by him without ſpeaking, and with a diſdainefull countenance; for he knoweth well that he hath as little cauſe to enuy ſuch a Princes ſtate, as the condition of him that in a great famine, hath the charge to keepe and ouerſee the ſicke and mad men. Shall I be angry if one of thoſe who negociate in the market place neere to the Temple of *Caſtor*, or that make it their traffique to buy ſlaues, and who haue their ſhoppes filled with a troupe of baſe ſlaues, ſaluteth mee not by my name? not, as I thinke, for what goodneſſe is there in him, vnder whom there are none but euill men. Therefore as he will neglect this mans humanity, or inhumanity; ſo will he doe a Kings. Thou haſt vnder thy gouernements, both *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Bactrians*, but ſuch as thou containeſt by feare; neither dareſt thou lay by thy bowe, by reaſon of them who doe nothing in regarde of thee, whom thou muſt handle as ſlaues, but ſuch as deſire likewiſe to bee rid of thee, and ſeeke for a new Lord. So then a wiſe man is not offended at any mans iniurie, and although that one is not of the ſame reckoning as others, yet hee eſteemeth them alike, becauſe they are no leſſe fooles the one then the other: now if but once he embaſe himſelfe, ſo farre as either he be moued with iniury or contumely, he can neuer be ſecure, for ſecurity is the proper good of a wiſe man; neither will hee endure that by reuenging the contumely that is offered him, he honour him that did the ſame: for it muſt needes bee, that hee whoſoeuer is diſpleaſed for an iniury that is done him, will likewiſe bee glad to be honoured at his hands.

CHAP. XIV.

The ſecond, whence it commeth that hee confeſſeth readily the faults both of the one and the other.

THere are ſome men that are poſſeſſed with ſo great madneſſe, that they thinke that a woman can offer them outrage. What matters it how rich ſhe bee, how many vaſſals ſhee haue to carry her litters; what though her eares are laden with pendants, and her chaines be large and ſpacious? yet all of them alike are impudent creatures, and except ſhee be endowed with much ſcience and learning, ſhee will bee cruell and incontinent in her deſires. There are ſome are much vexed, becauſe they haue beene repreſſed by ſome Ladies Groome that helpes to make her ready, and call it contumely, if a Porter bee ouer curriſh, they fret at the pride of the Clerke of Checke, and the loftineſſe of a Groome of the Chamber. O how much are wee to laugh at theſe toyes? with how great pleaſure is the mind to be filled, when a man beholdeth his owne quiet amidſt the tumult of other mens errors? What therfore? ſhall not a wiſe man be bold to approch the gate where there is a crabbed & froward Porter? if any affaires of importance ſhall command him, he ſhall attempt and appeaſe the Porter whatſoeuer hee be, in giuing him ſome preſent, as we are wont to giue bread or

or meate to a dog that barketh; in briefe, he will not diſdaine to diſburſe ſome thing to enter, remembring himſelfe that there are certaine bridges which a man cannot paſſe ouer without paying towle; and therefore hee giueth ſome money to this Towle-man or that Porter, for hee knoweth how to buy ſuch things as are vendible. Contrariwiſe that man hath a baſe minde that boaſteth that he hath ſpoken freely to a Groome of the Chamber, that he hath broken his ſtaffe, that he hath gotten acceſſe to his Maſter, and cauſed the Varlet to be beaten. He that contendeth maketh himſelfe an aduerſe party, and vaunting that he hath ouercome, maketh himſelfe equall. But what ſhall a wiſe man doe if he be buffeted? that which *Cato* did at ſuch time as an enemy of his gaue him a boxe on the eare, hee entred not into choller, neither reuenged hee that inſolencie. True it is that hee pardoned not the iniury, but hee denied that hee had receiued it: hee ſhewed himſelfe more couragious in proteſting that hee was not moued, then if he had pardoned him that ſtrucke him. Wee will ſtay no longer on this point: for who knoweth not that in matter of theſe things which a man ſuppoſeth either good or euill, a Wiſe mans opinion is different from all other men, he reſpecteth not what they repute either villanous or miſerable, he followeth not the common tract, but as the ſtarres are retrograde in their courſes, ſo carries hee himſelfe in a faſhion which is contrary to all others.

Chap. XV.

The fourth, what is the reaſon why a wiſe man is ſo patient.

CEaſſe therefore to demand whether a wiſe man ſhall bee outraged, if he be ſtrucken, if his eyes bee pulled out, if baſe fellowes exclaime againſt him in the open ſtreete; if at a Princes banquet he be placed at the lower end, & ſet to eate amongſt the grooms, if hee bee conſtrained to endure all the indignities and deſpites that may be done to a man of honour. Theſe inſolencies either great or little, ſhall appeare vnto him of one nature: if the ſmaller touch him not, no more ſhall the greater, if a little moueth not, a great deale ſhall not ſtirre him. But you meaſure a great mind according to the extent of your owne weakeneſſe, and conſidering onely how farre your patience doth extend; you thinke you doe very much, if you allow a wiſe man ſome further terme and limit of patience then you allow your owne. But his wiſedome hath placed him in other confines of the world, that haue nothing common with you. Therefore if croſſes, incommodities, and aduerſities, which both the eye and eare abhorre, preſent themſelues on euery ſide, and in great number: he ſhall not be diſmaied thereat, and as he croſſeth euery one of them, ſo ſhall hee make head againſt all together: who ſaith, that a wiſe man may ſupport one thing and not another, and cloaſeth his magnanimity in certaine bounds, doth amiſſe: Fortune ouercometh vs, except ſhe be wholy ouercom, neither think thou that this is only a Stoicall auſteritie; for the Epicure whom you haue made choice of for a patterne of your idleneſſe, and whom you ſuppoſe to be the Maſter of delights, idleneſſe, and meere paſtime, ſaith that Fortune ſeldome times viſiteth a wiſe man. How neerely vttered he a manly ſpeech; Wilt thou ſpeake more brauely, and wholy driue away fortune? Conſider that a Wiſemans houſe is narrow, without pompe, without noice, without decking, without Porters who giue or refuſe entry to goers out or in; but although the gate bee not kept by any man,

yet

yet Fortune ſetteth no foot therein; knowing wel that ſhe ſhall not be entertained there where ſhe hath no credit at all. But if the Epicure himſelfe who hath giuen his body all the pleaſures that he can imagine, diſgeſteth iniuries: is there any occaſion to thinke it incredible, extraordinary, and aboue nature, which the Stoickes pretend? The Epicure ſaith, that a wiſe man ought to endure iniuries, but we ſay that a Wiſe man cannot be iniured.

Chap. XVI.

To manifeſt that which is paſt, hee ſheweth what he vnderſtandeth by the word iniurie.

NEither haſt thou cauſe to conclude that this repugneth againſt Nature. We doe not denie but that it is an incommodious thing to be beaten, to be enforced, and to be maimed in ſome member; but we denie that theſe are iniuries. Wee take not from them the ſenſe of paine, but the name of iniury which cannot bee admitted without empeachment of vertues reputation. Let vs conſider which of theſe two opinions are to be admitted. Both of them conſent in the contempt of iniurie. Askeſt thou me wherein they differ? Such difference is there betweene them as betweene two ſtout ſword-players, whereof the one diſſembleth his wound and ſtandeth on his guard; the other, looking backe at the people that crie out, maketh ſhew that it is nothing, and will not endure to haue them parted. You muſt not therefore thinke that the difference is ouer great. But there is another point that properly concerneth vs. Theſe two examples teach vs to contemne iniuries and outrages, the which I call ſhaddowes and ſuſpitions of iniuries, to contemne which we ought not to ſeeke out a wiſe man, wee need but a well aduiſed man that may ſpeake thus vnto himſelfe; whether do theſe things befal me deſeruedly or vndeſeruedly; if deſeruedly, it is no contumely, it is but a correction; if vndeſeruedly, let him be aſhamed, that deales vniuſtly; and what is that which is called contumelie? Hee ieſteth at mee, becauſe I ſhake my head, becauſe I haue weake eyes, becauſe I haue little legges, and am of a low ſtature. Is this an outrage, if a man tell mee that which euery man ſeeth? Wee laugh at any thing that is ſpoken in the preſence of one; wee are angry, if it bee before many; and wee permit not men the libertie to ſpeake that of vs which wee our ſelues will ſay our ſelues: wee are delighted with temperate ieſts, and are diſpleaſed at thoſe that are immoderate.

How a man ought to interpret thoſe things that are ſpoken by an other.

Chap. XVII.

How vainely we flie from the precepts of the wiſe, and are beſotted on trifles, and faine iniuries in our owne imaginations.

Chryſippus ſaith, that a certaine man was much diſpleaſed becauſe another man called him ſheeps-head. Wee ſaw *Fidus Cornelius Naſoes* ſonne in law ſtand weeping in the Senate houſe, becauſe *Corbulo* had called him pild Auſtrich. Againſt other reproches wounding both his manners and life, hee carried alwaies a ſetled countenance; but upon this ſo impertinent a ieſt, hee could not abſtaine from teares; ſo great is the infirmity of our minds when reaſon is abſent: for example, wee are offended, if any man counterfeite our ſpeech, our gate, or any imperfection either in our body, or in our tongue: as if they ſhould waxe more notorious by another mans imitation, then our owne action. There are ſome that

that cannot endure to be called olde, gray-head, or other ſuch names, whereunto many are deſirous to attaine. Other ſome haue beene diſpleaſed, if they haue beene called poore; but he truely calleth himſelfe poore that concealeth his pouertie. The true meanes to cut off all thoſe ſcoffers and ieſters is, if thou thy ſelfe prevent them, and obiect againſt thy ſelfe, all that which they could ſpeake againſt thee. Whoſoeuer laugheth at himſelfe, firſt cutteth off other mens occaſions to laugh at him. It is ſaid that *Vatinius* (who was a man borne to be laughed at and hated) was of himſelfe a pleaſant and talkatiue Companion. This man ieſted much at his owne gouty feete, and his ſwolne chaps; ſo eſcaped he the deriſion of his enemies, and eſpecially the bitter ieſts of *Cicero*, which were in number farre more then the ſickneſſes that had ſeized him: if *Vatinius* a ſhameleſſe fellow could doe this, by meanes of his bitter ſpeeches, who had learned impudence by his continuall ieſting, why cannot he doe it, who by honeſt occupations of the mind, and exerciſes of wiſedome, hath attained to vertue? Adde hereunto, that it is a kinde of pleaſure to pull from an outragious man the pleaſures which he taketh in ſpeaking or doing euill. Theſe men are accuſtomed to ſay; *Wretch that I am, I thinke he vnderſtood not*? So is the fruite of contumelie in the ſence ard indignation of him that ſuffereth. Moreouer, hee will one day bee met withall, and ſome one will light vpon him that ſhall reuenge thine iniury.

Chap. XVIII.

The end of inconſiderate mockers, they ſee a mote in their neighbours eye, but will not ſpie a beame in their owne.

AMongſt all other vices, wherewith *Caius Caligula* was repleniſhed, it is reported of him that hee was a great mocker, who dayly had a fling at other mens faults, where himſelfe was a bountifull ſubiect of laughter: For his countenance was pale and deformed, betokening his melancholy fury, his eyes ſunke and buried vnder his olde and beetle browes; his head bare in diuers places, a tuft of curlde and thicke haire about his necke, his legges ſmall, his feet plat and vnmeaſurably broad: but I ſhould neuer make an end, if I ſhould ſpecifie euery particular, wherein he reproached his fathers and grandfathers, and in generall all ſorts of men. I will onely relate thoſe which were the cauſe of his deſtruction. Amongſt his eſpeciall friends, was *Valerius Aſiaticus*, a man of a fierce minde, who could ſcarcely diſgeſt thoſe contumelies that were offred to a ſtranger. To this man did he obiect at a banquet, and afterwards with a loude voice in an open aſſembly, the motions and faſhions of his wife, at ſuch time as he accompanied and lay with her. Good gods! that the husband ſhould heare this, and the Prince ſhould know it, and that liberty of ſpeech was ſo vnbrideled, that he ſhould diſcouer, (I ſay not to one that had beene Conſull, I ſay not to his friend, but to her owne husband) the adulteries of his wife, and how his luſts were ſatisfied! *Chæreas* the Tribune of his Souldiers had no ready ſpeech, and hadſt thou not knowne him by his deedes, thou wouldſt haue ſuſpected him to bee an effeminate fellow. To this man when hee came to fetch the watch word at *Caius* hands, he ſometimes gaue him the name of *Venus*, ſometimes of *Priapus*, reproching in one or other ſort this warlike man who made profeſſion of armes; that he was effeminate, and that it was hee to whom the name appertained to be painted, ſocked and decked with bracelets: he therefore enforced him to vſe his weapon, leſt hee ſhould bee often enforced to fetch his Watch-

See Suetonius *and* Liuie *in the life of* Caligula.

word

word from him: he was the firſt amongſt the conſpirators that lifted vp his hand; he it was that cut his necke halfe off at one ſtroke; and afterwards hee receiued diuers other ſtabbes and ſtrokes at their hands, who reuenged their publique or priuate iniuries. But he whom *Caligula* leaſt ſuſpected, was the firſt that ſhewed himſelfe a man; and yet the ſame *Caius* who tooke all things for iniuries and outrages, could himſelfe endure nothing, though here moſt deſirous to offer all: he was angrie with *Herennius Macro*, becauſe he had ſaluted him by the name of *Caius*; and he cauſed a Centurion of the firſt Legion to be ſeuerely puniſhed, becauſe he named him *Caligula*; yet was he vſually ſo called, becauſe he was borne in the Campe, and was wont to be called the infant of the Legions: In briefe, the Souldiers knew him not by any name ſo well, as by that: Notwithſtanding, in the end he tooke this word for a reproach and outrage. Let this therefore be for our comfort, that although our frailtie omitteth reuenge, yet wil there be ſome one who wil reuenge vs on an audacious, proud & iniurious enemie; which vices are neuer conſummated in one man, or in one contumely. Let vs conſider their examples, whoſe patience we praiſe, as that of *Socrates*, who tooke in good part the taunts and reproofes which the Poets and Players publiſhed againſt him, and laught no leſſe then when his Wife *Zantippe* powred foule Water on his head: but *Iphicrates* beeing reproued becauſe his mother was a Barbarian, and a Thracian, anſwered, that the mother of the gods was borne on the mount of *Ida*.

Imply that the true reuenge belongeth to God, and [illegible]ence by his example to a wiſe man.

Chap. XIX.

WEe are not to fall to brawles or debates hereupon; let vs returne our ſelues farre from theſe, and neglect thoſe errors which the imprudenter ſort commit: for none but imprudent men will commit the ſame. Both honours and publike iniuries are to be eſteemed alike, neither let vs grieue at the one, or reioyce at the other: otherwiſe wee ſhal omit many neceſſary things through the apprehenſion or diſtaſte of contumelies; neither ſhall we execute either publique or priuate offices, no not thoſe that are moſt neceſſarie, whileſt effeminate care troubleth vs, for feare we ſhould heare ſomething againſt our mindes, and ſometimes being diſpleaſed with mighty men, by our intemperate liberty, we ſhould diſcouer this affection. But it is no liberty to ſuffer nothing; we are deceyued: this is libertie, when we oppoſe a reſolute minde againſt iniuries; when a man getteth a habitude that breaketh all pleaſure, eſtranging from himſelfe thoſe things which are without vs, for feare, leſt being afraide of the laughters and diſgraces of the World, we drowne our life in a continuall diſquiet: for what man is he that cannot iniurie another, if euery man may? But a wiſe man and he that is a follower of wiſdome, wil vſe another remedy: for to thoſe that are imperfect, and who as yet conforme themſelues to the iudgement of the people, we ought to propoſe that they are to liue amongſt iniuries and outrages. All things are light vnto thoſe that expect them: the more greater a man is, the more generous, renowned and rich, the more ought he to ſhew himſelfe confident and couragious, not forgetting this, that the braueſt Souldiers are ſet in the foremoſt rankes; let him endure opprobrious words, ignominies, and other diſgraces, as the cryes of his enemies, as arrowes ſhot from a farre, and

To auoid ſtrife, is a remedy againſt trouble, and there is no better wiſdome then to be prepared and conſtant againſt all incumbrances.

ſtones that rattle about the Helmet without wounding; and let him ſuſtain iniuries, neither deiected nor moued from his place, as he would ſtrokes inflicted on his armor, or infixed in his breſt: although thou be oppreſſed, and the enemy preſſe thee neerely, it is a baſe thing to giue place; maintaine that place which Nature hath aſſigned thee: Askeſt thou me what this place is? That of a mans. The Wiſeman hath an expedient contrary thereunto: for you are in the conflict, he hath gotten the victorie: reſiſt not your owne good, and till ſuch time as you haue attained the truth, nouriſh this hope in your hearts; aſſure your ſelues boldly of ſome better thing, preſſe forward to attaine it with hope and honeſt deſire; it is for the profite and aduantage of the whole world, that there is ſome one inuincible, that there is ſome one, ouer whom Fortune hath no power.

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The end of the Booke of the Conſtancie of a wiſe man.

OF

OF

THE SHORTNES OF LIFE.

VVritten by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

TO

PAVLINVS.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THe time wherein this Booke was written is vncertaine (except it were after CAIVS *gouernement;) but for the goodneſſe thereof it is not to be doubted. O ſubiect of an excellent and profitable Argument! The Argument is, that our Life is not ſhort, but that we make it ſhort, eyther by not vſing it, or by abuſing it, or vainely vſing it. This deduceth he thus: Firſt, wee are bondſlaues to vices, wherein we conſume and loſe our yeares: Secondly, we are vnprofitably buſied in triuiall matters, and ſuch as we call Offices: Thirdly, we ſinne eyther in opinion or preſumption, and this maketh that life ſhort which we thinke to be long; We deſpiſe things preſent, we diſpoſe the future, as though we had them in great and aſſured abundance: and for the moſt part we are intangled with vaine or forraine pleaſure, and loſe our liues as it were in ſport. Such as this vntill the tenth Chapter; Thence diuideth he time into three parts, into that which is paſt, into the preſent, and into the future, and teacheth vs how euilly and fooliſhly we behaue our ſelues in euerie one of them: he inueigheth againſt fruitleſſe occupations, againſt delights, againſt exceſſe, againſt idle retyrements, and ſuperfluous ſtudie of knowledge. Hence hee diſcourſeth pertinently; and would to God he might eyther allure or change the learning louers of this time: That onely that time is well ſpent, which is imployed in the ſtudie of wiſdome, whereby our life is truely lengthened. The common ſort thinke otherwaies, for they eſtimate the ſame by fortune, and according to her ſmiles, ſo thinke they that our life is ſhortned or lengthened: In proſperitie they wiſh for death, in aduerſitie they feare it. In the end he exhorteth* PAVLINVS, *and what*

he ſaith to him, let euery man apply to himſelfe, and grow maturely wiſe, and retire himſelfe into the hauen of life, which is an honeſt repoſe. This vow I, thus will I endeuour.

Chap. I.

He beginneth with the ordinarie complaint both of the great and ſmall, that life is ſhort.

THe greater part of men (*Paulinus*) complaineth of the hard dealing of nature with vs, who hath brought vs forth to liue ſo ſhort a while, and yet of the time allotted vs, that the moments ſhould ſo ſodainly and ſwiftly run away, as we ſee they doe: inſomuch as beſides ſome few amongſt vs, the reſt are then moſt commonly bereft of life, when indeed they begin but newly euen then to liue; nor doth the populous or fooliſh people only lament this euill (ſo generall as it is counted) but euen many famous men haue likewiſe thought and lamented in like manner this our misfortune; whence ſpringeth that eſpecial complaint of the greateſt amongſt Phyſitians, that our life is ſhort, and their art very long. Hence alſo *Ariſtotle* takes occaſion to quarrell; (although it ſcarce beſeeme ſo wiſe a man as he was, ſo to doe) with dame Nature, who (ſaith he) hath allotted vnto beaſts, ſome fiue, ſome ten hundred yeares, where man, who is created to ſo many weightie purpoſe, hath a terme of life prefixed him ſo much ſhorter as we ſee: whereas indeed we haue no ſcantneſſe or ſcarſitie of life, but we rather loſe much of our life; for long enough & large enough is life allowed vs, were it ſpent in greateſt matters, or were it al ſpent in good matters; but when we haue by riot and negligence once loſt it, when it is once ſpent and gone, and we cannot ſhew any good we ſpent it in, at length need driuing vs to make an end thereof; we ſee that now it is ſpent, which we did not feele to ſpend, before in deed it was very wel nigh wholly ſpent: ſo that we had not giuen vs ſo ſhort a life, as we will make it, but ſuch we made it as it is; nor had we giuen vs ſo little life, but ſo prodigall and lauiſh we are. Euen as a Princes ample Patrimonie, if it come in Huckſters hands, goeth away in a moment: which if it were the hundreth part thereof, and were well husbanded, would yet by good vſage, encreaſe rather then proue but ſcarce; euen ſo our age if it be well employed, will proue faire and long enough.

Chap. II.

The diuers meanes we follow to ſhorten our dayes.

WHy then complaine we of Nature? ſhe hath dealt well with vs, and thy life, if thou know how in good things well to ſpend it, ſhall appeare long enough. One is wholly poſſeſſed with vnſatiable auarice, another is as buſie as a Bee in labours, euery way needleſſe and ſuperfluous: a third drinkes out his daies, a fourth is idle, a fifth liues gaping after preferments, which yet are in the will of another to beſtow; a ſixth, is led euen round about the world, by a deſire to buy and ſell, with hope to gaine; and ſome there are that continually haue their mindes on warre-fare, neuer minding either the perils of other men, or regarding

ding their owne, as ſome there are alſo that wilfully enthrall themſelues to ſuch Potentates, as ſcarſly euer giue them any thanks for ſo doing, and yet delight in their folly; many likewiſe ſpend their daies in affecting others Fortune, and deteſting of their owne; and diuers men doe nothing but delight themſelues with changeable, vnconſtant, neuer pleaſing fantaſies, ſtill attempting new deuices; as alſo ſome like nothing, wherein to ſpend their time, but conſuming in their idleneſſe, doe nothing but ſtill accuſe their fate and Fortune: ſo that which the greateſt of all the Poets hath ſaid in manner of an Oracle, is true, *A little part of our life it is we liue*; for indeed the whole courſe of mans age is not life, but time rather, in which almoſt hourely new vices ſo aſſayle vs, as we neither can recouer our ſelues, nor ſo much as lift our eyes to ſee what is decent and truth in things we thinke of: but if once we begin to take footing, new deſires anew aſſaile vs, and keep vs downe: no, they cannot ſo much as recall themſelues to minde, but if haply they be quiet, yet as in the ſea after a ſtorme is fully paſſed, euer remaineth there a wallowing, and continuall rowling; ſo beate they ſtill vp and downe, nor haue they perfect reſt from their deſires. And here perhaps ye thinke I ſpeake of ſuch men onely, whoſe fancies all men gaze at, and talke of too; but looke on them, whoſe felicitie all men moſt maruell at, and you ſhall ſee, that euen theſe men are cloyed with their good fortune: of which ſort many account wealth a burthen, many hauing alſo a goodly gift of eloquence and vtterance, ſpend themſelues in delight to heare themſelues ſpeake: and many weare away, euen ſurfetting with ſelfe pleaſing delights & pleaſures: and how many, I pray you, know you that haue ſcarce any time almoſt to breath for continuall ſutors to them? Goe but ouer them all from the loweſt to the higheſt; he ſues, he helpes, he is in danger, he defendeth him, and another iudgeth him; euery one, to be ſhort, ſpends himſelfe vpon others: and enquire of theſe mens liuing, whoſe names and perſons all the world talkes of and knowes, and you ſhall ſee them diſtinguiſhed by theſe particulars: he is wholly at the deuotion of ſuch a one, another altogether depends of him: and none of them all is his owne man, or intends his owne buſineſſe. And here I find a fond complaint made by ſome men, they miſlike forſooth the coineſſe of their ſuperiors, who are not oft at leiſure, when they would ſue or doe their duties to them; and dareth any man complaine of the pride of another, who himſelfe is neuer at leiſure to bethinke himſelfe of himſelfe? The great man be he neuer ſo proud, yet ſometimes at the length he giues thee acceſſe; he giues thee audience at ſome time, he calls thee at laſt, yet canſt thou not vouchſafe to looke into thy ſelfe, or giue hearing to thy ſelfe.

CHAP. III.

THou art not therefore to impute theſe offices to another, becauſe that when thou didſt them, thou wouldeſt not be with another; but couldeſt not be with thy ſelfe: and if all the wits that euer were renowned for any thing, would intend this one poynt; yet can they not all of them ſufficiently wonder at the blindneſſe of mans minde in this one falſe folly. They ſuffer not their lands to be vſurped by another, and be the controuerſie about neuer ſo little a quantitie, or circumſtance of their poſſeſſions, they take vp ſtones, and betake them ſtraightwayes to armour, and yet they ſuffer others to be maſters of their liues, yea they

We ought not to accuſe the ſhortneſſe of our life, but our ſelues.

they put ſuch in poſſeſſion, as are like to be Lords and Rulers of it: yee ſee no man willing to part with his money, but with good conditions to another; and yet with how many, I pray you, doe we all part ſtakes, and make diuidents of our life, euen many times for nothing? Euery one is a niggard to part with his Patrimonie, and yet moſt lauiſh be we when we come to loſſe of time, wherein onely a man may honeſtly ſhew himſelfe a nip-cruſt. I will therefore entertaine ſome one of theſe that are ſtrucken in yeares, and I will ſay vnto him, Sir, we ſee you are as old as a man almoſt may be, you are onwards on a hundred yeres, or rather more then ſo; doe but call your yeres to a reckoning, and ſay in ſadneſſe, how much time your creditors, your ſhe friends, the Citie matters, and other ſuitors to you haue ſpent thereof? Your ſuites about wiuing, breaking your head to frame your ſeruant; your deſire to pleaſure friends in euery corner of the towne: how much paine haue theſe things put you to? then adde what ſickneſſe your ſelfe haue beene procurer of, as alſo what time haſtie and vnaduiſed anger hath poſſeſt you with, euen in things friuolous; yea what time hath paſt you to no fruit or purpoſe, & you ſhal ſee you haue not liued ſo many yeares as you make reckoning of: call to mind when you were reſolute what to doe in any thing, and how many dayes you euer paſſed as you determined, then what fruit you reaped of dayes ſo ſpent? what haue you now to ſhew as the fruit thereof: nay, how many haue ſtolne peeces of your life, whilſt your ſelfe did not conſider or perceiue the want thereof; how much of it haue falſe ioyes, needleſſe griefes, greedy, couetous, pleaſant company miſpent I pray you? and then count how little of your owne life is left to your ſelfe, and you ſhall finde you die, before you are readie to depart the world.

Chap. IV.

The true cauſe of this ſhortneſſe of our life, proceedeth from this, becauſe wee thinke not vpon death.

WHat is then the reaſon forſooth you liue, as if you had a warrant to liue for euer? you recken not how little time you liue to your ſelfe; you count not how much time you ſpend, while you ſpend as it were of a full and ouer-running reckoning; when as haply that ſame day ſpent in another mans pleaſure, or to his vſe, may chance to be your laſt; you feare all things as men mortall, yet you long for all things as immortall. You ſhall heare ſome men ſay, were I fiftie, I would betake me to my beades, were I threeſcore, I would meddle no more with worldly matters; yet they haue ſmall warrant of longer life then the preſent moment: for who can giue thee aſſurance that thou ſhalt doe euen iuſt as thou determineſt? Shameſt thou not to make reckoning how to leade thy life to come, and to poynt ſuch time for amendment, which almoſt can ſerue for nothing? How late is it to begin to liue then when thou muſt leaue to liue? or how fond forgetfulneſſe of mortality is it to delay amendment to thy fiftieth yeare of age, and to make account that then thou wilt begin to liue, when few men vſe to aſpire to ſuch an age? Yee ſhall often heare great mighty men giue out ſpeeches in praiſe of reſt, of leiſure, and quietneſſe: they wiſh it, they preferre it before all their wealth; yea they wiſh they might with ſafetie come downe from that high top of their authoritie, and intend the ſame; for although a great proſperitie be not aſſailed or battered externally, yet ceaſeth ſhe not to decay, and to be intangled in her ſelfe.

Chap.

CHAP. V.

GReat *Auguſtus* whom the gods did more for, then euer elſe for any man, ceaſſed not to pray for reſt and exemption out of common cauſes; all his ſpeech ſtill was aymed to this end, that hee once might come to quietneſſe: yea he ſauced all his labours with this falſe but pleaſant comfort, that he would one day ſurely liue to himſelfe; and in one Epiſtle which hee wrote vnto the Senate, (wherein hee proteſted that his reſt and quiet priuate life ſhould doe him more good and credit alſo, then his life already led in renowne and glory) I finde theſe words inſerted: *But I know it were more credit for me ſo to doe, then to ſay ſo; howbeit ſuch deſire I haue thereto, as becauſe I cannot indeed performe it, ſome pleaſure yet I thought to reape, by talking onely of ſo pleaſant a matter.* So great a thing was reſt in his conceit, that being vnable to attayne the ſame in effect, hee apprehended it in thought; he that ſaw that all things depended on him, and that he was truly able to make happy or infortunate whomſoeuer, or whenſoeuer he pleaſed, took great pleaſure to remember the day and time, when he ſhould caſt off his owne greatneſſe, and become his owne man: hee had tryed what ſweat and ſwincke his eſtate (which all men deemed to bee ſo good and glittering) did coſt him to maintayne: and how much priuy heart-burning, and heart-aking too it daily harboured, being forced to make war firſt with the Citizens of *Rome*, then with his fellow Officers, laſtly with his kindred, ſhedding bloud by Sea and Land, in *Macedonia*, *Sicilia*, *Ægypt*, *Syria* and *Aſia*, courſed almoſt throughout all Countries; yea, and when he had thus glutted himſelfe in a manner with Romane ſlaughter, hee was forced to turne himſelfe againſt forraine Nations. And being likely to quiet ſome troubles in the Alpes, hauing vanquiſhed other enemies that diſturbed this his peaceable and ſetled Empire, while he ſet forward to enlarge the ſame beyond *Rhenus*, *Euphrates* and *Danubius*, at home euen in the Citie, *Murena*, *Cepio*, *Lepidus*, and the *Egnatij* prepared Armes againſt him: yea, and hauing ſcarſly fully eſcaped theſe their attempts, his Daughter *Iulia*, and many noble young Gentlemen (knit in League by reaſon of their too much familiarity with that looſe Lady) began to be terrible vnto the Father, who in their opinion liued ſomewhat too long: after whom alſo *Fuluia* cauſed her Huſband *Anthony* to take weapon againſt him, no Hiſtory ſheweth why. All which ſores when he had cut away, with the parties alſo in which they were, yet ſtill there aroſe new, not vnlike a body too full of humours, whereof alwayes ſome one part or other breaketh out continually into a ſickneſſe: wherefore he wiſhed to liue in reſt, the onely hope and thought whereof, was the only eaſe of all his labors, and this one thing was the daily prayer and deſire of him, who was able otherwiſe to make euery man Maſter of his deſires beſide himſelfe. *Marcus Cicero* long time toſſed vp and downe betweene *Catiline* and *Clodius*, betwixt *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, who were his open enemies, the reſt his doubtfull and vncertaine friends, whileſt hee wreſtled with the Common-Wealth, and laboured to hold it vp that now was running more and more to ruine, was at length ouer-borne and forced to yeeld to the burthen of it, being neither quiet in proſperitie, nor patient in the contrarie: this *M. Cicero*, how often not without cauſe alſo doth he deteſt that his Office borne as *Conſul*, which till then at firſt, he neuer ceaſſed to commend without end; which in truth hee did not without cauſe extoll, when hee ſpake moſt

Since the example of the greateſt (ſuch as Auguſtus Cæſar was ſheweth) that repoſe is a thing ſo to be deſired. This ought to induce euery one to prolong his life in correſpondent affaires, in ſtead of complayning.

moſt of it. What doleful ſpeeches fals he into in one epiſtle to *Atticus*, vpon the newes that *Pompey* the father was vanquiſhed, when his ſonne the yonger *Pompey* renued his fathers quailed quarrell in the parts of *Spaine? Aske you*, quoth he, *what I make here? I keep my ſelfe to my Tuſculane, now at length halfe become mine owne man:* adding alſo other things in the fore-ſaid Letter, wherein both he bewayleth his time fore-ſpent, he complayneth of the preſent, and deſpayreth of any good in the time to come: he calleth himſelfe now halfe his owne, where in truth no Wiſeman euer could vſe ſo baſe and ſlauiſh a terme, who wil neuer bee ſo little as halfe his owne, but alwayes will bee whole his owne, his owne entyre, free from others beck and board; his owne to vſe without reſpect, what others account thereof; for what needeth hee regard what others ſay, who, treadeth Fortune vnder foote, as euery Wiſeman eyther doth or ſhould doe?

Chap. VI.

Another example of Liuius Druſus.

Liuius Druſius, (one of the Anceſtors of *Liuia*, *Auguſtus* his Empreſſe,) a hot ſpirited, and a very vehement fiery humor'd man, hauing put new Common-Wealthes in the peoples head, and ſtirde anew the old tumults of the two Brethren, the *Gracchi*: being manned almoſt with all the power that *Italie* could make, hauing not yet well weighed the end of things, which now hee could not accompliſh to his deſire, nor had he yet the liberty to leaue in the middeſt; fell in deteſtation of his owne vnquiet ſtate from the day of his birth till then, and is ſaid to haue vttered theſe very words: *I am only hee I thinke that neuer yet had leaue to play, no not when I was a Boy*: for indeed being vnder age, and comming but as children did into the Senate with his father, hee preſumed to ſpeake, to iudge in the behalfe of diuers mens, and layd his credit on the matter in ſo vehement a ſort, that it was ſaid, many iudgements were giuen wholy as it pleaſed him. Whither would not ſo yong an aſpiring humour, if it had continued? (for a man may well coniecture,) ſo ſoone ripe a ſtirring head, that muſt needes grow in time to the great hurt, publike or priuate, ſome where or other; and therefore too too late he made complaint, he had neuer yet leaue to play, who was of a childe ſo troublous, and importunate to the State where hee liued, as he was. Some make queſtion whether he kild himſelfe or no: (for a wound he had in his groine, which was his death:) but at that time, though ſome men doubted, whether hee had ſlaine himſelfe or no, yet all men thought it high time for him ſo to be diſpatched. It were needleſſe here to reckon more of this ſame humour, who being in the eye of other men moſt fortunate and happie, notwithſtanding gaue true teſtimony againſt themſelues, that they hated and miſliked of all that euer they had done; but with theſe complaints of theirs, they did neither alter others nor amend themſelues: for the words ſometime brake from them, to the ſence I haue ſaid: yet their deſires kept on the old vnconſtant courſe, and were no changelings. Truly when our life ſhall be extended to a thouſand yeares, yet ſhall it be reduced within a little ſcantling. Time ſhall deuoure all this, and in reſpect of this courſe which Nature furniſheth, and Reaſon prolongeth, of neceſſitie it muſt eſcape from vs ſodainly, and bee incontinently ended; for wee lay not hold on it, wee poſſeſſe it not, we giue not any ſtay to the ſwifteſt thing that may be imagined. No, but we ſuffer it, to paſſe,

paſſe, as if it were ſcarce worth the looking after, or elſe were eaſie to be recouered. I place in the foremoſt ranke thoſe who addict themſelues to nothing but drunkennes & palliardize, for no men haue a more infamous occupation then theſe. As touching the others, aſtoniſhed at the image of vaineglory, yet are they diſtracted by ſome faire appearance; although they reckon vp vnto mee the auaricious, although they number me the wrathfull, or ſuch as exerciſe vniuſt hatreds or warres, all theſe doe ſinne manfully. But the ſoyle of theſe that abandon themſelues to the ſinne of Letcherie, and other ſuch fleſhly pleaſures, is both filthy and villanous. But examine a little I pray you the life of all theſe. Conſider how much they employ in accompting, in complotting their practices, in fearing, in courting and being courted; how much time their owne proceſſe and other mens ſpendeth them, and how much their Feaſts which at this day are accounted for Deuoires and Obligations; and thou ſhalt ſee that their euils or their goods giue them not leiſure to take breath. Finally, all men doe confeſſe that nothing can be well performed by ſuch a man who is diſtracted with forreigne affaires, neither Eloquence nor liberal diſciplines; becauſe the ſpirit that is diſtracted, hath no grounded apprehenſion of any thing, but reiecteth all things as if they were triuial. There is nothing wherein a man that is buried in buſineſſe occupyeth himſelfe in leſſe, then how to liue, yet is there not any thing more difficult to be knowne.

CHAP. VII.

THe Profeſſors of others Arts are ordinary and many, and ſome of theſe Arts haue children ſo perfectly learned and vnderſtood, as they could teach them for a need. To liue a man muſt learne euen all his life long: and (that which happely you will rather wonder at,) all our life wee muſt learne in the end how to dye. And of ſo many great men as deſpiſed all lets and ſtops, deſpiſing riches, Offices and all voluptuouſneſſe, doing nothing all their life long, but learning ſtill to liue; yet diuers were there amongſt them, that departed this mortalitie, confeſſing they had not then as yet come to the knowledge: ſo farre off are theſe our buſie braines from attayning thereunto. So that truſt me, very wiſe is he, and a man aboue the common caſe and capacitie of men he muſt needes be aſſuredly, that ſpends amiſſe no iot of all his dayes: and therefore longeſt is his life, who ſpends all his life, be it much or be it little, in his owne affaires, and hath neither miſpent with folly, nor loſt by idleneſſe any houre thereof, and much leſſe hath intended any other men or matters, then himſelfe and his, deeming nothing in this world worth exchanging of his leiſure for it; which his leiſure he did ſpare as a thing moſt precious. And to this man I ſay his life was long enough, whereas on the contrary part, thoſe men may well complaine of ſcarcitie, who ſpend much time in matters popular, to their fruit none at all, or very little, and yet they vnderſtand not their owne loſſe. Oftentimes you ſhall heare great men (to whom good fortune is a burden) midſt their route of Suiters, cauſes, actions and other miſeries (which great port makes notwithſtanding to ſeeme felicities) cry out, *I cannot bee ſuffered to liue to my ſelfe*. All theſe men that ſeeke thy helpe to doe them pleaſure, draw thee from thy ſelfe. That Defendant, how many dayes did hee bereaue thee of? and how many

Who ſo will liue long, let him learne till he die.

many dayes that other ſtanding to bee Conſul; as alſo that old Gentlewoman, who hath troubled thee with the prouing ſo many of her Huſbands Wils? As alſo that olde Gentleman, whom thou viſiteſt in his ſickneſſe, which hee doth yet but counterfeit, to ſet greedie mindes on edge, to long for that he leaueth: and that great friend of thine, who yet reckens not otherwiſe of ſuch friends as thou art, then onely to bee credited by thy courting and attending him. And hauing caſt thy dayes in this manner of accounts, ſee how few daies and how fooliſh a remainder of them comes to thy ſhare. Hee that now hath got the Office he was long a Suiter for, is by and by contented to be rid of it, & ſaith, *Oh when will this geere come to an end?* Another ſues to the Senate, that he may be at coſt to prouide Playes for the people, and was wondrous ioyfull then when leaue was giuen him, ſo to ſpend his money; and yet ſhortly after he cryeth, *Oh when ſhall I be rid of them?* A third, whom euery Clyent ſeekes to retayn in counſell, who fils the barre when he commeth, and leaues euery Court empty at his returne, ſaith, *Oh when will this Tearme be at an end?* Thus euery man ſets life at nought, whiles he deſireth things future, and is glutted with the preſent; but he that turneth euery moment to ſome good purpoſe, that diſpoſeth of euery day as hee would of all his life, this man doth neither feare nor wiſh for to morrow: for what is there wherein any houre can breed him new delight? He knowes that all is vanitie: he hath had his wiſhes his belly full; for the reſt let Fortune doe as her ſelfe ſhall pleaſe; his reſt, his ſtocke is ſafe. This man may haue ſomething added to him, but nothing taken from him; but ſo added as meate which is ſet before him that is glutted and full, which hee neither deſireth nor diſgeſteth.

Chap. VIII.

Long life conſiſteth not in the great number of yeares, but in vertuous actions

And therefore neuer ſay, This man hath liued long: his white head, his wrincled face imports the ſame; for whether he liued long or no thou knoweſt not: but long indeed I confeſſe, thou ſeeſt that he hath beene. For how canſt thou ſay that he hath ſayled much, whom a cruell tempeſt takes immediately, as ſoone as he is out of the Hauens mouth; and after much hurly-burly, much trauerſing his way, and beating vp and downe, it brings him euen the ſelfe-ſame way backe to the Hauen that euen now he went out of? This man hath not much ſayled, but much hath he beene beaten. And here I often maruell much, when I ſee ſome men ſo earneſtly deſire reſt and reſpite, the men that they deſire it of being both ſo eaſie to be intreated, and ſo vnable to hinder it or keepe them from it: the thing in whoſe reſpect they wiſh for reſt and leiſure ſo greatly as they doe, doth much concerne them, I meane both the requeſter and the granter: the thing it ſelfe is *Time*, and yet they wiſh for it ſo coldly, or rather ſo indifferently, as if it were a thing of no value at all; ſo little doe they weigh the thing which yet indeed is moſt precious. And indeed this one thing greatly deceiueth them, becauſe time is not ſubiect to their ſenſes, nor is it eaſie by eye to iudge thereof; and therefore no man accounts more of it then of a very baſe matter, or rather a thing worthy no mans money. Euery new-yeares tide our *Romanes* vſe to receiue gifts and preſents of mightie men, in reſpect whereof they bind themſelues to dance attendance on the giuers, to beſtow their labour, their paine and diligence at anothers deuotion all the yeare after; no man valuing the time hee

muſt

muſt beſtow: for the ſame they vſe and abuſe many times ſo lauiſhly, as if indeed it coſt them nothing. But if the meaneſt man amongſt them ſhould chance to be ſicke, if death come neerer then they were aware of, ſee what ſuit ſtraight they make to the Phyſician: or if they feare the puniſhment of death by Law, ſee if they doe not offer gladly all the wealth they are worth, to redeeme their life; ſo diuers and ſo different be their deſires. And if it were as eaſie to ſay what yeares each man hath in future time to liue, as it is eaſie to tell you how many he hath liued already: how would ſome men tremble that ſhould ſee ſo few yeares remayning; and how chary would they bee in beſtowing them? And yet notwithſtanding cõtrariwiſe, it is an eaſie matter to order that we ſee is certaine: and more cauſe haue we to be charie of that, which wee know not how ſoone it will decay. Nor are wee yet to thinke they know not what a Iewell this time is which we ſpake of: for their common words of courteſie to their beſt friends, are theſe; I would goe, I would ride, I would ſpend a moneth to pleaſure thee: and indeed ſo they doe for other men, though they perceiue it not, or rather they loſe ſo much of their owne, without either turning it to their friends behoofe, or perceiuing the loſſe thereof in themſelues; which makes them take the loſſe in better part, becauſe they doe not feele it. Howbeit no man will reſtore thee thy time againe. Thy dayes ſhall ſtill goe on as they haue done hitherto, nor canſt thou euer either recall time ſpent, or cauſe it for time preſent to ceaſſe to ſpend: no, thy dayes ſhall make no more noyſe then yet they haue done; nor ſhall they giue more warning of their ſwiftneſſe now then euer. Time ſhall ſlide and will ſay nothing as it ſtill hath done alwayes. It is not like the prorogation of our dayes, and of an Office, neyther Prince nor people can giue it thee the ſecond time, but euen as it begunne from the firſt moment, ſo ſhall it ſtill continue. Ye ſhall take vp Inne at no place; how then? forſooth thou art occupyed and thy life haſtes away, and death ſhall come euen then when thou leaſt dreameſt of it; and wilt thou, or haue thou no will to it, thou muſt yet needs intend it.

CHAP. IX.

He that ſeekes out the meanes to liue vertuouſly, liueth long enough.

CAn any mortall man, be he neuer ſo wiſe and politick, tell vs how we may more throughly intend our ſelues then yet wee doe? or preſcribe vs how to liue hereafter more our owne, then yet wee are? Nay, themſelues with loſſe of life are long occupyed in telling how themſelues will liue, and (God wot) long they be about their owne conceits; and indeed the greateſt loſſe of our life is delay, which weares away the firſt day, bereauing vs of preſent time whileſt it promiſeth vs things future. Nor is there any greater impediment why wee liue not out of hand then expectation, which hangeth alwayes on to morrow: ſo thou loſeſt this day, and determineſt what ſhall become of that which Fortune is wholly Lady of, while it paſſeth and ſlippeth from thee that thou art Lord of. What hopeſt thou, what gapeſt thou for? All that is to come is vncertaine, and therefore liue out of hand: for the greateſt Poet that euer was, as it were by inſpiration, giues thee wholeſome counſell,

Our happieſt dayes doe paſſe from vs poore mortall men,
Firſt, and before the reſt.

And

And therefore why delayeſt thou? Why ſtayeſt thou? Life flyeth if thou lay not hands vpon it; and if thou doe lay hands vpon it, yet neuertheleſſe it flyeth; and therefore ſtriue thou alwayes with the ſwiftneſſe of time, and bee as ſwift in vſage and turning it to profit, as thou wouldeſt be quicke to draw water out of a Riuer that thou kneweſt would not continue in his running. And in this, well ſaith the Poet, he calleth them not happy yeares, but happy daies, thereby hitting vs in the teeth with our infinite conceit of time to come. Why doeſt thou in ſecuritie and in ſuch ſwift reuolution of time ſo leiſurely dreame of moneths and yeares, yea, and draw thy yeares alſo (to pleaſe thy fancie withall) ſo long in ſuch a number? He talketh with thee of daies, and of daies alſo now fleeting. It is not to be doubted therefore, but as he ſaith, each more happie day flies from vs moſt miſerable and mortall men, that is to ſay buſied, whoſe childiſh minds age as yet oppreſſeth, to which they come vnprepared & diſarmed. For they haue nought readie for it, but it lights vpon them vnawares, before they dreamt of it, nor did they feele it comming day by day as they ſhould. Euen as thoſe men whom a Tale or ſome pleaſant matter read, or other ſecret meditation deceiueth in their iourney, ſo that they know and ſee they are come to their iournies end, before they thought that halfe their way was ſpent thitherward, euen ſo this daily quicke race of our life, which as well we paſſe on ſleepe as we doe awake, it ſhewes not it ſelfe to vs whiles we be occupyed, but in the end when it is gone.

Chap. X.

To make vs more careſull that our life ſhould not be fruitleſſe, hee ſheweth that we cannot make account of any part thereof, but of that which is paſt, and diſcouereth the reaſons, adding that they who trouble themſelues too much with this World, are fruſtrate of the fruits of that time, and conſequently liue not.

AND that which I propoſed, if I would proſecute by peece-meale as I might, I could find great reaſon why to prooue the buſied mans life ſhorteſt as I ſaid. *Fabianus* was woont to ſay (who was none of theſe great formall talkatiue Philoſophers, but one of thoſe formed, former aged, true and plaine Philoſophers) *Wee ſhould fight againſt affections, not by ſlight but by might, not by caſie and gentle venues, but with all the force we can make. We ſhould ſtriue to beat downe their ſenſleſſe Armie, for touching would not helpe the matter, they muſt bee ſtrongly ſet on:* yet to ſhew theſe men their errour, I will not onely inueigh at them in bitter manner, but I will ſtriue plainly and ſenſibly to teach them this their folly. All our life is diuided into three parts, that is, that was, and that is to come: that we doe God knowes is ſhort, that we ſhall doe is doubtfull, that we haue done is out of doubt: for in this laſt indeed, dame Fortune hath loſt her force, nor can it now be put in the power of any thing to make vndone; and yet this time the buſied man hath wholy loſt; for hee hath no leaue to looke backe, or if once he haue leiſure. Yet ſmall pleaſure takes he to record a thing paſt, which he hath ſuch reaſon to repent him of: for little luſt he needs muſt haue to call to minde time miſpent, which he dares not now vnfold againe, for feare the faults, which at that time vnder colour of delight he was content to commit, by new handling become more manifeſt, and ſhew themſelues in their kind; and indeed no man doth willingly ſtraine himſelfe to looke backward but ſuch an one as doth all things vnder guard, and in awe of his owne conſcience, which is neuer deceiued. He that hath in many things deſired with ambition, deſpiſed with diſdaine, conquered with inſolencie, coozened with ſubtletie, ſcraped to him with couetouſneſſe, miſpent by prodigalitie; this man muſt needs bee much afraid

fraid to recall himſelfe to memory. And yet this recapitulation of time paſt and ſpent, is the time alreadie ſhriued, alreadie paſt all chance, and feare of change, free from Fortunes counterbuffes, out of danger either of penurie, of feare or ſickneſſe; this cannot be diſtempered, nor taken from vs, but remayneth our perpetuall and impregnable poſſeſſion: daies are preſent neuer more then one and one, and they by moments alſo: but of time paſt many moneths, many yeeres at your commandement, are readie preſt at a becke; they are content you looke on them, you handle them, and hold them, which the buſied man is neuer well at leiſure to performe: none but the quiet careleſſe man can fetch a vagary leiſurely throughout all parts of his life; the buſied mind is (in a manner) ringde and yokte for rowting; he cannot bow nor bend, nor intend to looke backe; and ſuch mens liues ſinke into a bottomleſſe gulfe: but euen as it doth not profit thee to haue powred to thy behooſe neuer ſo much in quantitie of any thing whatſoeuer, neuer ſo good in qualitie, if thou haue not wherein to hold it and preſerue it: ſo little booteth it thee, how long time thou haſt to liue, if thou haſt not wherein to hold it, or beſtow it; but letteſt time flit away through thy fancie ſhaken, chinked and tottered deſires. Now the preſent time is ſhort, and ſo ſhort, that ſome men thinke it in a manner nothing, for it is euer flitting: it runneth, it huddles forward, and it ceaſſeth (in a manner) before it come, nor doth it otherwiſe make ſtay then the World or the Starres, whoſe neuer reſting rowling, neuer ſtands in one place long: and yet this onely preſent time belongs to the buſied man, which it ſelfe is yet ſo ſhort as it cannot haue hands laid on it, and yet it amongſt ſo many matters ſlips away ere we are aware of it.

CHAP. XI.

AT a word, wilt thou ſee how little while they liue? no more but ſee how deſirous they bee ſtill to liue yet longer. Old layed vp, aged Siers, yet ceaſſe not ſtill to begge one yeere, yet more and more: yea their conceit ſtill runneth, they are younger then they ſeeme for; they feed themſelues with leaſing, and ſuch a pleaſure they take to belie their age, as if their deſtinie and death would come ſo much the later for their falſe belying it; and let any weakneſſe giue them but neuer ſo little a warning of their mortalities; how fearefully they die, not as if they did depart, but as if, will they, nill they, they were pulled out by the eares, then they crie; what Fooles were wee that tooke no pleaſure in life? then they vow, they will liue at hearts eaſe, then they ſee how in vaine they ſought for that they could not enioy: then they acknowledge all their labour was to ſmall effect: but they that liue to themſelues in ſeuerall, tending to no mans buſineſſe beſides, what lets vs to account their liues large enough? none of it is loſt or miſſpent, here and there in other matters: none of it is hazarded at fortunes command: nought is loſt by negligence, nought is giuen away by largeſſe to other mens vſes, nought is loſt as ſuperfluous, but euerie iot or moment of it is counted good reuenue: and therefore life thus ſpent, be it neuer ſo little, is enough, nor will a Wiſeman feare at any time without feare to die. But here you aske me whom I call the buſied man? Thinke not that I meane them, only whom the Dogs barke at behind the Palace gates, who are preſſed with a Troope of Attendants that follow them, or thronged amongſt other that make no great

They that build vpon the World, liue but a dying life.

account of them, who by reaſon of their charges are conſtrained to forſake their houſes, to goe and knocke at another mans gate; who make themſelues rich by pert-ſale, & who are verie oftentimes troubled to leaue their account. For there are many others that are buſied in their Countrie houſes, or in their beds, who trouble themſelues verie much in the midſt of their ſolitude, and although they are vnaccompanied by any, yet muſt we not ſay that their life is idle, but that it is an idle occupation.

Chap. XII.

They are far out of the way that imploy themſelues in idle and vnworthy actions.

Calleſt thou him at quiet, who with great care ſeekes in all corners for the metall that was made at the burning of *Corinth*? and ſpends the more part of his time in ſearching out amongſt ruſtie Copper, to ſee if he can light on any of it? or annoints his ſeruants whom he keepes to get prizes at wraſtling? or is ſurueying either his Sheepe or his Land, or other reuenues? or ſayeſt thou, hee is at leiſure, that euerie day ſpends an houre or two in the Barbers ſhop, cutting euerie day downe againe that which grew the night before? deuiſing vpon euerie haire he hath, whether it be better to cut it, Or let it grow? chafing like a young Emperour, if the Barber were but neuer ſo little negligent, or leſſe curious, becauſe he thought hee had a man of diſcretion in hand to cut, who are ſtreight waies in great rage, if neuer ſo little of their Loue-lockes be nipped away? or if euery knot thereof fall not round in a Ring? Of which ſort of curious Fooles, ſome had rather ſee diſorder in the Common-wealth they liue in, then in their haire? and had rather ſee their lockes kept faire, then regard their owne health? and care more to be accounted a neat nice fellow, then to haue the voice for honeſtie? Doeſt thou ſay that this man is at reſt and leaſure? ſo wholy buſied and occupied betweene the Combe and the Glaſſe? or that hee is ſo, that ſpends his time in making, hearing and learning Songs, forcing his voice, (which of nature is beſt, and eaſieſt ſo to be kept when it is ful and plaine) into a kind of warbling or reliſhing againſt nature? whoſe fingers are euer going, as if they ſtill were tuning, or ſtriking time in a Song: who, be they vſed in a matter of neuer ſo great importance, yea, ſometimes ſad and ſorrowfull, yet are euer and anon reſounding ſome piece of a Song or other? Theſe men (ſay I) haue not leiſure, but are buſied with a needleſſe and thriftleſſe labour, whoſe time of feaſting, I count not time of pleaſure or vacation; I ſee them ſtill ſo carefull how their Plate and their Seruices, and their Seruants may in decent manner become the Feaſt, wherehence they ſeeke the name of fine neat fellowes, and ſo curiouſly they regard this fond humour of their owne, as they neither eat nor drinke in quiet for it. Nor account I them their owne men, who all day long iog vp and downe from this friend to that in their Coaches and Wagons, and will not miſſe an houre of their daily gaddings in them, but haue their Seruants to aduertiſe them, it is now time to bathe, to ſwimme, to ſup; yea ſo much they giue themſelues ouer vnto this idle veine, that of themſelues they know not, or will ſeeme to bee ignorant when themſelues are an hungred?

CHAP. XIII.

The time that is imployed in pleaſure & vanitie is not life but ſickneſſe and death.

IT were long to run ouer theſe fellowes one by one, whoſe liues haue beene ſpent either at Tables, or at Ball, or in baſting themſelues againſt the Sunne; I cannot call them leiſurable, whoſe pleaſures put them to ſuch paine and buſineſſe. As for them that ſpend their daies in vnprofitable ſtudies, no man doubts, but that with much adoe, they doe nothing, of which ſort there are many now amongſt vs *Romans*. It was the *Grecians* olde diſeaſe to beat their braines in finding out how many Rowers *Vlyſſes* Ship had? whether *Ilias* or *Odyſſea* were foremoſt written? or whether one man writ them both? and many ſuch like queſtions; which whether you keepe the knowledge of them to your ſelfe or no, they neither greatly benefit your conſcience to keepe them, nor ſeeme you better to know them, but rather ſomewhat buſier or more curious then others. And euen this vaine deſire to learne things needleſſe poſſeſſeth now the *Romanes* alſo. When I was laſt in *Rome*, I heard a learned man reckon vp, what things each *Romane* Captaine had firſt beene Authour of; *Duilius* firſt did win in fight by Sea: *Curius Dentatus* firſt did lead Elephants in triumph; and theſe things though they tend not to true glory in deed, yet they belong in ſome ſort to matters politike. Such knowledge will not profit much; yet doth it leade vs forward in a ſort with a prette pleaſant diſcourſing vanity. Grant we alſo them leaue to ſearch what man firſt perſwaded the *Romanes* to goe to Sea. One *Claudius* forſooth it was, whom they therefore called *Caudex*, becauſe any building much of boords, was then called in Latine *Caudex*, and Bookes of Record, are alſo at this day called *Codices*, and Boats or crayers that carry any thing vp & downe the *Tiber*, are and haue beene euer ſince named *Caudicariæ*. Be it alſo not amiſſe to know, that *Valerius Coruinus* was the firſt that wan *Meſſana*, and thereupon had the name of *Meſſana*, added in reward of his proweſſe, which by little alteration of a Letter or two is now called *Meſſala*; the originall whereof euery man is not acquainted with. Beare we alſo with him, that ſearcheth how *L. Sulla* firſt let Lions looſe to fight in our *Romane Circus* or Pariſh Garden, what time King *Bocchus* ſent him Dart-flingers to kill them looſe, or as our Forreſters now ſpeake, to hunt them of force, where before time they were alwayes preſented tyed. Let vs not likewiſe enquire, if it were to the purpoſe, that *Pompey* cauſed thoſe (who were condemned) to fight in the ſame Parke with eighteene Elephants. This principall perſon in *Rome* (who amongſt the ancient Chieftaines of Warre is renowned by reaſon of his bounty, and ſingular mildneſſe in manners) hath ſuppoſed it would be a memorable ſpectacle to cauſe men to die after ſome new faſhion. It is a little matter to make them fight, and to be wounded in diuers places, hee muſt haue them cruſhed vnder the inſupportable weight of theſe great and huge creatures: it had beene better to haue buried ſuch an Hiſtorie, for feare leſt afterward ſome other great Lord hearing the recitall thereof, ſhould conceiue a liking to practiſe the like inhumane and barbarous action. O how much doth great proſperitie ouerſpread our vnderſtanding with darkneſſe! *Pompey* reputed himſelfe equall with the gods, at ſuch time as he expoſed ſo many troupes of poore men to ſauage beaſts, that were brought from forreine Countries; and when he cauſed a mortall Fight to bee performed betweene creatures ſo different, ſhedding much bloud in the preſence of the *Romane* people; when as hee himſelfe anon after

was to bee reduced to that neceſſitie to ſhed others: but hee himſelfe alſo (deceiued by the diſloyalty of the Councell of *Ægypt*) was ſtabbed by one that had ſerued vnder him, and then vnderſtood at laſt how vaine that ſirname of Great was, which was attributed vnto him by others.

CHAP. XIV.

He approueth that mans mind is marueilouſly aided to the Studies.

BVt to returne to my purpoſe, and to ſhew in other recitals the ſuperfluous diligence of others, the ſame Diſcourſe aboue mentioned reporteth that *Metellus* hauing conquered the *Carthaginians* in their quarrels for *Sicilia*, was the only man that euer led an hundred and twenty Elephants Captiues before his Chariot. He told alſo, how *Sylla* was the laſt *Romane* that enlarged the common or void ground without the wals of *Rome* (which was not ſuffered to be done amongſt our Anceſtors for any conqueſt or Land gotten in any Countrey, but only in *Italy*, though *Syllas* Conqueſts, were all of them out *Italy* wee know: which point was yet more worth the knowledge, then how the hill *Auentinus* was without the compaſſe of this ground I ſpeake of without the wals; for one of theſe two reaſons, either for that the people ſeuered themſelues from the Senate into this hill, when the Senators would haue made a Law, that no Patritius or Senators child ſhould marrie with him or her that was not ſo, or for that the Vultures, (whoſe flight *Romulus* obſerued, when hee built this Citie) did not compaſſe in this Hill with the other ſixe. Many more curious points did this man declare, which if hee did not inuent, yet did hee little better; for grant all theſe nice points to be written in good ſooth, yet, I pray you, what amiſſes doe any of them mend? whoſe deſires doe they miniſh? or who by them is made more couragious, or iuſter, or more liberall? Mine old friend *Fabianus* was woont to doubt whether it were better be ignorant, or to know ſuch vanities. But I take them to make beſt vſe of time, that ſtudie diuine Wiſdome, which no time preſent can conſume, nor no time to come diminiſh, and wholly exerciſe themſelues in celeſtiall Contemplation; for ſuch men doe not onely vſe their owne time well, but they alſo adde thereto the Ages ſpent before they were borne, and enioy them alſo as their owne, yea all the famous Recorders of moſt ſacred opinions, were, after a ſort, as it ſeemeth euen borne for them, and in a manner prepared the way for them how to liue the better. Which worthy Writers bring vs with much eaſe and little labor to moſt worthy matters brought by them out of darkneſſe into light, yea they keepe vs not from things done or ſaid in any Age ere we were borne, they admit vs vnto all things, yea, if we liſt (by the greatneſſe of an heroicall minde) to paſſe the narrow bounds of mans weake reach; we haue time enough to doe ſo. Why then leaue wee not this brittle tranſitorie time of life? and why betake wee vs not wholly (at leaſt in minde and cogitation) to theſe infinite and euerlaſting matters, which we haue in common with better natures. Theſe men that runne continually courting and waiting alwayes vpon great men, troubling others and themſelues in their ſo doing, when they haue gone a madding, and danc'd attendance at all mens doores, not leauing any great man vnwayted on, when they haue done their daies labour in ſaluting them; how many, I pray you, can they haue viſited of ſo infinite and buſie a number of great men in *Rome*?

Among

Among which great mightie ones how many are there, whom for becauſe, that either they were aſleepe, or otherwiſe occupyed, or not at leiſure to intend them, they could not therefore be admitted to ſpeake with all? How many are there, who after that they haue long beene wayted for, come out, and ſodainly looke for them, and are gone againe? nay; how many are there that ſhunne to take their way through ſuch troupes, as come to waite vpon them to the Hall or Senate? and rather take ſome backe-wayes through ſome ſecret by-corner, and leaue them all, as if it were not much more vnſeemely, and worſe manners of the twaine in this ſort, rather to coozen them by auoiding them when they were once admitted, then abſolutely to keepe them out before they came; and yet how many are there that hauing ſcarſly ſlept out their yeſterdayes ſurfet, yet breake their ſleepe poore ſoules themſelues to waite till it pleaſe another to riſe? like forſooth for their paines to bee ſaluted in ſome rechleſſe or proud ſort, by their names of the great men, after he hath had the ſame a thouſand times put into his head by ſome prompter or other. But indeed if we will needs dance attendance with fruit, I tell you they waite wiſely that daily court *Zeno*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, and the reſt of the Pillars of good Learning; that endeuour to make *Ariſtotle*, and *Theophraſtus*, well knowne vnto them. None of theſe but will be alwayes at leiſure to intend thee: none but will diſmiſſe thee a man happier for thy ſelfe, and more in loue with him for his company, then thou waſt at thy firſt comming. They will not let thee goe emptie, whenſoeuer thou wilt goe, come at midnight or at midday, any man may ſpeake with them. None of theſe will force thee to dye before thy time, as great Princes doe their moſt faithfull Seruants, but euery one will inſtruct thee how to dye; none of theſe will ſpend or take away any iot of thy dayes, but are all rather readie to beſtow their time on thee; thou needeſt not feare what thou ſayeſt in their company; yea, no enemy of thine can ſuſpect thee for being often with them.

Chap. XV.

He continueth to ſhew the great and profitable pleaſures in vertuous Studies.

IF theſe thou mayeſt obtaine whatſoeuer thou wilt; nor will they be in the fault if thou take not of them as much as thou art able: Oh how happy is that olde man that hath ſpent all his dayes in the ſeruice of them! hee is ſure of ſecret friendes with whom he may conſult in great things or ſmall, whoſe counſaile he make aske euery houre at his pleaſure, from whom he ſhall heare truth without vpbrayding, praiſe without flattery, and whom well he may imitate without note of apiſhneſſe. We ſay commonly, we could not chooſe of whom wee would be borne; but of ſuch we came as our fortune was we ſhould come: but in this caſe yet we may chuſe of whom we will be borne. Theſe vvorthy Wits and Writers haue their Stock and Families; chuſe of vvhich thou vvilt be, and thou ſhalt be not onely of his name, but his Succeſſor alſo for his vvealth and liuelihood, vvhich is alſo commonly the more ample, among the more it is diuided: theſe vvill leade thee to eternitie, & vvill lift thee vp ſo high, as vvhence no man liuing ſhall bee able to remoouethee. And this is onely the vvay to ſtretch out thy mortalitie, yea, to change it into immortalitie if any there bee. Honours and other Moniments, vvhat euer either ambition hath by Lavv eſta-

bliſhed, or coſt hath built, do quickly periſh. Time weares out all things, yea, & ſooneſt weareth thoſe things which it hath made hallowed; only wiſdom cannot be hurt nor impaired any way. No time preſent can conſume it, nor time to come diminiſh it, the longer it laſteth the more it is ſtill regarded; for Enuie toucheth onely things neere in memory, and more abſolutely doe wee reuerence things farther off. And ſo we ſee the Wiſemans life is large enough, he is not incloſed as others are, but is onely freed from the Lawes, that otherwiſe Mankind is ſtreightned withall: yea, all time doth yeeld vnto him, as it yeeldeth we confeſſe to the gods themſelues. Time is paſt: this conſideration doth him good. Time is come: this he vſeth. Time will come: he preuenteth it; and thus comparing time with time, makes his life very long, whereas their life is very ſhort, who forget the time paſt, neglect that is preſent, and feare the time to come: which when it once is come, too late poore men they find, they were all very buſie in doing nothing.

CHAP. XVI.

That they who wiſh for death haue not for all that liued long.

NEither art thou to thinke that by this Argument it is approoued that they leade a long life, becauſe ſometimes they call vpon death. Imprudencie vexeth them with vncertaine affections, and ſuch as aſſault and encounter thoſe which they feare: they therefore oftentimes wiſh for death, becauſe they feare it; neither is that an argument likewiſe whereby thou ſhouldeſt bee perſwaded that they ſhould liue long, becauſe the day ſeemeth oftentimes long vnto them; becauſe whilſt the appointed houre of Supper time commeth, they complaine that the houres ſteale on ſlowly. For if at any time occupations faile them, they ſtorme becauſe they are left without buſineſſe and idle: neither know they how they may diſpoſe or inlarge the ſame. They therefore intend ſome occupation, and all the time that is betweene, is grieuous vnto them: in ſuch ſort vndoubtedly as when a day is proclaimed wherin the Sword-plaiers are to skirmiſh, or whē as any appointed time of any other, either ſpectacle or pleaſure is expected, they long and labour to out-ſtrip the houres. The delay of all that which they hope for is long vnto them. But that time which they loue is ſhort and headlong, and becommeth likewiſe more ſhort by their fault, for they flie from one delight to another, and cannot ſettle themſelues vpon one ſort of pleaſure. The daies are not long vnto them, but diſpleaſant and tedious. Contrariwiſe, how ſhort thinke they the nights to be, which they loſe in embracing their Harlots and Drunkeneſſe? From thence grew the fury of thoſe Poets, who fed and flattred mens errors with fables, who fained that *Iupiter* being bewitched with the pleaſure of his adulterous embraces, redoubled the night: What other thing is it to animate wickedneſſe then to make the gods the authors of them, and to giue an excuſable licenſe to an infirmitie by the example of diuinitie? But can theſe men find the nights other then very ſhort, that they buy at ſo high a price? They loſe the day in expectation of the night, and the night through the feare of the day. Their pleaſures are accompanied with feares, hurried with diuers diſquiet perturbations; their greateſt ioy is drowned in carefull thought. How long ſhall this continue? Becauſe of this paſſion Kings haue bewailed their power; neither did the greatneſſe of their fortune delight them,

them, but the end that was to enſue, terrified them. When that moſt inſolent Perſian King ſpread his army along the fields, whoſe number he could not tell, and ſcarcely could he tell what quantity of ground would well containe it; it is ſaid he wept, conſidering that within one hundred yeares there ſhould not one of all that number be left aliue: but he himſelfe that wept was euen the man that haſtened all their deaths, as indeed afterwards proued, when as what by Land, what by Sea, what in fight, and what in flight, euery mothers ſonne almoſt, verie ſhortly after miſcarried, which he feared ſhould not liue an hundred yeares.

CHAP. XVII.

What the paſſimes of the worldly and voluptuous men are.

MOreouer, their ioyes are full of feares, they build them not on ſure ground, but by the ſame vanitie they riſe, by the ſame they fall. And what will you thinke of thoſe their times, which in their own confeſſion are vnhappie, if theſe whereof they vaunt themſelues, and in which they take themſelues to bee more then men, bee ſcarſly perfect? Euerie higheſt type of happineſſe is full of feare; nor may we well in truth leſſe build on any fortune then that which is happieſt. One free Citie needeth another to maintaine it, and hauing once that we deſired, we are forced ſtraightwayes to deſire anew, to haue wherewith to maintaine the former ſtate: for euerie thing that fortune giueth is vncertaine; and the higher alwaies that felicitie is, the neerer euer is it to a downfall and ruine. And no man can take pleaſure in the ſtate he knoweth aſſuredly ſhall ſhortly fall: and therfore moſt vnhappy, not onely ſhort is their life who with much adoe procure that which with much more labour they muſt poſſeſſe, with much trouble compaſſing the thing they deſire, but with much more care continuing the thing once gotten; all which while no care is had of time, of precious time, that neyther ſhall nor can be recouered againe. Olde buſineſſe breeds new buſines, one hope bringeth forth another; this high deſire makes way for an higher then it to follow it, and ſo no end is ſought of the miſeries we are in, though euerie day we change the matter which procureth miſeries. Our owne preferments proue burdens to vs; others honours haue coſt vs time to procure them for them: Nor haue we ſo ſoone left to ſue for our ſelues, but immediately wee are ſuters in the ſame caſe for others. We will plead no more as Counſellors, as it were to day; to morrow we are admitted to the Bench as Iudges; the third day haply called to the Councel-table. *Marius* is no ſooner diſmiſſed out of warre, but at home he is in ſuite for the Conſulſhip. *Quintius* is diſmiſſed of his Dictatorſhip to day, not long after he is called from the Ploughes thereto againe. Yong *Scipio* ſcarce fit for ſuch a charge, is ſent againſt the Carthaginians as it were to day; he conquereth *Hannibal* and *Antiochus*, is made Conſul, and getteth his brother to be made next after him, and ſo from dignity to dignitie: and if himſelfe be not the hinderance, in time he ſhalbe dignified no leſſe then *Iupiter*; but after that by his induſtrie Rome was deliuered from the feare of *Hãnibal*, & he returned home to his wife and children, he was ſtraightwaies occupied in ciuill factions and ſuits for offices: and rather then he would ſatisfie himſelfe with ordinarie preferments, he choſe wilfully to goe into exile, and was proud thereof; as if forſooth when happy and fortunate buſineſſe began to fayle him, hee would rather buſie himſelfe in vnfortunate proceedings then

then it ſhould be ſaid he wanted buſines; ſo farre we are from enioying the leiſure and pleaſure which yet we euerie day deſire and wiſh for.

Chap. XVIII.

An exhortation to Paulinus to forſake the troubles of the world, and to entertaine a happie ſolitude.

WHy then, good friend *Paulinus*, exempt thy ſelfe from this common errour that poſſeſſeth the world; and now thou haſt beene buſied more then any of thine equals in age or honour, betake thy ſelf at length into a hauen of quiet; call to mind what ſtorms thou haſt endured, what tempeſts, partly for priuat matters, and oftentimes for publike affaires thou haſt entangled thy ſelfe withall: thy vertue hath beene tried ſufficiently in troubleſome vnquiet matters: trie what it can doe in peace, at home in quiet. Thou haſt ſpent the greater, or at leaſt the better of thine age in publique buſineſſe, in cauſes common to thy wife and children; turne ſome part thereof to thine owne vſe, to thine owne behooſe. I wiſh thee not to betake thee to an idle, or vnlearned, or vnprofitable vacation, nor would I haue thee to ſpend the reſidue of thy worthy nature, in ſleepe or other vnſeemely common peoples paſtime, this I count not reſt or quietneſſe. Thou ſhalt finde many greater matters then thoſe that yet thou haſt beene conuerſant in, to beſtow thy repoſe and leiſure in. Thou haſt kept the accounts of the Roman Store-houſes, which is as much almoſt as the accounts in a manner of all the World; the ſame, I ſay, thou haſt kept with ſuch abſtinence, as if they had not belonged to thee, with ſuch diligence as if they had been thine owne reuenues, and yet with ſuch integritie, as if thou kneweſt well it were the wealth of the Citie and State of *Rome*, and thou to anſwer for euerie halfe-peny: and in this thine office thou haſt won the loue of all men, wherin other men could hardly auoid much hatred; and yet truſt me, it is a wiſer part to be able to giue a good account of thine owne life and liuing, then of all the corne in the countrey. Recall therefore this worthy minde of thine, fit I know for greateſt matters; recall it yet from this honorable, yet ſcarce a happy ſeruice, to ſhew thy ſelfe at home a while: & remember this was the finall and moſt principall end of thy creation & firſt being, that in the end thou ſhouldeſt be Surueyor of the Cities corne; thou muſt propoſe a more priuate, but yet a higher and better calling: nor will there want any frugall and painefull men to ſupply thine office; ſo farre fitter are ſlow and vnwildy iades, or yong and vntamed Colts to beare great burdens, then the trampling and ſtirring Steede, whoſe life and actiuitie no man durſt euer charge with a lumpiſh burthen. Beſides this, bethink thy ſelf how much care attendeth thee whilſt thou vndergoeſt ſo great a charge. Thou haſt to deale with the bellies of men. A people that indureth hunger is not ſubiect vnto reaſon, neither is mitigated by equity, nor pacified by any praiers. It is not long time ſince that vnder the emperor *Caligula*, although now diſpleaſed (if dead men haue any ſenſe) to bee dead in a few daies, and to haue left the Roman people aliue, that there was not found ſufficient victuals in the Citie for ſeuen or eight daies: and whilſt this Prince made bridges of boats, and ſported himſelfe with the meanes and forces of the Empire, the moſt dreadfull of all other euils, that is to ſay, famine beſieged *Rome*. His imitation of a furious and forrain King, & vnhappily puffed vp with pride, well may coſt the ouerthrow and famine of his countrey, and that which followeth famine, the ruine of all things. What minde then had they and care,

who

who had the charge to prouide corne for the common ſtore? They prepared themſelues to receiue the ſtroakes of ſwords, to be ſtoned, burned, and to meete with *Caligula*; yet diſſembled they verie carefully the cure of this euill, that was hidden in the intrailes of the Citie; for there are ſome infirmities whereunto we ought to apply remedies, without diſcouerie of the ſickeneſſe, as contrariwiſe diuers men are deade, becauſe they knew they were ſicke.

CHAP. XIX.

That the exerciſe of thoſe things that properly concerne the tranquillitie of the ſpirit, is to be preferred before all worldly dignities.

RETire thy ſelfe into theſe hauens more calme, more aſſured, and more great: thinkeſt thou that to giue order that the Corne be more cloſed vp in the ſtore-houſes good and cleane without being ſpoyled by the malice and negligence of the Porters; in ſuch ſort that wet neither ſeaze or ouer-heat it, and conſequently, that it returne to his meaſure and weight, is a thing of as great importance, as when thou approacheſt the celeſtiall myſteries, and when thou commeſt to enquire what the nature of the Gods is, there will their condition, their forme, the eſtate of thy ſoule, and the places where nature ſhall lodge vs after our deceaſe, what it is that ſuſtaineth the moſt weightieſt of all the workes of Nature in the centre of the world, and ſuſpendeth the lighter things aboue, and carrieth fire vp on high, and exciteth the Starres in their courſes? In briefe, all the reſt full of great miracles: Wilt thou forſaking the earth, rowſe thy mind and conſideration to theſe things, now, and ſo long as thy bloud is warm, and vigor ſtrong? thou muſt aſpire to that which is the beſt. An ardent loue of praiſe-worthy ſciences, the practiſe of vertue, the forgetfulneſſe of paſſions, the ſcience to liue and dye well, a deepe repaſt diſcharged from all worldly affaires, attend thee in ſuch a manner of life. True it is, that the condition of all thoſe that are entangled with worldly affaires is miſerable: but yet more miſerable is the eſtate of thoſe men who are not buſied in their affaires, but ſleepe, walke, and eate according to other mens appetites, and are conſtrained to loue and hate thoſe things that are moſt free of all others: if ſuch men would know how ſhort theſe mens liues are, let them conſider how much they rebate of their owne. You enuy not thoſe whom you ſee attaine vnto charges, and grow in reputation amongſt the people. Such aduancements are got with the expence of life, and to obtaine the credite that a man may count the yeare of his name, they vſe all the yeares of their life. Some other there are, that being deſirous to attaine the higheſt degree of honour, after they haue trauelled long therein, are deade in the middeſt of their way: and others, which hauing attayned the ſame by infinite and euill practiſes, haue beene ſeaſed with this diſtaſtefull apprehenſion, that they haue trauelled much to build them a Tombe, and make themſelues ſpoken of after their death: ſome alſo, conceyuing new hopes in their olde yeares, as if they had beene in their prime, haue loſt their hearts, and periſhed in the middeſt of their vnquiet and vniuſt attempts and endeauours.

CHAP.

Chap. XX.

An amplification of those mens miseries, who vnder a vaine hope to enhance their names, abridge their liues.

BAse is the man, who being alreadie olde, hath sought to grow in credite amongst the fooliſh common people, and is dead in ſpending himſelfe to plead for meere ſtrangers that would ſet him on worke: as abiect is he, that being rather weary of life, then of trauell, is falne amidſt the affaires which he hath embraced; and alſo as miſerable is he, that hauing death at his doore, toſſeth his papers and affaires to the great contentment of his heire, who long time expected for ſuch a prey. I cannot bury in ſilence one example that commeth to my memory: *Turanius* was an olde man of exact diligence, who after the ninetieth yeare of his age, being diſcharged of his office of Commiſſary of victuals by the Emperor *Claudius*, got him into his bed, commanded all his ſeruants to muſter about him, and to bewaile him as if he were dead: the Family lamented the repoſe of their old maſter, and continued this ſorrow vntill ſuch time as he was reſtored to his office. Is there ſo great a pleaſure then to die buſied? There are many that reſemble this *Turanius*, they deſire to trauell euen at that time when they can no more, they combate againſt the feebleneſſe of their bodies, and thinke not their age troubleſome, except it be becauſe it commandeth them to liue in repoſe. When a Souldier is fiftie yeares olde, the Law conſtraineth him not any more to beare Armes: a Senator hauing attained to threeſcore yeares, is no more bound to attend the Senate; men more hardly obtaine leaue to repoſe themſelues at their owne hands then from the Law. In the meane while whilſt they aſſaile others, and are aſſailed themſelues, whileſt one breaketh an others reſt, whileſt euery one tormenteth himſelfe, life ſlippeth away without profite, without pleaſure, or any content of the minde; there is no man that repreſenteth death vnto himſelfe, there is no man that extendeth not his hopes farre off. Some likewiſe there are that diſpoſe of theſe things which are after life, as of their proud Sepulchres, of inſcriptions, and dedicacy of their buildings; of ſports, combates, and other ſolemnities of their ambitious funerals: but vndoubtedly, theſe mens obſequies ſhould be ſolemnized with torches and Tapers, as if they had liued verie little.

The end of the Booke of the ſhortneſſe of Life.

OF

OF COMFORT.

Addreſſed by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

TO

POLYBIVS.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis Booke was written during the time of his exile, at ſuch time as he was deiected both in minde and bodie, (we muſt confeſſe it) and the writing teſtifieth it) about the third yeare of his baniſhment: for he openly maketh mention of the firſt entrance into Britaine, which was about that time. As touching POLYBIVS, *he was one of the moſt powerfull free men that belonged to* CLAVDIVS, *and receyued that title by reaſon of his ſtudies; for hee was learned in the Greeke and Latine Tongues, and that may we gather apparantly by the praiſes which* SENECA *loadeth him with. He comforteth him in the death of his brother, and the whole diſpoſition of the Booke is hidden, becauſe both the beginning and diuers things elſe are miſſing. In that which is extant, this is his order: he denieth that we ſhould grieue at the death of one man, becauſe the world it ſelfe, and whatſoeuer is in it, is condemned by that Law: Likewiſe, becauſe the griefe is vaine, and without fruit. Thirdly, that we are borne to afflictions, and that we ought to faſhion our ſelues thereunto. Fourthly, he calleth to witneſſe, the will of the dead, and ſheweth his deſire not to liue. Fiftly, that in conſtancie and example he ought to exceed his other brothers, becauſe he was a worthie perſon, and all mens eyes were fixed on him. Sixtly, he wiſheth him to take comfort from his ſtudies, which he alwaies loued. This and ſuch like vntill the* 31. *Chapter. From thence forward he intermixeth the examples of thoſe who haue endured the like couragiouſly; amongſt theſe (not without vilde flattery) he produceth* CAESARS *example, whom he wonderfully praiſeth; and in concluſion, once againe ſendeth* POLYBIVS *to his booke and ſtudies, as a remedie of his griefe. We cannot denie, but this was* SENECAES *writing: I thinke, not to the intent hee meant it ſhould be publiſhed, but according to his preſent fortune, abiectly and*

and too humbly written to a ſlaue (alaſſe) adorned with how many prayſes? I am aſhamed, I am aſhamed, whoſoeuer publiſhed this, was an enemie to SENECA, *and his glorie.*

Out of the XX. CHAP.

In this his firſt entrance into conſolition, he requireth Polibius not to thinke it ſtrange that his brother is dead ſince that all creatures (yea the world that containeth them) muſt periſh.

IF thou compareſt our bodies, in conſidering them the one after the other, they are ſtrong; if thou reduce them to the condition of Nature, that deſtroyeth all things, and recalleth them thither from whence ſhee made them, they are frayle; for what can mortall hands make immortall? Thoſe ſeuen miracles, and whatſoeuer elſe more wonderfull then theſe, the ambition of ſucceeding yeares haue builded, ſhall be ſeene leuelled with the ground: Certainely nothing is perpetuall, and verie few things ſhall laſt long. One is facile in one ſort, another in another ſort; the iſſues of the affaires of the world are diuers. Some maintaine, that the world ſhall periſh (and if thou thinke it lawfull to belieue ſo much) there ſhall a day come that ſhall diſſipate the ſame, and drowne the whole Vniuerſe (which containeth all whatſoeuer is diuine and humane) into his former confuſion and darkeneſſe. Now then, let him lament that liſt, by reaſon of the death of ſo many perſons that haue been, let him deplore the deſtruction of *Carthage*, *Numantium*, and *Corinth*, or whatſoeuer places were notorious, eyther in their flouriſhing or fall, when as this likewiſe as euidently appeareth vnto him, that euen that which hath nothing whereupon to fall, muſt periſh; let him goe and complaine himſelfe, that the Deſtinies (which muſt one day attempt and execute ſo great a miſchiefe) haue not ſpared him likewiſe.

CHAP. XXI.

Secondly, there is nothing that befalleth vs, that hath not befallen others.

WHat man is he of ſo proud and inſolent arrogancie, that in this neceſſitie of nature that reuoketh all things to the ſame end, will haue himſelfe and his exempted out of the ranke of all others, and diſcharge ſome houſe from that ruine which ſhall deuoure the whole world? It is therefore a great comfort for a man to bethinke himſelfe that the ſame hath hapned vnto him, which all others haue ſuffered before him, and all that follow him muſt endure, and therefore in my iudgement nature hath made that moſt common which is moſt grieuous, to the end that the equality thereof might in ſome ſort lenifie the crueltie of the fate. This likewiſe will yeeld thee no little comfort, if thou thinke that thy ſorrow will neither profit him whom thou bewaileſt, nor thy ſelfe; for thou wouldeſt not haue that long that is vnprofitable: For if ſorrow would profit vs any thing, I refuſe not to intermixe the remainder of thoſe teares that my aduerſe fortune hath left me with thine. Moreouer, likewiſe I will finde out ſome remnant of remorſe, that may flow from mine eyes (which are dried vp by ſo many teares which I haue ſpent by reaſon of the misfortunes of my houſe: if that may

Neither doe our ſorrowes profit thoſe whom we bewaile, nor our ſelues.

may returne thee any profit, why ceaſeſt thou? let vs complaine: I will take the cauſe in hand,and make it mine owne. O Fortune, that in all mens iudgement art moſt vniuſt, vntill this preſent it was ſuppoſed that thou ſparedſt this worthie man, who by thy fauour had attained ſuch credite, that his felicitie (which is a thing both rare and leſſe heard of) was not enuyed by any man; behold,thou haſt impreſſed a ſorrow in him more greater then he could receyue, but in the loſſe of the Emperour; and when thou hadſt attempted and ſought into him euery wayes,thou couldſt not finde any fit meanes to aſſaile him but this: for what other iniury couldſt thou haue done him? What; take away his money? neuer was he a ſlaue vnto it, and now alſo as farre, as in him lieth, he caſteth it from him;and in this his ſo great felicity & meanes of enriching himſelfe,he ſeeketh no greater fruit thereby then the contempt thereof. What,take away his friends? Thou kneweſt he was ſo well beloued, that he might eaſily ſubſtitute others in their places that were loſt; for of all thoſe great Lords whom I haue knowne in the Emperours houſe, this man alone in my iudgement was ſuch a one that although it were expedient for all men to entertaine his friendſhip, yet their affection and deſire to be in his fauour,was farre more great then the aſſiſtance they pretended to reap by his countenance. What,depriue him of his honour? but that is ſo ſetled in him, that thou haſt no power to ſhake it. What,rob him of his health? thou knoweſt that his minde was ſo well grounded in liberall ſciences (wherein he is not onely bred vp but borne) that all infirmities of the body whatſoeuer cannot abaſh him. What,take away his life? how little haddeſt thou hurt him? the excellency of his mind had promiſed him a life of longer continuance, he hath carefully endeauoured himſelfe to eternize the better part of him,and to warrrantize himſelfe from death, by the excellent and learned works that he hath compoſed. As long as learning ſhall be any waies honoured,as long as the vigor of the Latine tongue,and the grace of the Greeke ſhall haue credit amongſt great men, ſo long ſhall this man liue amongſt the men of moſt reputation, whoſe ſufficiencie and worth he hath either equalled, or (if his modeſtie refuſe this teſtimonie) hath very neerely imitated.

A probable flattery vnworthy Senecaes mind but here we obſerue how quickly affliction humbleth the higheſt mindes.

CHAP. XXII.

THou haſt therefore bethought thee of this one meanes, whereby thou mighteſt harme him moſt; for the better a man is the more oftner is he accuſtomed to thy aſſaults, who art diſpleaſed without election,and dreadfull amidſt thy greateſt benefits. Was it ſo great a matter for thee to warrantize this man from affliction, whom thy fauour in ſome ſort ſeemed to haue ſufficiently defenced, and not according to thy vſuall cuſtome to haue light vpon him raſhly? but if thou wilt let vs adde to theſe complaints the gentle nature of thy brother,rauiſhed out of this world in the prime of his youth; he deſerued to haue thee to his brother, and thou vndoubtedly art moſt worthy to lament ſuch a brother as he was: all men giue an equall teſtimony of him, he is bewayled to thy honour,and prayſed for his own deſert,there was nothing in him which thou wouldeſt not willingly acknowledge. For thine owne part thou wouldeſt haue ſhewed thy ſelfe good to another brother,who might haue beene leſſe good, but thy pietie hauing found an anſwerable ſubiect in this man,hath expreſſed it ſelfe more free-

Fourthly. Some complaints againſt our eſtate, ſeeme in ſome ſort to be able to leſſen our griefe.

ly. Although his meanes were great, yet neuer offended he any man, neyther threatned he any man with thee who wert his brother: hee was formed according to the example of thy modeſty, conſidering what honour it was vnto him to be ſo neerely allied vnto thee, and of what importance that was, ſo likewiſe knew he how to manage ſuch a charge. O cruell deſtinies, enemies to all vertue; thy brother was taken out of this world before he knew his owne felicity; I am not diſpleaſed or angry more then I ſhould be, for there is nothing ſo difficult when a man is extremely vexed, as to finde out wordes that are anſwerable to his ſorrow: yet againe, if this will yeeld vs any remedie wee will lament. Whereon thoughts thou vniuſt and iniurious Fortune? why haſt thou ſo ſodenly repented thy ſelfe of thy fauourable dealing? what cruelty was this to breake in amidſt brothers, and by ſo bloudy a rapine to leſſen ſuch a companie as liued in the greateſt peace of the world? why wouldeſt thou trouble and diminiſh without cauſe a houſe ſo well furniſhed with vertuous young men? amongſt whom, there was no one that degenerated. By this reckoning perfect innocency preuaileth nothing, ancient temperance is vnprofitable, a ſoueraigne honor (accompanied with vnſpeakeable modeſty, & intire, and pure loue towards good letters, and an vpright conſcience) ſhal be vnfruitfull. *Polybius* mourneth, and being admoniſhed in one brother, what he is to feare of the reſt, is euen afraid of thoſe very comforts which ſhould lenifie his ſorrow. *Polybius* mourneth and is ſorrowfull, although he be in great fauour with the Emperour: vndoubtedly therefore, O malignant Fortune, thou haſt made choice of this meanes to ſhew that no man, no not *Cæſar* himſelfe can warrantize a man from thy furie.

Chap. XXIII.

Fifth. We ought not to grieue and torment our ſelues for that which is firme, vnauoydable, and immutable.

WE might accuſe the Deſtinies longer, but we cannot change them, they continue obſtinate and inexorable; no man can moue them eyther with vpbraides, or teares, or perſwaſions: they acquit no man of any thing, they pardon nothing: let vs therefore ſpare our teares, becauſe they are vnprofitable: for ſooner will ſorrow lodge vs with him then returne him vnto vs; ſince ſhe tormenteth vs, & comforteth vs not, let vs ſhake her off in good time, and let vs retire our minds from vaine ſolaces, and from a bitter deſire of ſorow: for except reaſon reſtrain our teares, fortune will not. Goe to, turne thy ſelfe on euerie ſide, and conſider all men in this world: there is in euerie place an ample and continuall cauſe of teares; one man is called to his daily labour, by a laborious pouertie, another tormented with inſatiable ambition, another feareth thoſe riches he hath wiſhed for, and is ſicke of his owne deſires; this man is afflicted with care, that man with labour, this man is tyred with a troupe of ſutors that beſiege his dores, this man is ſorry that he hath children, that man becauſe he hath loſt them: we ſhall ſooner want teares then cauſe of ſorrow. Conſidereſt thou not what life it is that nature hath preſented vs with, ſince ſhe would that teares ſhould be the firſt preſages of our condition in this world? This is our beginning whereunto all the courſe of our yeares haue relation: Thus liue wee, and therefore we ought to keepe a meaſure in this thing, which we ought to doe ſo often: and then conſidering how many fatall accidents attend vs, if wholly we cannot giue ouer our teares; at leaſtwiſe we ought to reſerue ſome

part

part of them for time to come. There is nothing wherein wee ought to be more ſparing then this whereof we haue ſo frequent vſe. Moreouer, thou ſhalt be verie much comforted, if thou thinkeſt that thy brother, for whom thou afflicteſt thy ſelfe in this ſort, taketh leſſe pleaſure in that thou doeſt, then any man thou canſt name: he willeth not, or he knoweth not that thou art thus tormented. It is therefore an vnprofitable labour to grieue for him, for if he feeleth nothing, it is ſuperfluous: and if he feeleth, he taketh no pleaſure therein.

Sixtly. They that wee lament for, ſorrow not themſelues, nor are ſorry for vs; neither take pleaſure in our lamentations.

CHAP. XXIV.

BOldly dare I ſay, that there is no man in the whole world that is delighted in thy teares. What then? Thinkeſt thou that thy brother is worſe affectionated towards thee then any other man? that he ſhould deſire thy affliction, that he ſhould withdraw thee from thy buſineſſes, that is, from thy ſtudies, and from *Cæſar*? This is farre vnlikely; for he hath loued thee as his brother, honoured thee as his parent, and reſpected thee as his ſuperiour; he would thou ſhouldeſt remember him, but not torment thy ſelfe for him. What auaileth it thee therefore to conſume thy ſelfe with ſorrow, which, if the dead haue any ſenſe, thy brother deſireth it ſhould be finiſhed? For another brother whoſe inclination might ſeeme vncertaine, I ſhould put all theſe things in doubt, and I ſhould ſay, if thy brother deſireth that thou ſhouldſt be tortured with inceſſant teares, he is vnworthie of this affection; and if he would not, then giue ouer thy vnprofitable griefe. Neyther ſhould an impious brother be ſo bewayled, neither would a pious be ſo lamented. But in this whoſe pietie is ſo well approued, thou art to reſolue thy ſelfe, that nothing can be more grieuous vnto him, then if this his death be diſtaſtefull vnto thee: if it vexe thee any waies, if it troubleth and ſpendeth thine eyes vnworthie of ſo great miſerie, with cauſeleſſe ſhowers of complaint. But nothing ſhall withdraw thy pietie ſo much from vnprofitable teares, as if thou thinke that thou oughteſt to be an example to thy brethren, whereby they may be inſtructed to ſuſtaine theſe iniuries of Fortune with conſtancie. That now art thou to doe which great Captaines doe in deſperate dangers or vncertaine, who purpoſely faine a merry demeanure, & cloake their diſcontents with a pleaſant countenance, for feare leſt their Souldiers ſhould be diſcouraged by diſcouering their gouernours diſcontent. Shew thou a countenance that is contrarie to thy thought, and if thou canſt not purge thy ſelfe of all ſorrow, at leaſtwiſe hide and containe it inwardly, leſt it appeare; and endeuour thy ſelfe that that thy brothers may imitate thee, who will thinke that honeſt whatſoeuer they ſee thee doe, and will aſſume their courage according to the temper of thy countenance. Thou muſt both ſolace and comfort them; but thou canſt not withſtand their ſorrow, if thou make a wanton of thine owne.

Seuenthly. They condemne not our affection, but they would not haue vs torment our ſelues.

The eighth. We ought to be much aduiſed of confidence and patience to thoſe that ſuruiue.

Chap. XXV.

The ninth, The more eminent our vocation is, the lesse occasion haue we to make our neighbour beleeue that we haue lost our courage, and that we are vnworthy to act that which is committed to our charge.

THis thing likewise may restraine thee from sorrowing extreamely, if so be thou informe thy selfe, that none of those things which thou doest can remaine hidden. The common consent of all men hath made thee great; maintaine that. Thou art enuironed with a troup of men that come to comfort thee who carefully consider thy thought, and diligently obserue whether it be fortified against griefe: besides, not onely if thou know how to vse prosperity discreetly; or if thou canst endure aduersity manfully: they obserue thine eyes. All things are more free vnto those whose passions may be couered. As touching thy selfe thou canst not hide thy selfe; Fortune hath placed thee in all mens eyes. Euery man shall know how thou hast carried thy selfe in this conflict, whether vpon the first assault thou gauest ouer thy weapons, or if thou hast stood confidently in the battell. Heretofore the fauour of the Emperour, and thine owne valour haue made thee rise to great estate, and therefore all bare and vulgar infirmitie ill befitteth thee. But there is nothing so vilde and so base, then for a man to suffer himselfe to be deuoured in sorrow. In the same griefe it is not lawfull for thee to behaue thy self so as thy other brothers. The opinion which is conceiued of thy studies and manners, permitteth thee not many things; men require many things at thy hands, and expect much: if thou wouldest haue had all things lawfull for thee, thou shouldest not haue drawne all mens eyes vpon thee. But now so much art thou to performe as thou hast promised all men, who prayse and applaude the endeuors of thy wit, who, whereas they haue no neede of thy fortune, yet haue need of thy wit. These are the watchmen of thy minde. Thou canst therefore doe nothing that is vnworthy the profession of a perfect and learned man, but that diuers men will repent themselues, because they haue admired thee. Thou must not weepe immoderately: nay further, thou art not to lose a part of the day in sleep, neither in seeking thy repose must thou forsake the bulke of affaires, and goe and trifle it in the Countrey, nor vndertake with a sprightly conceit a long voiage to recreate thy bodie, (being wearied with continuall trauell of thy weightie charge) nor lose thy selfe in diuers pastimes in the Theaters, neither spend the houres of the day according as it best liketh thee.

Chap. XXVI.

The tenth, He that is in authority must not soile himselfe with abiection of mind, for a great mans example doth more harme on a sodaine then he can remedie all his life time.

THere are many things which are vnlawful for thee, which are permissible in men of base condition, and such as liue in obscurity. A great dignity and prosperity is a great seruitude. It is not lawfull for thee to doe any thing according to thine owne minde. Thou must giue audience to a thousand persons, reade an infinity of petitions; thou must be accosted by a numberlesse number of sutors, posting from euery part of the World. Thou hadst need of a gouerned minde to dispatch readily and sodainely the affaires of the greatest Prince in all the world. I say it is not lawfull for thee to weepe, because thou art to heare diuers men that weepe; and to the end that their teares may be profitable vnto them that are in danger, to obtaine the mercy of most milde *Cæsar*; thine are to be dryed vp.

vp. Yet behold what will comfort thee greatly, and proue a ſingular remedie for thee: caſt thine eyes vpon *Cæſar*, when thou wouldeſt diſburthen thy ſelfe of ſorrowes. Conſider what a charge his fauour hath impoſed vpon thee, how much induſtrie thou oweſt him; and then ſhalt thou vnderſtand, that thou art no more to be humbled by theſe croſſes, then hee (if a man may giue any credite to fables) who beareth the whole world on his ſhoulders. For this cauſe diuers things are not lawfull for the Emperour, who may doe all that which hee pleaſeth. His vigilancie conſerueth the houſes of all men in particular: his trauell giueth them repoſe, his induſtrie maketh them liue at eaſe, and in delight. His occupation furniſheth them with time to diſport themſelues in. Since that time that *Cæſar* dedicated himſelfe to the World, and rauiſhed himſelfe from himſelfe, hee as the Planets which inceſſantly runne their courſes, cannot repoſe, neyther diſpatch any thing of his owne affaires. So in ſome ſort, the ſame neceſſitie is enioyned thee, thou art neyther to reſpect thine owne profite, nor affect thy ſtudies. As long as *Cæſar* is Lord of the World, thou canſt not addict thy ſelfe to pleaſure, or griefe, nor to any thing elſe; thou art wholly *Cæſars*. Adde hereunto, that hauing alwaies made the World beliene that thou loueſt *Cæſar* better then thine owne ſoule, it is not lawfull for thee as long as hee liueth to complaine of thy fortune. He being in ſafetie, all they that appertaine vnto thee are in ſecuritie; thou haſt loſt nothing, thine eyes muſt not onely be dryed, but be ioyfull. In him thou haſt all things, and hee to thee is as much as all. I will tell thee without impeachment of thy prudence and pietie, that thou haſt little reſpect of his greatneſſe, if as long as thy bodie is in good health, thou giueſt way to any thy ſorrow whatſoeuer. But I will ſhew thee another remedie which is not ſo ſtrong as the precedent, yet is it more familiar, if at any time thou retire thy ſelfe into thy houſe, then wilt thou haue ſome cauſe to ſuſpect thy ſorrow; but as long as thou ſhalt behold *Cæſars* godhead, ſorrow will finde no acceſſe vnto thee, *Cæſar* will poſſeſſe whatſoeuer is in thee: when thou departeſt from him, then as if occaſion were giuen, ſorrow will finde out thy ſolitude, and will creepe by little and little into thy ſoule that deſireth repoſe. Thou art not at that time to intermit any time of ſtudie; then will ſciences and good Letters which thou haſt ſo long and faithfully loued, requite thy endeauour, and auowing thee for their patron and affectionate ſeruant, will take thee into their ſafe-guard. Then *Homer* and *Virgil* (who haue ſo much obliged all men vnto them, as thou haſt made them obliged, hauing giuen order to make them knowne to more men, then they themſelues haue written verſes) ſhall long time make abode with thee. All the time thou ſhalt commit and giue them to keepe, ſhall be aſſured. Imploy thy ſelfe then in couching, in writing the deedes of the Emperour thy Maſter, to the end that in all ages the Romane people may celebrate his memorie; for he it is that will furniſh thee with matter, and giue the example to digeſt and ſet downe his actions.

Eloquence ſpent in vaine and palpable flatterie.

The eleuenth, We muſt conſider as well thoſe goods that remaine with vs, as thoſe at leaſtwiſe which we haue left.

The twelfth, Studie lenifieth ſorrow.

Chap. XXVII.

The thirteenth, If we haue the meanes to exercise our minds in high and worthy thoughts, it will be sure & expedient to pacifie our griefes.

I Dare not induce and perſwade thee ſo farre (according to thy accuſtomed elegancie) to ſet downe the fables of *Æſope*, a worke as yet vnattempted by our Romaine wits:) for it is a hard matter for a mind ſo vehemently deiected as thine is, ſo quickly to vndertake theſe more pleaſing and pleaſant ſtudies; yet ſhalt thou know that thy mind will be fortified, and recouer himſelfe, if he may giue ouer theſe grauer ſtudies, and imploy himſelfe in thoſe that are more delightful and free: for in the grauer, the auſteritie of things which hee ſhall intreat vpon, will draw the ſame, although it be ſicke and at debate in it ſelfe; but in thoſe that ſhall breed delight, thy ſpirit ſhall take no pleaſure, but at ſuch time as it ſhall be ſetled and quieted in it ſelfe. Thou oughteſt therefore to exerciſe thy ſelfe in matters of importance, and then to temper thy minde with more pleaſing ſtudies. This likewiſe wil comfort thee verie much, if oftentimes thou debate in this ſort with thy ſelfe. Whether am I ſorrowfull in reſpect of my ſelfe, or in regard of him that is deceaſſed? if for the loue of my ſelfe, it is in vaine that I perſwade my ſelfe, that I am a good brother, and the griefe which beginneth is excuſable, becauſe it is honeſt; and eſtranged from pietie in this, becauſe it hath regard to profit. But there is nothing that worſe beſeemeth a good man then to haue a will to conſider, how much he hath eyther won or loſt by the death of his brother. If I complaine me for the loue of him, I muſt needes approue it by one of theſe two ſucceeding conſiderations, that is to ſay, that eyther the dead haue a feeling, or no feeling. If they haue no ſence, my brother hath eſcaped all the incommodities of life, and is reſtored vnto that place wherein he was before he was borne, and being voyde of all euill, hee neyther ſeareth nor deſireth, nor ſuffereth any thing. What madneſſe is this in me, that I neuer giue ouer grieuing for him who ſhall neuer be aggrieued? If the dead haue any ſence, the ſoule of my brother being as it were diſcharged out of a long priſon, is now in freedome and full libertie; ſhe ſearcheth and beholdeth with content the workes of Nature, ſhe diſcouereth them from a high place wherein ſhe ſees all humane things, and neerely approacheth the diuine: in ſearch whereof ſhee was ſo long time vainely tormented. Why therefore afflict I my ſelfe with the loſſe of him who either is bleſſed, or is no body? To bewaile him that is bleſſed, it is enuy; to lament him that is no more, is madneſſe.

The foureteenth, We ought not to lament those that are deade in regard of our selues, for this were to loue our selues; nor for their sakes, for as touching their bodies they haue no sense, and as touching their soules, if they haue beene vertuous, they are in repose.

Chap. XXVIII.

The fifteenth, They are deliuered from the miseries and misfortunes of this life.

ARt thou diſpleaſed hereat, becauſe in thy iudgement thy brother is depriued of great goods which followed and attended him? When thou ſhalt bethinke thy ſelfe that there are many things which he hath left, conſider that there are more things which he feareth not. Anger ſhall not vexe him, ſickneſſe ſhall not afflict him, ſuſpition ſhal not prouoke him, gnawing and hateful enuy (that is alwaies an enemy to other mens proceedings) ſhall not attend him, feare ſhall not preſſe him, inconſtant fortune (that now taketh from one to giue it to another) ſhall torment him nō more: If thou calculate well, thy brother hath gotten

gotten more then he hath loſt. But he ſhall no more enioy his riches, neither his owne honour, or the countenance he hath had by thee; he neither ſhall receiue or doe pleaſures any more. Thinkeſt thou him miſerable, becauſe hee hath left theſe things, or happy becauſe hee deſireth them no more? Beleeue me, hee is more bleſſed that hath no need of Fortune, then hee that is much troubled in entertayning her. All theſe goods which delight vs by reaſon of their faire but fallacious appearance, (as Money, Eſtates, Credit, and other ſuch like, which corrupt couetous and ambitious mens minds,) are poſſeſſed with paine, and beheld with enuy; they oppreſſe thoſe that are adorned with them, and threaten more then they profit. They are ſlippery and vncertaine, they are neuer firmely poſſeſſed, for although a man were not in doubt of that which is to come, yet ſo it is that the maintenance of a great proſperitie is accõpanied with many cares, if thou wilt giue credit to thoſe who more inwardly examine the truth, all our life is but a puniſhment. Being caſt into this ſo deepe and troubled a Sea, tormented with continuall ebbes and floats, that now rayſeth vs vp with ſodaine encreaſes, and ſtraight forſaketh vs with greater loſſes, and continually toſſing vs, we neuer remayne in a ſetled place; wee liue in ſuſpence and incertainty, who are beaten one againſt another, and ſometimes wee are ſhipwrackt, but alwayes fearefull. Sayling in this ſo ſtormy Sea, and expoſed to all tempeſts, we find no hauen but in death. Enuy not thy Brother therefore, hee is at reſt, now at length hee is free, now at length hee is ſecure, now at length he is eternall. He hath left the Emperour and all his race, thy ſelfe and all his Brothers behind him. Before that Fortune turned her fauourable face from him, he forſooke her euen then when ſhe ſtood vnto him, and heaped fauours vpon him with a plentifull hand. But now hee enioyeth an open and freer heauen: from an humble low Tabernacle, he hath attained ſo conſpicuous a place, (whatſoeuer it be that receiued thoſe bleſſed ſoules that are deliuered out of theſe earthly bonds into his bleſſed boſom) that now he freely wandreth and beholdeth all the goods of Nature with exceeding pleaſure. Thou art deceiued, thy Brother hath not loſt the light, but hath attayned a more ſecurer. It is a way that we muſt all walke. Why complaine we of Deſtinie? he hath not left vs, but gone before vs.

The vanity of Riches.

Great Fortune, great Care.

The ſixteenth, They that we cal dead are liuing, and the liuing are dead.

Chap. XXIX.

Beleeue it, there is a great happineſſe in dying happy; nothing is aſſured, no not for the length of one day: onely humane affaires being ſo obſcure and confuſed as they be, who will vndertake to reſolue whether thy Brothers death had wrought him enuy, or whether it hath procured him good? Beſides this, there is another conſideration, which is to comfort thee, for thou oughteſt to thinke that in loſing ſuch a Brother, thou haſt receiued no iniurie, but that thou haſt beene greatly fauoured, becauſe that ſo long time it hath bin in thy power, to enioy and make vſe of his piety. Vnreaſonable is that man that hath not giuen his benefactor that credit to diſpoſe of that hee giueth according to his beſt liking; and that man is couetous, that in ſtead of calling that gaine which a man giueth him, complayneth that he hath loſt that which he hath reſtored. Vngratefull is he that ſaith, that iniurie is the end of pleaſure. And fooliſh is hee that thinketh there is no fruit but in things preſent, that contenteth not himſelfe with thoſe

The ſeuenteenth, He that dieth in proſperitie hath no doubt aduantage.

The eighteenth, We haue long time enuyed thoſe whom death redeemeth at our hands.

thoſe things that are paſt, eſteeming thoſe things for certaine goods which appeare not any more, becauſe he ought not to be afraid that they are loſt. Too much ſcantleth he his wayes, who thinketh that he enioyeth nothing but thoſe things that he hath and ſeeth; and eſteemeth them as much as nothing which he hath had, and hath no more: for all pleaſure abandoneth others very ſodainly, it is a thing that ſlippeth away, that paſſeth, and is taken from vs almoſt before it commeth; we muſt therefore reflect our thoughts vpon the time that is paſt, and recall to memorie, and oftentimes ruminate on all that which hath euer giuen vs pleaſure. The remembrance of delights and contentments is more aſſured and endureth longer time, then the preſence of them: remember this therefore amongſt thy greateſt goods, that thou haſt had a good Brother: thinke not how long time he might as yet haue liued with thee, but how long time he hath remayned with thee. Nature gaue him both to thy ſelfe, and the reſt of thy Brothers, not as a thing proper vnto you, but ſhe hath lent him you, and when ſhe thought good ſhe hath redemanded him, not ſatisfying thy will herein, but her owne arreſt. If a man ſhould bee angrie for paying a debt for which he allowed no intereſt, ſhould hee not be thought a moſt wicked fellow? Nature hath giuen thy Brother life, and thy ſelfe likewiſe, and afterwards vſing her owne right, ſhe hath redemanded her debt from him, ſhee thought fit to challenge. She is not in fault (whoſe condition was very well knowne), but wee ought to accuſe the couetouſneſſe of mortall men, who forget from time to time what nature is, and neuer remember themſelues of their condition, except it be then, when they are brought in memory thereof. Reioyce therefore that thou haſt had ſo good a Brother, and take in good part the vſe thou haſt had of him, although it were ſhorter then thou couldeſt haue wiſhed it. Think that it was moſt pleaſing to thee that thou hadſt, and humane that which thou haſt loſt. It is an vnreaſonable matter to bee ſorrowfull, becauſe thou haſt ſo ſmall a time enioyed thy Brother, and not to bee glad that thou haſt once enioyed his preſence. But he dyed, ſayeſt thou, at ſuch time as I leaſt thought of it. Euery one ſuffereth himſelfe to be deceiued by his ſlight beliefe, and when wee loue a thing, wee will not forget that it is ſubiect vnto death. But Nature hath proteſted that ſhe will exempt no man from this neceſſitie, which is impoſed vpon all men. We ſee daily both our acquaintance and Strangers carryed to their graues, yet thinke we vpon another matter, and call it a ſodaine accident, which during our whole time hath beene told vs that it ſhould come to paſſe. This is not therefore the iniquitie of the Fates, but the deprauedneſſe of mans mind, who is diſpleaſed becauſe hee muſt depart from that aboad, which was onely lent him for a time.

The nineteenth, We ought not to be grieued to repay that to God which he hath lent vs, and appertaines to him: it ſufficeth he craueth his own without intereſt.

The twentieth, It is a thing decreed that all men muſt dye, & therefore our friend cannot be exempted no more then others.

Chap. XXX.

An example what we ought to doe.

The twenty one, Wee ought not to feare that which muſt neceſſarily happen, although it be in diuers ſorts.

HOw farre more iuſter was he, who receiuing tidings of the death of his ſonne, vttered a worthy ſpeech correſpondent and anſwerable to his worthy mind; *I knew when I begat him that hee ſhould dye?* Wonder thou not that ſuch a man begat ſuch a ſonne that could dye couragiouſly. The death of his ſonne was no noueltie to him: For what wonder is this for a man to dye, whoſe whole life is nought elſe but a iourney vnto death? *I knew when I begate him that he ſhould dye:* and afterwards he annexed a thing of a greater Note, Prudence and Conſtancie;

I brought him vp to this end. So are we all whosoeuer enter into this life, destinated to death. Let all of vs therefore content our selues with that which is giuen vs, and restore it againe when we are required. Let our minds bee alwayes addressed, and neuer feare that which must needs fall out; nor expect that alwayes which is vncertaine. Shall I call to remembrance in this place, the great Chieftaines in Warre, their children, and diuers persons honoured by diuers Consulates and Triumphs, who are dead by the hands of inexorable Destinie? Whole Kingdomes with their Kings, whole peoples and Nations haue ended their course. All men, nay more, all things tend vnto their end. Although that in regard of the particular they are different. One is taken away, and dyeth in the midst of his race, another in the entry, another in his extreme olde age, being now wearied and desirous to depart, is scarsly permitted to die. The times of death are different, yet all of vs tend to the same place. I know not whether it be more foolish to be ignorant of the Law of Mortality, or more impudency to refuse the same. But I pray thee take some time to ouer-looke these things, which with great trauel of thy mind thou hast worthily celebrated; namely the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, which thou hast so readily & cunningly contriued in prose, that although the quantitie and composition of the verse appeare no more, yet the grace of the same remayneth. For thou hast in such sort turned them from Greeke into Latine, and from Latine into Greeke, that thou hast attained all those perfections that are requisite in him that translateth from one Tongue into another. There is no one Book in all those Writings that furnisheth thee not with a great number of examples of the vnconstancie of mans life, of vncertaine accidents and casualties, that succeed and flow from diuers courses. Consider with what Maiesty of speech thou hast presented these things and then wilt thou be ashamed to lose thy courage so seene, and to descend so low after thou hast spoken so high. Demeane not thy selfe like him that of late admired thy Writings, and asked how it was possible that so feeble a spirit as thine was could conceiue so great and so solid things; but rather cast thine eies aside from these afflictions that torment thee, and turne them toward so many excellent consolations, in regarding thy Brothers so vertuous, thy Wife and thy sonne. Fortune hath parted stakes with thee, in taking away thy Brother, and leauing thee all the rest in securitie and safetie.

The twenty two, The good Bookes that are written either by our selues or others, may comfort vs greatly, as also grauity in yeares or reputations, and occupations, which wee ought carefully to obserue.

Chap. XXXI.

Dishonour not thy selfe so much, as to giue the whole World occasion to beleeue that one sorrow hath more power ouer thee, then these so many solaces. Behold thy Brothers, thy Wife, and thy sonne wounded with the same sorrow that thou art, without hauing any meanes to helpe thee; nay, contrary thou seest, that they expect thou shouldest succour them. And therefore the lesse spirit and knowledge they haue, the more needfull is it, that thou resist this euill that concerneth you all. And it is in some sort a kind of comfort to demand a mans sorrow amongst many, and becausse many partake with thee in thine, there should be very little remainder for thy selfe. I will not ceasse to represent vnto thee the Emperour *Claudius*, (as long as he shal gouerne the World,) and make it knowne that the Empire is farre better mayntayned by benefits then by Armes, thou needest not feare that thou shouldst feele any crosse: thou hast suf-

The twenty three Men ought to consider the goods that remain with vs, & to oppose against them those that are redemanded from vs.

ſufficient ſecuritie, and a conſolation in him alone. Rayſe and rowſe thy ſelfe, and as often as teares begin to bedew thine eies, fixe them ſo often vpon *Cæſar*, and by beholding ſo great and excellent a power, thine eyes ſhall be dryed; his brightneſſe will ſo rauiſh them that they cannot admire any other thing but himſelfe, and will keepe them fixed vpon himſelfe. He it is whom thou beholdeſt day and night, and from whom thy heart is neuer eſtranged, and whoſe admiration muſt deuoure thee. This is he that can aſſiſt thee againſt Fortune, and I doubt not (ſince he is a Prince ſo courteous, and ſo well affected towards all his Seruants,) but that he hath alreadie applyed diuers remedies to thy wounds, and miniſtred diuers Medicines to thy paines, for feare they ſhould encreaſe. And what? although he had done none of all theſe, doth not the onely preſence and remembrance of him comfort and animate thee greatly? Vouchſafe all you gods and goddeſſes to giue him a long and happy life; let him exceed *Auguſtus* both in actions and yeeres, and ſo long as hee ſhall liue in this World, let him be exempted from beholding the death of any of his. Let his Dominion of long continuance bee adorned with all Iuſtice. Let the Empire deſſigne his Sonne for their Lord, and receiue him as an aſſociate to his father, before they accept him as a Succeſſor. Let the time runne ſlowly, and only during the life of our childrens children, wherein his Subiects ſhall ranke him amongſt the number of the gods.

CHAP. XXXII.

Seneca's vowes and ſecret inſinuations.

TOuch him not O Fortune, neither imploy thy forces againſt him, but in as much as thou art profitable, ſuffer him to heale Mankind, (too long trauelled with ſicknes and miſery,) permit him to reſtore and re-eſtabliſh all that which the fury of his Predeceſſor hath ſhaken. Let this Starre euer ſhine that hath enlightned the world that was plunged in obſcurity, and deuoured in darkneſſe. Let him pacifie *Almany*, giue entry vnto *England*, triumph both for his owne, and his Fathers victories. His clemency the chiefe of all his vertues, promiſeth me that I ſhall be one of the beholders; for he hath not ſo humbled me, but he may exalt me; what ſay I, humbled? Hee hath not onely relieued, but hee hath ſuſtained me at ſuch time as Fortune had deiected me, and when as I was headlong caſt downe to the ground, hee hath courteouſly and mercifully raiſed mee by his diuine hand. Hee interceded to the Senate in my behalfe, and hath not onely giuen me life, but required it likewiſe; let him determine in what ſort he would haue my cauſe eſtimated, either his iuſtice ſhall finde it good, or his clemency ſhall make it whatſoeuer befall me: be it that he knoweth, or that he would that I ſhould be innocent, it ſhall be alwayes a benefit of his towards me. Meane while the greateſt comfort that I haue in my miſeries, is to ſee his mercy ſpread ouer all the world, which when it hath digged out many after the ruine of ſo many yeares, and out of that very Angle wherein I am buried, and brought them to light, I feare not, nay more I truſt, that hee will not leaue mee alone deſolate. But he beſt knoweth the time wherein hee ought to comfort and relieue euery man; for mine owne part, I will endeuour to the vttermoſt, that he may not be aſhamed to ſuccour me. How happy is thy Clemencie, O *Cæſar*, which hath cauſed thoſe that are baniſhed to liue in greater aſſurance vnder thy gouernment, then Princes did vnder *Caligula*? The baniſhed feare

feare not, they expect not hourely for a Hangman to come and diſpatch them, neither are they abaſhed when they ſee the Ships approch: as by thy fauor there is ſome meaſure in their aduerſitie, ſo hope they for a more proſperous condition. & they content themſelues in ſome ſort in their exile, becauſe it ſo pleaſeth thee. Thou muſt know that the flaſhings of thy lightning are not to bee feared, but darted of ſet purpoſe, when thoſe that are attainted therewith reuerence it.

CHAP. XXXIII.

To comfort with more effect hee inducetb Cæſar to perſwade Polybius.

THis Prince therefore, who is the publike ſolace of all men, hath (or elſe I am deceiued) already recreated thy minde, and hath applied greater remedies to this thy ſo great wound: Hee hath alreadie confirmed thee euery wayes, and with an exquiſite memorie hath related vnto thee all the examples which are proper to induce thee to moderate thy griefe, and by his ordinary Eloquence hath diſcouered vnto thee all the precepts of Philoſophie. A man therefore cannot finde out any who is more fitting to ſpeake vnto thee then he is. His words will be of greater weight then mine, and ſhall be ſo much reuerenced as ſo many Oracles, which by their diuine authority ſhall cruſh all the forces of thy ſorrowes. Suppoſe therefore that he ſpeaketh vnto thee after this manner. Fortune hath not onely made choice of thee to exemplifie her cruelty vpon. There neither is nor was any houſe in this whole World without ſome lament. I will ouerſlip common Examples, which although they are leſſe, yet are they wonderful. I will reduce thee to our Annals and publike Chronicles. Seeſt thou all theſe Images, which haue filled *Cæſars* Imperiall Hall; there is not one of them that is not touched with ſome calamity of his parents or friends: euery one of theſe men who by their vertue ſhall aſtoniſh the ages to come, haue beene aggrieued at the death of thoſe that touched them neere, or haue bin with great ſorrow lamented by their friends after their death. What need I recount vnto thee *Scipio* of *Africa*, who during the time of his Baniſhment was reſolued of his Brothers death? This Brother that had deliuered his Brother out of Priſon, could not warrant him from death. All men ſaw how impatiently *Scipio* ſuffered the iniury that was done vnto his Brother whom he loued ſo much: for the ſame day that he deliuered his Brother from the hands of the Sergeant, he preſented himſelfe as a priuate man before the Tribune of the people, to obtayne fauour. Meane while he endured the death of his Brother, with no leſſe courage then he had ſhewed in preſeruing his life. Shall I reckon vp vnto thee *Æmilianus Scipio*, who almoſt at one time ſaw his Fathers Triumph, and the Obſequies of his two Brethren? yet notwithſtanding although hee were very young, and but as yet an Infant, he endured this ſodaine ruine of his Family, as conſtantly falling vnder the triumph of his father; as ſuch a perſonage as hee ſhould doe, who was borne to that end, that *Rome* ſhould not bee without a *Scipio*, nor *Carthage* without ruine.

The twenty four The examples of greater men that haue beene afflicted ſhould confirme our reſolution.

CHAP.

Chap. XXXIV.

Other examples.

Shall I tell thee of the amity of the two *Luculli* that was dissolued by death? Shall I reckon vnto thee the *Pompeis* whom cruell Fortune permitted not to perish vnder one ruine? *Sextus Pompey* ouer-liued his Sister, by whose decease the firme bonds of the *Romane* Empire, and the peace thereof were broken. He ouer-liued his Brother likewise, whom Fortune had raysed to this end, that his ouerthrow might not be lesse then the ruine of his Father; yet after this fall of his, hee prooued both sufficient to disgest this sorrow, and to maintaine a Warre. Infinite are the Examples on euery side of Brethren that haue died one after another, and I say on the contrary part, that scarsly shalt thou finde two Brothers that haue liued so long as them both. But I will content my selfe with the Example of those of our house, supposing that no man will be so deuoid of reason and iudgement, who vnderstanding that Fortune hath taken pleasure to make Emperors weepe, will complaine that she hath driuen others to sorrow. *Augustus* lost his deareſt Sister *Octauia*, neither did Nature take from him the necessitie of mourning, to whom she had destinated Heauen; contrariwise, this Prince afflicted with all sorts of death of those that touched him neereſt, lost besides her his Sisters sonne, who should haue bin his Heire. And lest I should enter into a particular account of his sorrowes, hee lost his sonnes in Law, his Children, his Nephewes: and no man amongst all mortall men, had more feeling that hee was a man then hee had, whileſt hee liued amongst men; yet notwithstanding his heart, the most peaceable that a man might imagine, disgested so many bitter griefes, and so made himselfe victorious, (not onely ouer forrein Nations,) but also ouer his passions. *Caius Cæsar* the Nephew of mine Vncle by the Mothers side, euen vpon the entrance of his youthfull yeares, lost his Brother *Lucius* most deare vnto him, a Prince as yong as himselfe, during the preparation of the *Parthian* War, and receiued a greater wound in minde then that was which afterwards offenced his bodie, yet endured he both the one and the other, both piously and stoutly. The Emperour mine Vncle by the fathers side, saw his yonger Brother, and my father die in his armes, at such time as he was ready to enter the heart of *Almaine*, and he subdued the most sauage Nations of the World, and made them subiect to the *Romane* Empire; yet kept he a measure in his sorrow, and gaue order that others should contain themselues, reducing the Army not onely aggrieued but desolate, and astonished, and who generally demanded the bodie of their Generall *Drusus* to the *Roman* custome, and manner in mourning, iudging this, that hee was obliged not onely to obserue the rules of Militarie profession, but a measure in bewailing the dead. Hee could not represse other mens teares, except first of all hee had restrayned his owne.

Chap.

Chap. XXXV.

Marke Anthony my Grandfather, inferior to none but him by whom he was ouercome, eſtabliſhing the Romane Eſtate, and being one of the Triumuirate, raiſed aboue all men, and (except his two companions) ſeeing all things vnder his feet, heard newes that his brother was ſlaine. O inſolent Fortune, what pleaſure takeſt thou in procuring mens miſeries. At that time when *Marke Anthonie* had the power of life and death amongſt the Romane Citizens, his owne brother was commanded to death; yet endured hee this ſo hatefull a wounde with the ſame magnanimity of minde, wherewith hee had endured all other aduerſities, and his mourning was of this nature, that hee ſolemnized his brothers funerals, with the bloudy maſſacre of twenty Legions. But to lay apart all other examples, and to the end that I may ſuppreſſe in my ſelfe other mens loſſes, Fortune hath aſſailed mee twice in the death of my brothers, and I haue twice found this in my ſelfe, that I might bee hurt but not confounded: I loſt my brother *Germanicus*, whom how entirely I loued, hee may perfectly vnderſtand, who thinketh how much pious brothers loue their brothers; yet ſo gouerned I my affection, that I neither omitted any thing that might be required at a good brothers hand, neither did ought that might bee reprehended in a Prince. Thinke therefore that the Parent of the common-weale relateth theſe examples vnto thee, and ſheweth thee how nothing is ſacred or vnattainted by Fortune, who out of theſe houſes durſt leade our funerals from whence ſhee was to receiue her goods. Let no man therefore wonder, if Fortune behaue her ſelfe cruelly or vniuſtly: for can ſhee acknowledge any equitie towards priuate houſes, or any modeſtie, whoſe implacable crueltie hath vſurped vpon the gods? Let vs exclaime againſt her not onely in priuate but in publique, yet will ſhee not bee changed, her eares are deafened againſt all prayers and complaints. This was Fortune in humane affaires, and this will ſhee bee; there is nothing that ſhee dare not attempt, nothing that ſhee leaueth vntouched: ſhee will forcibly enter thorough all thing, and according to her accuſtomed manner, without making any difficulty to conuay death into thoſe houſes, whereinto men enter by Temples, and hang thoſe doores with blacke, which before times were adorned with lawrell.

See Plutarch in this mans life and behold a true patterne of inconſtant fortune.

The twenty fiue, If death ſpareth not the greater, why ſhould ſhe care the ſmall?

Chap. XXXVI.

THis one thing let vs obtaine at her hands by vowes and publike prayers, (except as yet ſhee hath not reſolued to confound all humane race.) That if with a fauourable aſpect ſhee continue as yet to behold the Romane name, that ſhe will bee pleaſed to reſerue vnto herſelfe and to all men, this Prince who was raiſed to reeſtabliſh the decaying world: let her learne clemency of him, and by the mildeſt Prince of all others be inſtructed what mercy is. So then thou oughteſt to conſider all thoſe whom before time I haue made mention, either already receiued into heauen, or very neerely approach the ſame; and patiently endure

The twenty ſixth If the great ones of this world beare their loſſes patiently, the leſſer ſhould follow their example.

fortune, who ſtretcheth her hand to thee alſo, wherewith ſhe attempteth thoſe likewiſe by name, by whom wee are accuſtomed to ſweare. It behoueth thee to follow their conſtancy, and to ſuſtaine and ſurmount misfortune, and as much as may be lawfull for a man, to follow the ſteps of the gods. Although that in other things there is a great difference betwixt men, by reaſon that ſome are more highly raiſed then others; yet is vertue planted in the midſt of all men, and diſdaineth not any man, prouided that he thinke himſelfe worthy of her. Be careſull to follow thoſe who hauing any occaſion to be diſpleaſed, becauſe they are cloaſed in, and viſited ſo neerely, notwithſtanding haue thought that fortune offered them no outrage in equalling them with other men, but that it was the law of mortality; and thus were they neither vexed nor grieued, neither haue they ſhewed any faint and effeminate hearts in ſuch like accidents: for not to feele a mans euils is the part of a beaſt, and not to endure them, is not the part of a man, yet can I not (after I haue ouerunne all the *Cæſars* from whom fortune hath taken their brothers and ſiſters) ouerſlippe this man whom we are to draw out of the number of the reſt, whom Nature hath produced and brought to light, to the generall diſgrace and deſtruction of all mankinde, by whom the common weale was vtterly ouerthrowne, and reduced againe by the clemency of our mercifull Prince. This *Caligula* that neither knew to grieue or reioyce according as it beſeemed his dignity, when his ſiſter *Druſilla* was dead, retired himſelfe out of the ſight and converſation of all his Citizens, neither was he preſent at his ſiſters obſequies, neither honoured hee her according to her dignitie, but retired himſelfe into his Albanum? yet relieued he the ſorrow of theſe ſo hapleſſe funerals, by hearing pleas, and other ſuch like occupations. What ſhame was this for the Romane Empire? The ſport of a Romane Prince that bewailed his ſiſter, was to ſolace himſelfe at dice. The ſame *Caius* with furious inconſtancy, ſometimes ſuffering his beard and haire to grow long; ſometimes courſing along all the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, not following the ordinary waies, he neuer could be certainely aſſured whether hee would haue his ſiſter bewailed or deified: for at the ſame time when he reared Temples and honours to her, hee puniſhed them by cruell torments, who ſufficiently bewayled not her death: for no leſſe intemperate ſhewed he himſelfe in ſuſtaining the ſhocke of theſe afflictions, as hee was immeaſurably proud in his proſperities, for hee ſwelled aboue humane meaſure. Farre bee this example from euery Romane Citizen, eyther to attenuate his ſorrow by vntimely ſports, or prouoke them in foyling himſelfe with odious and baſe vncleaneneſſe, or to delight in other mens euils, and not in humane ſolace, Yet ſee thou that thou change nothing of thy accuſtomed carriage, becauſe thou haſt reſolued to loue thoſe ſtudies, which moſt fitly extoll a man to felicitie, and moſt eaſily leſſen his calamity, and they are thoſe that are the greateſt ornaments and ſolaces of mankinde.

Twenty ſeuenth, The inconſtant fury of Caligula in the death of his ſiſter, ought to teach wiſe men how to temper and gouerne their ſorrowes, except they would haue their minds reputed vnbrideled.

CHAP.

Chap. XXXVII.

NOw therefore drowne thy ſelfe more deepely in thy ſtudies: now enuiron them about thee as the fortreſſes and bulwarkes of thy minde, neither let ſorrow finde any entrance in any part of thee. Publiſh likewiſe thy brothers memory in ſome one monument of thy writings, for this is the onely worke amidſt all humane offices, which no tempeſts may hurt, no age conſume: the reſt that conſiſt in gathering and laying ſtones in marble monuments, or earthly tombes that are rayſed to a great height, will not continue long, for they themſelues will bee conſumed. The monuments of the minde are immortall; beſtow theſe on thy brother, enſhrine him in theſe. Thou ſhalt alwaies eternize him better by thy laſting wit, then by bewailing him with fruiteleſſe ſorrow. As touching that which concerneth Fortune, although that for the preſent a man may not pleade her cauſe before thee, (for all that which ſhe hath giuen vs is hatefull vnto vs for this very cauſe, that ſhe hath taken ſomewhat from vs) yet then will we ſpeake of it when time hath made thee a more equall iudge in her behalfe, for then maieſt thou reenter into fauour with her: for ſhe hath prouided many things whereby ſhe may amend this iniurie, for many things will ſhe now giue, whereby ſhee may redeeme the ſame: to conclude, thou receiued ſt that at her hands which ſhee hath taken from thee. Vſe not thy wit therefore againſt thy ſelfe, neither accompanie thou thy ſorrow. Well I wot that thine eloquence can approue thoſe things to be great, which are but ſmall. Againe, it can leſſen great things, and bury them in obſcuritie; but let her reſerue her forces to ſome other purpoſe, and now let her employ them wholly in comforting thee. But beware that this thing likewiſe be not vnprofitable for thee; for nature exacteth ſomewhat at our hands, and vanitie ſtriueth to ſhorten it: yet neuer will I entreate thee to giue ouer ſorrow wholly. I know there are ſome men more obſtinate and inflexible then prudent and couragious, who maintaine that a wiſeman ſhould not be touched with ſorrow. But theſe men ſeeme to haue neuer taſted of ſuch like diſaſters, otherwiſe Fortune had driuen their proud wiſedome from them, and had compelled them though againſt their wils to confeſſe the truth. Reaſon hath done enough, if ſhe reſtraine the exceſſe of ſorrow, but to haue it wholly rooted out, no man ought either to hope or deſire it. A man ought rather to obſerue this meaſure, that he neither falleth into impietie or folly, but containeth himſelfe in that habit which becommeth a quiet and no diſturbed minde. Let our teares flow, yet let them bee temperate: let our ſighes bee drawne from the bottome of our hearts; yet let them haue an end. So gouerne thy mind that thou mayeſt approue thy ſelfe to Wiſe-men, and to thy brothers. Labour to deſerue that thou mayeſt oft times remember thy brother, to the end thou mayeſt magnifie him in thy words, and that by a continual thought and remembrance thou maieſt repreſent him vnto thee. Whereunto thou mayeſt finally attaine, if thou make his memory pleaſant vnto thee, and not lamentable. For it is naturall for the minde to flie alwayes from that whereto ſhee returneth with ſorrow. Thinke vpon his modeſty, thinke thou of his readineſſe in his buſineſſes, his diligence in executing them, his faithfulneſſe in his promiſes. Let other men know, and doe thou thy ſelfe remember all his deeds and words. Conſider what he hath beene, and what might be hoped he ſhould haue beene: For what cannot a man promiſe

Twenty eighth. A ſpeciall conſolation to Polybius, *declaring that vertuous ſtudies, amidſt the greateſt ſorrowes, are the true Antidote to extinguiſh them.*

Againſt thoſe that condemne ſorrow, and what meaſure wee ought to obſerue therein.

for ſuch a brother? This diſcourſe haue I addreſſed vnto thee in the beſt ſort I may, hauing my ſpirite almoſt ſpent and dulled with ſorrow; which if it bee ſcarce anſwearable to thy expectation, or ſeeme to bee too weake to medicine thy ſorrow, bethinke thy ſelfe how hardly Latine words flow from him, whoſe eares are tired with the rude and vnpoliſhed language of the Barbarians.

The end of the firſt Booke of Comfort.

THE



OF CONSOLATION. WRITTEN BY LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA, TO MARCIA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

MARCIA *a gracious and rich Matron, as it appeareth, the daughter of* AVLVS CREMVTIVS CORDVS, *a man famous both for his ſtudies and writings, had a ſonne who died in his full yeeres, for he was an husband, a father, and a Prieſt, and already three yeeres were paſt, as appeareth in the end of the firſt Chapter, ſince he died. I therefore gather that this booke was publiſhed about the beginning of* CLAVDIANVS *time, and not before. For it is ſcarce probable that this* METELLVS *(for ſuch was his name) was raiſed to honour in* TIBERIVS *time. Vnder* CAIVS *therefore, who both diſanulled ſome other acts of* TIBERIVS, *and namely permitted* AVLVS CREMVTIVS *writings to be read: which likewiſe is touched in the firſt Chapter: and therefore this conſolation could not be publiſhed before, eſpecially the griefe being inueterate, and after three yeeres ſpace. Nay, to him that well conſidereth the ſame, this Booke may bee ſuppoſed to be written vnder* CLAVDIVS, *and after his exile. It matters not much. Touching the Booke, it is one of his beſt, although it bee not void of feminine flattery. There are two parts thereof. In the former he praiſeth her, and both by his owne and other mens examples comforteth her vntill the ſixth Chapter; in the latter he deſcendeth to reaſons, and firſt he alledgeth the common reaſon, that ſorrow profiteth nothing. Then that it is vnnaturall, and rather is grounded on tenderneſſe, and inconſideration, becauſe we foreſee not that thoſe things which may be done, are futurely to ſucceede. And againe, he produceth the examples of men and women. Then paſſeth he ouer to the eſtate and condition of thoſe that are borne, to whom death is annexed, vntill the nineteenth Chapter. Then offereth he this Dilemma: That neither the mother nor hee are iniured. Of the mother, in ſhort, ſhee is gracious, and onely vexed by opinion. Of the ſonne diuerſly, hee is in quiet: and deliuered both from caſualties and vices. What if he had beene inclined to thoſe in ſo corrupt a Citie? that hee was therefore taken away in good time, and at laſt the Fa-*

ther CREMVTIVS *is in person produced, comforting and animating his daughter, and inciting her with a constant speech to regard and behold cælestiall and diuine things.*

CHAP. I.

Seneca in this place intending to comfort Marcia *in the death of her sonne, proposeth two things in this Preface. The one the greatnesse of her courage in the death of her father. The other the good she did vnto the Romans by producing his histories, which testifie that shee patiently endured such a losse.*

EXcept I knew, *Marcia*, that thou wert so farre estranged from womannish infirmity of mind as from other vices, and that euery man obserueth thy manners, as it were some ancient patterne of vertue; I durst not vndertake to encounter with thy sorrow, whereunto men are too willingly inclined and subiect: neither had I conceiued any hope in a time sovnreasonable, before a Iudge so partiall, in a crime so hatefull, that I could effect this, that thou shouldest not complaine of thy fortune: but the approued constancy of thy mind and thy vertue confirmed by many trials, haue animated mee, and made me confident. It is not vnknowne in what sort thou diddest behaue thy selfe in the person of thy Father, whom thou louedst no lesse then thou diddest thy children, except in this that thou diddest not desire that hee should ouerliue thee, yet know I not whether thou didst wish it yea or no. For a great piety permitteth it selfe some things, which are not answerable to good and laudable manners of life. Thou hinderedst as much as lay in thy power the death of *Aulus Cremutius Cordus* thy father. But when he had discouered vnto thee, that he had but one meanes to escape from seruitude, wherein hee was detained by the vassals of *Seianus*, thou fauouredst not his counsels, but sufferedst thy selfe to bee ouercome, and secretly powredst forth teares, thou deuouredst thy sorrow, yet couldest not conceale it with a merry countenance: and this in the age wherein it was great piety to doe nothing impiously. But as soone as the reuolution of time presented thee any occasion, thou broughtest to light (for the generall good of all men) the testimonies of thy fathers wisedome, who was put to death, and exemptedst him from the graue by publishing and communicating those his bookes vnto the world, which that worthie man had written with his owne bloud. Worthily hast thou deserued of the Romane studies, for the greater part of them was consumed by fire; worthily of posteritie, to whom the incorrupted truth of former occurrents shall bee testified to the glorie of that great man thy father, who wrote them; worthily at his hands, whose memory shall flourish and liue as long as men are desirous to know the Romane affaires, as long as there shall bee any who will reflect vpon and reade the acts of antiquitie, as long as there is any that would know what a braue Romane is, who seeing the yoake of *Seianus* vpon his necke, and his feete treading on the heads of euery man, hath brauely discharged himselfe of that seruitude, and shewed that both in vnderstanding, soule, and hand hee was a free man. Truely the common weale had suffered a great losse, if thou haddest not brought this worthy person to light, who was buried in obliuion, to let vs see two worthy parts in him, to wit, his eloquence and liberty: hee is read, hee flourisheth, hee is entertained in mens hands and hearts, hee feareth no iniurie of time. But the hainous crimes of those bloudy butchers, who deserue

memory

memorie for nothing but their murthers, shall bee obscured. This greatnesse of thy minde, forbad me to looke backe vnto thy Sexe, forbad mee to behold thy countenance, which the continuall sorrowes of so many yeeres as it once clouded it, so now couereth it: But consider that I intend not to surprise thee, neither thinke thou that I will steale away thy passions. I haue refreshed the memorie of thine ancient euils: and to the end thou shouldest know that this wound also is closed, I haue shewed thee that the cicatrice was both great and dangerous. Let other men therefore dally and flatter with thy sorrowes, I am resolued to combat with thy griefe, and if thou wilt heare a truth, I will drie vp the current of those teares that haue wearied and wasted thine eyes, which rather now flow by custome then any desire or cause; which may bee done if thou fauour those remedies which I present thee: if not, I will doe it against thy will, although thou retainest and entertainest thy griefe, which thou hast reserued to continue in thy sonnes place. But what end shall there bee? All things are attempted in vaine. Thy friends are wearied with talking with thee, thy Allies and other great personages know no more what to speake vnto thee, thy deafe eares entertaine no solace, although a man relate vnto thee that which thou hast learned, and the goodly meanes and demeasne that thy father left thee. These are words that stand thee in no vse, but for the time they are a speaking. The naturall remedie of time likewise, which appeaseth the greatest sorrowes, hath lost his power in thee alone. Three yeere are already past, and yet the vehemencie of this thy passion is no wayes moderated, thy sorrow reneweth and fortifieth it selfe daily, by course of time it hath gotten possession; yea, and is growne to that height, that thou reputest it a shamefull thing to dismisse it and giue it ouer. Euen as all vices get possession and preheminence in the heart, except they be oppesed, euen then when they appeare: so likewise these perplexities and miseries, enraged against themselues, doe feed themselues at last by their owne acerbitie, and sorrow becommeth a depraued pleasure of the vnhappie minde. I could haue wished therefore that I could haue ministred a medicine to this sorrow in the beginning, because a sleight remedie had beene sufficient to extinguish the furie of this passion vpon the first approach: where now since the griefes are inueterate, the remedies ought to be more vehement. For those wounds are easily cured which are but newly inflicted; then are they seared, searched, and endure the touching; yea, they are hardly healed when they are putrified, and that time hath made them an inueterate vlcer. I cannot now to please thee, handle thy rebellious wound gently, I must presse out the poyson, and clense it with sharpe medicines.

He excuseth the vehemency, he is resolued to vse considering the vigor of Martias minde, the time past since her afflictions, and the contempt of those consolations that haue beene ministred vnto her.

Chap. II.

I Know that all those men, who will admonish any man, beginne with precepts, and end in examples; yet must I alter this course. For some are to bee handled in one sort, some other in an other. Some there are that will bee perswaded by reason, to some wee must oppose the names and authoritie of great persons to stay their mindes, that are astonished at the lustre of things. I will set before thine eyes two famous examples of thy Sexe and of our time; Of one woman that gaue her selfe ouer to griefe, of an other that hauing had no lesse losse but farre greater damage, yet suffered not her sorrow to reigne long time ouer her, but sudain-

Entring into the matter he beginneth to comfort her by examples, first of Octauia which made her selfe miserable, by refusing consolation. But Marcia hath a more setled mind, she therefore will endure to be comforted.

ſudainely ſetled and pacified her minde. *Octauia* and *Liuia*, the one the ſiſter, the other the wife of *Auguſtus*, loſt each of them a Sonne, hauing both of them hope that one day they ſhould haue beene Emperours. *Octauias* Sonne was called *Marcellus*, on whom his Vnckle and his wiues father began to build them ſelues, in committing to his hands the affaires of the Empire, a yong man of ſharpe vnderſtanding, of a great mind, modeſt and meruailouſly continent, and conſidering his yeeres and fortunes, very laborious, enemie of delights, and readie to vndergoe all that which his Vnckle would lay vpon him, or (if I may ſo ſpeake it) build on his backe: Neither failed hee in his choice, for this young man was ſufficiently enabled to vndertake all ſorts of burthens. His mother ſeeing him dead, ceaſed not all her life time to mourne and weepe, neither would ſhe admit any conſolation, nor likewiſe ſuffer any by any meanes to diſſwade her from her penſiue thoughts. But intending this one thing, and wholly fixing her minde thereupon, ſuch was ſhee all her life time as ſhee was at his funerall. I ſay not that ſhee durſt not riſe, but that ſhee refuſed to bee raiſed, iudging it no leſſe then a ſecond orbitie to ſurceaſe her weeping. Shee would haue no Image of her deereſt Sonne, neither would ſhe liſten to any that made mention of him; ſhe hated all mothers, and was moſt mad againſt *Liuia*, becauſe that felicitie that was promiſed her Sonne, ſeemed to bee tranſlated to hers. All her pleaſure was to liue in darkeneſſe and ſolitude; ſhee no wayes thought on her brother, reiecting thoſe Verſes that were compoſed, and thoſe honours which famous men had inuented, in memorie of *Marcellus*. In briefe, ſhe ſhut vp her eares from all comfort, ſhee retired her ſelfe from all ſolemne Offices, and hating that too much reſplendent fortune of her brothers greatneſſe, ſhee hid her ſelfe, and if I may ſo ſpeake it, buried her ſelfe aliue. Although her owne children, and their childrens children came flocking about her, yet would ſhee not giue ouer her mourning robe, offering out-rage in this reſpect to all thoſe that were her Allies, becauſe ſhe thought her ſelfe alone although they remained in ſafetie.

Chap. III.

2. Liuia *contrariwiſe diſgeſteth the death of her ſonne wiſely and patiently, wherby ſhe was eſteemed.*

Liuia had loſt her ſonne *Druſus*, who ſhould haue beene Emperour, and was at that time a great Captaine. He had already entered very farre into Germanie, and fixed his Enſignes there, where it was ſcarcely knowne that there were any Romanes. In this expedition hee died a Conquerour, and during his ſickneſſe his very enemies gaue him great honour, not daring to promiſe themſelues that good which was expedient for them: To this death which hee indured for the common-weale, there was ioyned a multitude of Romane Citizens, of peoples that were Allies, and of all Italy (who had conducted his body thorow the Cities, and Prouinces which were peopled by the Romans, who had made great moane for him) as farre as Rome, as if *Druſus* had entred the ſame in triumph. His mother, that for a long way had followed his bodie, and being extreamely gricued, by reaſon that as many Piles as ſhee ſaw flaming thorow out all Italy, ſo many times ſeemed ſhee to behold her dead Sonne, had not the meanes to enioy his laſt kiſſes, nor heare his ſweete and lateſt words, yet incontinently when the obſequies were performed, and that ſhee had cloſed him in his Tombe; ſhee buried her ſorrow with him, without aggrieuing her ſelfe

more

more then either her grauitie, or *Augustus* greatneſſe, or the equitit of the cauſe required. Meane while ſheee eaſeth not to publiſh her ſonnes praiſes in euery place, to repreſent him vnto her ſelfe both priuately and publikely; to ſpeake moſt willingly of him, and take pleaſure in thoſe that recounted his praiſes, when as no man could make mention of any other, but incontinently the remembrance of *Druſus* made her perceiue. Chooſe therefore which of theſe examples thou thinkeſt moſt probable; if thou wilt follow the firſt, thou cutteſt thy ſelfe off from the number of the liuing, thou wilt deteſt both thine owne & other mens children, and wanting him, thou wilt make all mothers afraid that meete with thee. Thou ſhalt diſclaime thine honeſt and lawfull pleaſures, as ill beſeeming thy condition, and ſhalt require nought elſe but to bee ſequeſtred from company: in briefe, thou ſhalt loath thine owne life, becauſe it endeth not as quickly as thou deſireſt. Beſides, (which is a thing eſtranged, and vnworthy thy mind, which hath a farre contrary reputation) thou wilt make it knowne that thou wilt not liue, and that thou canſt not die. But if thou faſhion thy ſelfe according to the example of this great woman, which is more milde and moderate, thou ſhalt not veile bonnet vnder thy ſorrow, neither macerate or afflict thyſelfe ſo much: for what folly is this (poore woman as thou art) to drowne thy ſelfe in ſorrow, and to increaſe thy miſeries? Maintaine in this accident the vertue and moderation which thou haſt approued in all the reſt of thy former life; for if there be any conueniency in ſorrow, when thou haſt alwaies the name of this young man (moſt worthy of reſt) in thy heart and in thy mouth, thou thy ſelfe ſhalt place him in a happy abode; if he appeare beore thee merry and ioyfull as he did during his life.

Chap. IV.

The third, Sorrow ſhou'd not be exiveame, or perpetuall.

NEither will I perſwade thee by more forcible precepts, or command thee to endure humane accidents with a mind more then humane, neither vpon the very day of the funerall will I force thee to drie vp the teares of a mother. I will doe thee iuſtice. The queſtion is between vs, whether thy griefe ought to bee great or perpetuall: I aſſure my ſelfe, that the example of *Liuia*, whom thou haſt inwardly both knowne and honoured, will pleaſe thee more then the other. Shee calls thee to counſaile her. Shee in the firſt furie (when as miſeries are moſt impatient and furious) gaue an eare to the counſailes and comforts of the Philoſopher *Areus* that attended her husband; and confeſſed that it yeelded her much more comfort then the Romane people, whom ſhee could not diſguſt by her ſorrow, more then *Auguſtus* who ſtaggered hauing loſt one of the ſtaies of his Empire, (nor would bee moued by the ſorrow of any of his:) more then *Tiberius* his ſonne, who effected this then, that in that bitter and diſpleaſing funerals to all nations, hee found nothing miſſing but the number of one. This as I thinke, was the induction of that diſcourſe which hee vſed in regarde of this woman, that was ſo ſettled in her opinions. Hitherto *Liuia*, (and as neerely as I could conceiue, in as much as I was an inward Counſellor to *Auguſtus* thy husband, who not onely knew thy publique ſayings and actions, but alſo the ſecret motions of thy minde,) thou haſt carefully endeuored that no man ſhould finde any thing that might giue him cauſe of exception. Neither haſt thou obſerued this only

A proofe hereof by a diſcourſe which Areus vſed to Liuia, Seneca produceth here to the end he may perſwade Marcia more powerfully.

onely in affaires of importance, but in the ſmalleſt things alſo thou haſt taken care, leſt thou ſhouldeſt doe any thing that might bee afraid of report, which freely cenſureth the actions of the greateſt in this world. Neither thinke I that there is any thing that is more worthy thoſe that are in high place, then to pardon many things, and to require pardon of nothing. Thou art therefore to obſerue in this thing thine accuſtomed manner, not to limit amy thing whatſoeuer, that thou wouldeſt haue done leſſe or otherwiſe.

Chap. V.

The fourth, We muſt accuſtome our ſelues in time to yeeld a willing eare, to thoſe that ſpeake of them, whoſe deceaſſe we haue bewayled in bitter teares.

AFter this, I deſire and entreate thee, that thou ſhew not thy ſelfe froward and intractable to thy friends. For thou art not to bee ignorant, that all theſe know not how to behaue themſelues, whether they ſhall ſpeake any thing before thee of *Druſus*, or nothing, leſt either the obliuion of ſo noble a young man ſhould doe him iniurie, or his memory and mention wrong thee. When we are drawne apart, and are aſſembled together, wee magnifie his deedes and ſpeeches as much as in vs lieth, and he deſerueth it; but in thy preſence we make no mention whatſoeuer: thou art therefore depriued of a great pleaſure, which is the prayſes of thy ſonne. When I aſſure my ſelfe thou wouldeſt eternize him, if thou hadſt the meanes, although it coſt thee thy life. Suffer therfore, nay more, command men to ſpeake of him, and yeeld thine eare to the name and memory of thy ſonne, thinke it no irkeſome thing (as other men doe) who in ſuch caſes interprete all things to the worſt that is ſpoken to them; if a man propoſe thee ſome conſolations, thou inclineſt now to the other ſide, and forgetting all the goods thou haſt receiued, thou regardeſt the worſer face of fortune, wherewith ſhee moſt affrighted thee. In ſtead of caſting thine eyes on the conuerſation of thy ſonne, vpon his pleaſant and gracious entertainment, vpon his childiſh and wanton flatteries, vpon the aduancement of his ſtudies, thou ſeemeſt to bee enchained to this laſt appearance of life, and as if it were not monſtrous enough of it ſelfe, thou heapeſt vp together whatſoeuer may be poſſible. Long not I beſeech thee after ſo diſordinate a glory, which may make thee to bee eſteemed miſerable, amongſt miſerable.

Chap. VI.

The fifth, In aduerſity onely we are to make proofe of the conſtancy of our mind.

THinke likewiſe that it is not an act of a generous mind to carry a great appearance in proſperitie, when as life exhauſted runneth on his courſe with a full ſaile. For a peaceable ſea and a fauorable wind approue not the ſufficiency of a Pilot. There muſt ſome ſtorme encounter vs that may approue the mind. And therefore diſcourage not thy ſelfe, but contrariwiſe ſtand firme in thy place, and endure euery burthen that is laid vpon thee, being onely affrighted with the firſt aſſault: there is nothing that ſo much confoundeth fortune, as a reſolute mind. After this he ſhewed her her other ſon in ſafetie, he ſhewed her her Nephewes, to recompence the loſſe of her ſonne. At that time *Marcia* thy affaires were in hand, *Areus* ſate by thee, and comforted thee vnder another name. But thinke *Marcia*, that death hath taken from thee more then euer

was

was taken from any mother (I will not flatter thee, or leſſen thy loſſe:) if teares may conquer the deſtinie, let vs vnite our teares, let vs ſpend euery day in ſorrow, let the ſleepeleſſe night conſume it ſelfe in ſadneſſe, let our hands violate our torne breaſts, and let our nailes imprint our ſorrow in our faces, let diſcontent exerciſe and extend it ſelfe in all ſorts of cruelty. But if the dead are recalled by no teares, if Fate be immoueable and euerlaſtingly fixed, no miſerie is changed, and death poſſeſſeth whatſoeuer he hath taken away; let ſorrow ceaſe becauſe it is vnprofitable. For which cauſe let vs gouerne our ſelues, neither permit this paſſion to tranſport vs beyond meaſure. It is a ſhame for a Maſter of a ſhip to ſuffer his helme to be beaten out of his hands by the billow, to neglect his Sailes that are ſhattered in the winde, and leaue his ſhip to the mercy of a tempeſt; but he euen in ſhipwracke is to bee commended, who holdeth his helme in his hand, though the ſea ſwallow and ſinke him.

The ſixth, Since that ſorrow is vnprofitable, becauſe death is not mended thereby, wee ought to refrain ſorrow

CHAP. VII.

BVt yet there is a naturall inclination in vs to bewaile thoſe whom we loue; who denies it, as long as it is moderate? For there is a neceſſitie that preſſeth vs, and retireth, and aſtoniſheth the moſt conſtant hearts, not only at ſuch time as our friends die, but alſo when in this life by diuers occaſions they are ſeparated from vs. But that which opinion addeth, is more then Nature commandeth. Conſider how vnbrideled the deſires of brute beaſts are, and yet they are ſhort. Cowes for a day or two lowe after the Bull, neither doth the wanton and wandring courſe of Mares laſt long. Wilde beaſts after they haue ſented the foote of their young ones, and haue ſearched them ſometimes amidſt the forreſt, when they returne backe againe to their empty dennes, in a few daies ſurceaſe their rage. Birds with great chattering flie about their empty neſts, but in an inſtant they are appeaſed, and keepe their accuſtomed flight. There is no creature that ſo long time bewaileth the want of his young ones as man, who accompanieth his owne griefe, and is not only touched with the ſenſe thereof, but alſo with the concluſion hee hath taken with himſelfe, to torment himſelfe thus and ſo long time. And to the end thou mayeſt know, that it is an vnnaturall thing to bee broken with ſorrow; firſt one and the ſame loſſe is more hurtfull to women then men, to barbarians then ciuill men, to the ignorant then the learned. But thoſe that haue receiued their forces from nature keepe the ſame tenure in all things. That which is diuers, is not naturall: Fire at all times will burne the inhabitants of all Cities, as well men as women. Iron will ſhew it ſelfe in euery body that it hath power to cut vpon. Why? by reaſon that nature which doth nothing in vaine hath giuen them this property. One man feeleth pouertie, paine, loſſe of children in one kinde, and that man in another kind, as cuſtome teacheth him, and as a feeble opinion of fearing of thoſe things that are terrible, maketh him either impatient or conſtant.

The ſeuenth, Wee muſt keepe a meaſure in ſorrow

Nature teacheth it not.

The eighth, It is the property of cowards and degenerate perſons to torment themſelues much.

CHAP.

Chap. VIII.

The ninth, we must suffer time to extinguish sorrow.

AGaine, that which is naturall decreaseth not by delay, but time consumeth sorrow. Bee shee neuer so rebellious, bee shee neuer so continuall, be she neuer so obstinate against remedies, yet time which is the most effectuall meanes to mitigate fury, will weaken her. True it is *Marcia*, that as yet thou art very much afflicted, and it semeth that thy sorrow (not so vehement as at first, but setled and obstinate) hath contracted a callositie, and is wholly hardned. Yet will time draw this from thee by little and little, as oftentimes as thou shalt exercise thy selfe in other things, thy minde shall finde some reliefe. Now thou hast a guard ouer thy selfe: but there is a great difference whether thou permittest or commandest thy selfe to mourne. How farre more beseeming is it for thine honest and venerable manner of life to giue an end to thy sorrow, then to expect that it should end of it selfe? neither oughtest thou to attend the day wherein sorrow should abandon thee against thy will. But beginne thou first to giue him pasport.

Chap. IX.

The tenth, The common condition of all mankind should make vs resolute otherwise afflictions would very hardly be digested.

WHence grow we therefore so obstinate in our complaints, if this that is done, be not by the commandement of Nature? It is because we thinke that euill shall neuer encounter vs, except then when we feele the same: but as if wee had a letter of exemption, and that wee were entred into a way more plaine then other men, the sinister accidents of our neighbours cannot teach vs that our danger is as great as theirs. We see so many dead bodies passe befor our dores, and so many mourners that attend them with bitter teares: but in stead of thinking on death, we shape out in our thoughts a mans garment for our young children, we runne to the warres, and already husband the inheritance and succession of our fathers. We see so many rich men sodainely become poore; yet neuer sinketh it into our hearts, that our riches may as easily slip out of our hands, as theirs did from them. Our fall therefore must be the greater, because we feele not that we are subiect to slippe, but then when we are falne and brought vnto the lowest. Those things that are long time foreseene, assault vs more leasurely.

The eleuenth, Afflictions that are foreseene are slight.

Wilt thou know thou art (although thou bee on foote) exposed to all strokes, and that those weapons that haue wounded thee, haue bene enforced against others? Mount thou a breach as if thou wert halfe armed, vpon the one side guarded by a great number of enemies, and where no one scaleth without hazard, and expect thence to receiue the strokes, and thinke that this raine of Iauelines is aymed at thy head, and that these arrowes and stones that flie ouer thy head are intended against thee: when thou shalt see that they fall on one side, or behinde thy backe, then maiest thou cry; O fortune thou shalt not deceiue me, neither shalt thou surprise me, eyther secure or negligent, I know thy designes: thou wouldest haue strucken mee, but hast wounded another. But what man is hee that euer considered his goods as if they should perish? who is he amongst vs that durst be so bold, as to thinke on his exile, his pouerty or sorrow? Who is he, that if he be admonished to thinke vpon his parents

ſecuritie, refuſeth it not as a direfull and ominous preſage, and that prayeth not that this miſhap may ſooner fall vpon the head of his enemy, or on that his vntimely Counſellor and Admoniſher? I thought not that this ſhould come to paſſe. Thinkeſt thou, that which thou knoweſt is incident vnto many, and that thou ſeeſt befall other men, cannot happen to thee: I heard an excellent Verſe and worthy *Publius*;

The twelfth, That which may befall any man may alſo befortune vs. When it is come let vs endure it.

That which befortunes one may fall to many.

This man hath loſt his children, and thou maieſt loſe thine. That man is condemned, and thine innocency is vnder the ſtroke. This errour deceiueth vs; this maketh vs effeminate, whileſt we ſuffer thoſe things which we neuer foreſee that we could ſuccour. Hee taketh away the power of preſent euils, who foreſeeth the future.

Chap. X.

ALL theſe acceſſaries *Marcia* that ſhine about vs, as children, honours, riches, large Palaces, and people that expect at our dore to ſalute and attend vs, a worthy; noble and faire Wife, (and other ſuch goods as depend on the inconſtancy of mutable Fortune,) are but forreine and hired Ornaments, which are not giuen but lent vs to decke the Theater wherein the Scene of our life is acted, and which ought to be returned to thoſe to whom they appertaine. Some of theſe muſt be brought home the firſt day, others the next day; few ſhall perſeuer, and continue to the end. Wee are not therefore to eſteeme them, as if they were our owne, they are but lent vs. The vſe of them is ours, according as it pleaſeth time to whom they appertaine. Wee ought to haue thoſe things which were giuen vs for a certaine time in a readineſſe, that when they bee called for, they may be reſtored without grudging. Wicked is that Debtor that ſlandereth and iniureth his Creditor. So then wee ought to loue thoſe in ſuch ſort, who are iſſued from vs, and whom according to the Law of Nature wee deſire to leaue in this World after vs, and doe not amiſſe to wiſh that wee may dye before them, as if we had no promiſe that they ſhould ſuruiue vs or continue with vs. Oftimes the minde is to be admoniſhed to loue them as tranſitory things, yea as ſuch as are already parting from vs, and let vs poſſeſſe all that which Fortune hath giuen vs, as a thing that muſt vaniſh in an inſtant: take your pleaſure of your children, and let them haue the fruition of your ſelues, and without delay enioy all that pleaſure you affect. Let no man build vpon to morrowes content, I haue giuen you too long delay; nothing of that houre in which wee are. We are to make haſte, death attendeth at our backes, and all this number that attendeth vs ſhall be ſcattered in a moment. In leſſe then a watch-word, all theſe ſecreties ſhall be diſperſed. All things are rauiſhed from you miſerable mortall men; you haue not the ſpirit to liue in following life; if thou complayneſt the death of thy ſonne, the fault is in the time wherein hee was borne, for at that time was he deſtinated to die. He was giuen thee vpon that condition, and as ſoone as he came out of the wombe, he ranne after this arreſt. Wee are vnder the rigorous and vnconquered power of Fortune, and endure our good or euill according to her pleaſure: ſhe afflicteth, outrageth and tormenteth

The thirteenth, All our goods are giuen vs to be reſtored againe at Gods pleaſure, let vs not be aggrieued that hee redemand the ſame.

The fourteenth, It is Gods Ordinance that hath limited our life which wee muſt depart withall, when it pleaſeth him.

teth our bodies; ſome burneth ſhe with fire, either to ruine them, or to heale them: ſome ſhall ſhe caſt into the Sea, where after they haue ſtruggled with the waues, in ſtead of caſting them on the ſhore or the ſand, ſhe ſhall caſt them into the belly of ſome great fiſh. Otherſome there are that ſhee ſhall detaine long time betwixt life and death, hauing tyred them by diuers ſorts of ſickneſſes; and likewiſe tyed them to an vnconſtant and laſciuious Miſtris, that maketh no account of her Slaues, but ſometimes tormenteth and ſtriketh them, ſometimes flattereth and rewardeth them. What need wee complaine of the parts of our life? The whole is lamentable; new incommodities ſhall vrge thee before thou haſt ſatisfied the olde: you ought therefore to moderate your ſelues in thoſe things, eſpecially, which you impatiently ſuffer, applying one part of your thoughts to the apprehenſion of euils, another to the ſenſe of them.

Chap. XI.

The fifteenth, Since we are mortall, let vs not thinke it ſtrange or euill if that which is begotten by vs be ſubiect to death. The deſcription of the miſeries of life.

But whence commeth it that thou thus forgetteſt thine owne eſtate, and the condition of the whole World? Thou art borne mortall, and haſt brought forth mortall children; thou haſt a bodie enclined to corruption & diſtraction; hauing bin beaten with ſo many accidents and ſickneſſes, didſt thou hope in ſo fraile and weake a matter that thou hadſt bred ſome thing ſolide and eternall? Thy ſonne is departed, that is, he hath finiſhed his courſe, to which end they that are more happy then thy ſonne doe flocke and haſten. All theſe that wrangle at the Palace, that fill the Theaters, that pray in the Temples, march thither but in a different place. Euen thoſe things which you reuerence, and thoſe things which you deſpiſe, one death ſhall make equall. The ſame is commanded thee by the inſcription of the Oracle of Apollo, *Know thy ſelfe*. What is man? A broken Veſſell, a thing more fraile then may bee imagined; there need no great Tempeſt to breake thee, whereſoeuer thou art caſt, thou art ſhattered. What is man? A weake, fraile, and naked bodie, diſarmed by Nature, that needeth anothers helpe, abandoned to all the outrages of Fortune; in the greateſt vigor of his age, expoſed for a prey to wild beaſts, ſubiect to bee ſpoyled by the next that meeteth him, framed of thoſe things that haue no firmitie or continuance; faire in appearance, and in outward lineaments, but neither able to endure either colde, heate or trauell. Tending through his age and idleneſſe, to conſume himſelfe, fearing that which nouriſheth him, becauſe that ſometimes the want thereof grieueth him, and ſometimes the abundance burſteth him. Carefull and ſuſpicious of his ſecuritie, his ſoule dwelleth in his bodie as but a borrowed and lothing abode: a ſodaine noyſe and vnexpected, and dreadfull touch of the eare will driue her from him, and alwayes his nouriſhment corrupteth and humbleth him. Doe wee remember that death which is neceſſary to all men, ſtriketh at one man? Was not this building rayſed to the end to bee ruined? His Odours, Sauours, Laſſitudes, Watchings, Humours, Meates and other things, without which he could not liue, are the occaſion of his death. On what ſide ſoeuer he turneth himſelfe, he incontinently eſpieth the markes of his infirmity. Euery Ayre is not good for him, the change of Waters, an vnaccuſtomed breath of winde, and other light and hurtfull cauſes make him feele that hee is ſickly, rotten,

broken

broken, and that hee beganne his life with teares. Meane while, what troubles doth this Catife creature cauſe? how many thoughts hammereth hee in his head being forgetfull of his owne condition? His thoughts wander vpon immortalities and eternities, he diſpoſeth of the affaires of his third and fourth generation, and whileſt he thus ſweltreth after theſe long apprehenſions, death layes holde on him, and that which wee call age is but a ſmall reuolution of yeares.

CHAP. XII.

TEll me O *Marcia*, if thy ſorrow haue any ground or reaſon in it, whether it reſpecteth thine incommodities, or theſe of thy ſonne? Whether art thou moued in the loſſe of thy ſonne, becauſe thou haſt receiued no pleaſures by him, or for that thou mighteſt haue enioyed greater if he had liued longer? If thou ſay that thou haſt receiued none, thou wilt make thy loſſe more tollerable. For men leſſe complaine the miſſe of thoſe things that haue giuen them neither ioy nor pleaſure. And if thou confeſſe that thy ſonne hath highly contented thee, thou art not to complaine, becauſe he is taken from thee, but to giue thankes for that thou haſt enioyed. Thou haſt likewiſe reaped great fruit of thy labours in his very education, except haply they who carefully nouriſh yong whelpes and birds, and ſuch like friuolous delights of the minde, conceiue ſome pleaſure in the ſight, touch and wanton fawning of mute beaſts; and that education it ſelfe is not the fruit of education, to thoſe that nouriſh their children. Although therefore his induſtrie hath profited thee nothing, neither his diligence hath preſerued thee, that his prudence hath not employed it ſelfe to doe thee good, yet that which thou haſt had, and loued, is the fruit of thy labour. But it might either haue beene longer or greater. Yet art thou deſt better withall, then if it had not happened at all; for if choice may be giuen, whether it be better to be happy for a ſmall time or neuer, it were better for vs to enioy thoſe goods which muſt quietly paſſe from vs, then to haue none at all. Hadſt thou rather haue had an vnthrift, who had nothing good in him, but the title & name of a ſonne, or this thy ſonne who was of ſo good a nature? The young man was quickly prudent, quickly pious, quickly an Huſband, ſudainly a father, quickly a Magiſtrate or Officer, and ſudainly a Prieſt; In briefe, all good things appeared ſudainly in him. Scarcely doe long and great goods befall any man. There is no felicitie that endureth long, or that attaineth his period, but by little and little. The immortall gods intending to giue thee a ſonne for a little time, did preſently giue thee him, ſuch as he might haue proued by continuance. Neither canſt thou ſay this, that thou onely art choſen by the gods to enioy thy ſonne a little while. Caſt thine eyes euery way amongſt thy acquaintance and ſtrangers, thou ſhalt euery where meete with greater. Great Captains and Princes haue tafted hereof. The Poets haue not exempted the gods themſelues, and I thinke they haue thus made men beleeue, that the gods were deiected, that they might pacifie and leſſen the ſorrow wee conceiue in the loſſe of our neereſt friends. Pry, I ſay, into euery place and thou ſhalt name me no houſe ſo miſerable that ſhall not find ſolace in regard of another that is farre more afflicted and miſerable. Aſſuredly I haue not ſo ill an opinion of thy manners that I would thinke that thou wilt more eaſily endure thy croſſe, if I

Sixteenth. Whether it be that thoſe that are deceaſed, haue beene in my little or long time, with vs their condition is ſuch that we haue no occaſion to bewayle them.

The ſeuenteenth, The more excellent the goods we haue are, the more willing ſhould wee be to reſtore them, becauſe the diuine Prouidence is not accuſtomed to allow vs a long poſſeſſion of that, which from the beginning he hath perfected.

The eighteenth, Other mens afflictions should teach vs to digest our owne.

ſhould reckon vp vnto thee a great number of mourners. A troupe of miſerable men, is an enuious kind of ſolace, yet ſome will I reckon vp vnto thee, not to the end thou ſhouldeſt know, that this is wont to happen vnto men, (for it is a ridiculous thing to collect the examples of mortalitie:) but to the end that thou maiſt know that there were many who haue leſſened their aduerſities by bearing them patiently, I will begin with a moſt happy man. *Lucius Scilla* loſt his ſonne, neither did this caſualtie weaken his malice or his extreme rigor both towards enemies and his Citizens. Neither was it the cauſe why hee might not ſeeme to vſurpe that ſirname ſecurely which hee tooke vpon him after the loſſe of his ſonne, neither afraid of the hatred of men, on whoſe miſeries his ouer fruitfull felicities conſiſted; neither of the gods diſpleaſure, whoſe crime it was that *Scilla* was ſo happy. But what *Scilla* was, let vs leaue amongſt thoſe things that are vncertaine, yet wil his enemies confeſſe that he tooke vpon him armes happily, and gaue them ouer diſcreetly. And in regard of that whereof we now ſpeake, it appeareth that it is no great euill which attaineth and attaineth thoſe that are moſt happie. And no leſſe let *Greece* admire that father, who during the time of his Sacrifice receiuing tidings of his ſonnes death, onely commanded the Muſician to hold his peace, and tooke the Crowne from his head, and afterwards duly finiſhed the reſt of the Sacrifice.

Chap. XIII.

Other Examples of Zenophon *and* Puluillus.

Vluillus the chiefe Biſhop did this, who at that time as hee held the poſt, and dedicated the Capitoll, receiued tydings of his ſons death, and yet without making ſhew of that was told vnto him, pronounced the ſolemne Hymme of the Pontificall Conſecration, without interrupting the ſame with any ſighes; and hearing the name of his ſonne, he praied *Iupiter* to be propitious & fauourable to the Citie and Common-Weale. Couldeſt thou haue thought that this ſorrow which vpon the firſt day, and the chiefeſt aſſault could not draw the Father from the publike altars and ſolemne dedication, ſhould euer haue ceaſſed? vndoubtedly *Puluillus* was worthy of a memorable dedication, worthy of a high Prieſthood, who deſiſted not from worſhipping the gods; no not when they were diſpleaſed: yet the ſame man as ſoone as he came home, and had ſatisfied his griefe with teares, and powred forth ſome lamentations and hauing fulfilled thoſe Offices which were accuſtomably due vnto the dead, returned to the Capitol with a merrie countenance. *P. Æmilius* about that time of his ſo renowned triumph, wherin he led before his Chariot the King *Perſeus* as his Priſoner, & had giuen two of his ſons to be adopted into another Family, ſaw the two other buried, whom he had reſerued to himſelfe: what were theſe two thinkeſt thou, when as *Scipio* was one of theſe that was giuen to bee adopted? yet the *Romane* people beheld *Paulus* Chariot void, and he vnmooued, yet declaymed he, and gaue thankes vnto the gods, becauſe they had granted him his wiſh. For he had beſought them oftentimes, that if for ſo great a victorie ſome greater incommoditie might befall him, it might rather redowne to his priuate, then the publike damage. Seeſt thou with how great a mind he bare it? he gaue them thankes for the death of his children. Could ſuch a change moue any man more? he had loſt in one inſtant his ſolaces and his ſtayes, and yet *Perſeus* had not that credit to ſee *Paulus Æmilius* ſad or diſtreſſed.

Chap.

Chap. XIV.

The fourteenth, examples of Lucius Bibulus.

WHy now should I leade thee thorow so innumerable Examples of great men, & seek out miserable men? as if it be not a harder matter to find out such as were happy? What house is it that hath continually stood at one stay in all respects? wherein there hath not hapned some distaster and perturbation? Consider the yeares one after another, and marke those that haue bin Consuls, and if thou wilt, *Lucius Bibulus*, and *Caius Cæsar*: and thou shalt see betwixt these two companions that were mortall enemies, one and the same fortune. *Lucius Bibulus* a man more honest then stout, had two of his sonnes slaine at one time. They were both of them a scorne to an *Ægyptian* Souldier; so that the father had more occasion to bewaile the indignity they had receiued at his hands, then the losse of his children; yet *Bibulus* (that during the whole time of his Consulate, had kept house by reason of the euill carriage of his fellow Consul,) receiuing tydings of this accident, came abroad and performed his woonted and publike Offices. What could hee doe lesse then bestow one day on his two sonnes? so quickly ended he his sorrow for his children, who had bewayled the Consulate a whole yeare. *Caius Cæsar* when hee had ouer-runne the whole Countrey of *England*, and could not containe his felicity within the Ocean, had tydings that his Daughter was dead, which by her losse drew the publike peace into danger: he had represented before his eies his sonne in Law, *Cneius Pompey*, who could not endure that any other should be reputed or held more great in *Rome* then himselfe, and who would haue opposed himselfe against all those which pretended to be aduanced, although it were not to his disaduantage; yet notwithstanding all this, *Cæsar* for three dayes executed that charge which was committed vnto him in being Generall, and ouercame his sorrow so soone as he was wont to ouercome all other things.

Chap. XV.

The sixth example of Augustus

WHy should I relate vnto thee the Funerals of the other *Cæsars*? I will only tell thee this, that in my iudgement Fortune hauing so rudely assailed them, hath giuen by this meanes a profitable instruction to the whole World; for shee maketh them see that the children of the gods, & such as should engender gods, haue not their owne Fortune in their hands as they haue other mens. *Diuus Augustus* hauing lost his children & nephewes; (in briefe the whole progeny of the *Cæsars*,) supported his desolate house by adoption; yet endured he these losses as temperately as if he had beene already deified, and as if some one had done him iniury, if hee should haue come and complained of the Deities. *Tiberius Cæsar* both had lost him whom he begat, and him whom he had adopted, yet notwithstanding he himselfe pronounced the Funerall Oration, in prayse of his sonne in the publike place of declamations, and constantly stood in the sight of the dead body, and had but a veile betweene them to conceale the body from the sight of the high Bishop. Although the *Romane* people wept, hee changed not his countenance, and made *Seianus* know (who stood fast by him,) that he was armed with patience to endure the losse of his children. Seest

thou not this great number of men of note, enriched with ſo many gifts of the mind, and ſo many honours both publike and particular, whom death (that deuoureth all things) ſpareth not? Nay further, this tempeſt extendeth it ſelfe ouer the whole World; and without election deſtroyeth all things, and maketh them at her owne Command euery man to giue a reaſon, and thou ſhalt finde that no man hath entred into this World but to forſake it.

Chap. XVI.

To ſatisfie Marcias obiection, that theſe are the examples of men, he inducеth Lucretia.

I Know what thou wilt ſay; Thou haſt forgotten that thou comforteſt a woman, and onely telleſt vs of the examples of men: but who dare maintaine that Nature hath ſhewed herſelfe partiall in womens behalfe, and hath reſtrained their vertues? Beleeue mee they haue the ſame vigor and free facultie of minde as men haue, to apprehend that which is honeſt, and if they accuſtome themſelues, they endure both labour and ſorrow as equally as men doe. Good gods in what City ſpeake we this? In that where *Lucretia* and *Brutus* deliuered the Romanes from the captiuitie of Kings: wee muſt acknowledge our libertie to proceed from *Brutus*, and we are indebted to *Lucretia*, for *Brutus*. In that where wee haue eternized *Cælia* the Virgin in the number of the moſt valiant of her time, by reaſon of her vndaunted boldnes, when in deſpight of the enemy ſhe ſwam ouer *Tyber*. Her Statue on horſebacke, planted in the midſt of that famous and ſacred ſtreet, reprocheth our young men that are mounted in their Coaches, and enter in that ſort into that Citie, wherein we haue made Preſents of Horſes vnto women: but if thou wilt haue me ſet thee downe an example of women that haue endured the death of their friends conſtantly, I will not begge it from dore to dore, I will produce out of one Family the two *Corneliaes*. The firſt was *Scipioes* Daughter, and Mother to the *Gracchi*. Shee had twelue children that all of them dyed before her. As touching ten of them, whom *Rome* neither apperceiued liuing or dead, if I may ſo ſpeake it, the loſſe might in ſome ſort be borne. But in reſpect of thoſe her two ſons *Tiberius Gracchus* and *Caius*, (whom they that admit not for peaceable men, yet muſt they acknowledge them for honourable Perſonages) ſhe ſaw them ſlaine and vnburied. And when as ſome one in comforting her called her poore and deſolate Mother: *Neuer* (ſaith hee) *will I call my ſelfe vnhappy who haue bred the Gracchi.* The other *Cornelia* loſt *Liuius Druſus* her ſonne a young Gentleman, well borne, of great hope, and one that followed the example of the *Gracchi*; who hauing left ſome Suites of great importance vnperfect, which concerned the Common-Weale, was ſlaine in his owne houſe, and no man knew who did the deed; yet *Cornelia* endured the bloudie and vnreuenged death of her ſonne, with as great a minde as hee made Lawes. Now *Marcia* ſhalt thou become friends with Fortune againe, if thou conſider that ſhe hath darted the like Arrowes againſt thee, as ſhee did againſt the *Scipioes*, their Mothers three Children, and *Cæſars* themſelues. Life is repleniſhed and broken with diuers accidents, which haue no long repoſe, and almoſt no truce. Thou haſt had foure Children *Marcia*: but they ſay that there is no Arrow that falleth in vaine that is ſhot againſt a troupe of the enemy. Is it ſo great a wonder that ſo great a company could not bee ouer-paſſed without enuie or loſſe? But in this was Fortune more vniuſt, becauſe ſhe not onely tooke away thy Children, but made

The nineteenth, He anſwereth a new complaint of Marcias, and ſheweth her what occaſion ſhe hath to comfort her ſelfe, conſidering theſe comforts that are left behind: and this is it that we ought to conſider our afflictions, that God oftentimes leaueth vs many helpes, when hee might take away all.

made choyce of them; yet ſay thou not that he is wronged that hath his equall part and portion with his Lord. Fortune hath left thee two daughters and their children, and of all theſe ſhe hath onely borne away thy ſonne, whom thou ſo much bewayleſt, hauing forgotten the other that was dead before him. Thou haſt by this ſonne two daughters who reſemble their father, if thou bring them vp and nouriſh them againſt thy heart, they are two mightie burthens; contrariwiſe, if thou take pleaſure in them, they will be great comforts vnto thee. To this end brought he them thee, that ſeeing theſe daughters they ſhould refreſh the memorie of thy ſonne, and not of thy ſorrow. The Huſbandman when he ſees his Trees ouerturned, which eyther the Winde hath rent them vp by the roots, or the violent tempeſt hath broken them by a violent wherrie, nouriſheth the reſt of their ſiens, and preſently ſetteth the ſeedes of thoſe plants he hath loſt, and in a moment (for time is as violent and headlong in increaſes, as ſhe is in loſſes) they ſpring more flouriſhing then thoſe that were loſt. Subſtitute now theſe daughters of *Metillius* in his ſtead, and fill vp the voyde place. Relieue thou one ſorrow with a double ſolace. Truely this is the nature of mortall men, that nothing is more pleaſing then that which is loſt; we are more partiall to thoſe that are left, and more deſirous of thoſe that are taken from vs. But if thou wilt eſtimate how much Fortune ſpared thee, euen then when ſhe was angrie with thee, thou ſhalt know that thou haſt more then comforts, witneſſe ſo many Nephewes and two daughters.

CHAP. XVII.

The twentieth. The condition of our life ought to inuite vs to conſtancie.

SAy this likewiſe, *Marcia*, I would moue me, if Fortune ſhould reſpect euery one according to his behauiour: good men ſhould neuer be ſeconded by misfortunes; but now I ſee without any difference, and after the ſame manner, that both good and bad are indifferently diſtreſſed: Yet is it a grieuous matter to loſe a young man whom thou haſt brought vp, & that now would be both an helpe and ornament to his father and mother. Who denies that it is a grieuous matter? yet is it humane. To this wert thou borne, that thou ſhouldeſt loſe, that thou ſhouldeſt die, that thou ſhouldeſt hope, that thou ſhouldeſt feare, that thou ſhouldeſt diſquiet both thy ſelfe and others, that thou ſhouldeſt feare and wiſh death, and that which is worſt of all, that thou ſhouldeſt neuer know in what eſtate thou wert. If a man ſhould ſay to him that would embarke and ſayle to *Syracuſa*: Before thou ſet ſayle, conſider all the commodities and incommodities of thy voyage, then enter thou the Shippe. Theſe are the things that thou mayeſt wonder at. Firſt of all, thou ſhalt ſee *Sicilie* diuided from *Italie* by a little arme of the Sea, whereas in times paſt they were of one continent. The Sea in that place maketh ſodaine inſults;

Vnder an excellent deſcription of a voyage to Sicily, *he ſheweth to what goods and euils our liues are allotted, to the end in proſperitie to prepare vs to aduerſitie.*

Diuiding Italie from Sicilie.

Then ſhalt thou ſee (for thou muſt ouerpaſſe ſwiftly that dangerous ingate of the Sea) that Gulfe of *Charybdis* ſo renowned amongſt the Poets, which as long as it is free from the Southerne winds is peaceable and calme; but

but if any winde breath from that place, ſhe ſwalloweth ſhips in her deepe and deuouring billowes. Thou ſhalt likewiſe ſee the fountaine of *Arethuſa*, (ſo celebrated amongſt the Poets) wonderfully cleare and pure in the bottome, and bubling vp Water that is very colde, whether thou draweſt it from the ſpring, or whether ſhe iſſueth from vnder the earth, where ſhe loſeth her ſelfe, and paſſeth vnder the ſea without intermixing her ſelfe, loſing her ſweetneſſe amiddeſt the ſalt Water. Afterwards, thou ſhalt arriue in the ſecureſt Hauen that Nature euer made, or that humane induſtrie hath accommodated for the ſecuritie of Shippes, ſo aſſured and calme that the furie of moſt greateſt tempeſts cannot any waies afflict or encreaſe the ſame. Thou ſhalt ſee the place where the Athenian Nauie was diſcomfited, when ſo many thouſand men were loſt, and lockt vp in that renowned priſon, ſo immeaſurably high, and builded of hewen ſtone. After this, the great Citie of *Syracuſa*, and her towred Walls of greater extent then are the Confines of diuers Cities, and no day without Sunne-ſhine. But after you haue ſeene all theſe commodities, on the other ſide, there preſenteth it ſelfe a moſt hote and vnwholeſome Summer time, which corrupteth the benefites that the Winter had cauſed. There ſhalt thou finde the Tyrant *Dionyſius* ſworne enemie of Libertie, Iuſtice, and Lawes; deſirous of gouernement, and domination, and of life alſo. After his baniſhment, ſome he will burne, otherſome he will beate, theſe vppon a ſleight occaſion he will commaund to be beheaded, to ſatisfie his luſts; hee ſhall make vſe both of Male and Female: and amongſt the loathſome troupes and attendants of Kingly intemperance, it ſhall bee a ſmall matter at one time to commit pollution both waies. Thou haſt heard what may inuite thee, and what may withdraw thee; therefore eyther ſaile onward, or ſtay behinde. If after this relation any man ſhould ſay that hee would enter *Syracuſa*: can hee iuſtly complaine againſt any man but himſelfe, who ſhould not haue ſaine vnto theſe miſeries, except willingly and wittingly hee had ſought them out? Thus ſpeaketh Nature to vs all. I deceiue no man, thou if thou beareſt children, maiſt haue them faire, maiſt haue them deformed, and if haply thou bring forth many, one of them may as well be a Protector of his Countrie, as another a Traytor. Thinke not that they ſhall mount to that high dignitie, that no man dare ſpeake euill of thee for feare of them. But propoſe this to thy ſelfe, that they may be ſo diſſolute and licentious that euerie one will curſe them. Nothing hindreth them to acquite themſelues of that deuotion which they owe vnto thee: neyther are they forbidden to praiſe thee, yet diſpoſe thy ſelfe, as if thou wouldeſt lay them on the Biere, eyther children, young men or old men; for yeeres concerne this matter nothing at all: becauſe there is no funerall, that is not accompanied with ſorrow, and attended by the parents. If after theſe conditions, which now haue beene propoſed, thou burieſt thy children, thou canſt in no ſort complaine againſt the gods, who haue promiſed thee nothing.

CHAP.

Chap. XVIII.

An application of that he hath ſpoken of the voyage to Siracuſa.

LEt vs therefore now apply and compare all the courſe of our life according to this example; I haue told thee (ſince thou art determined to viſit *Syracuſa*) what thing may pleaſe thee, and what offend thee, & ſuppoſe that now when thou art to enter life, I come and giue thee this counſell. Thou art to enter a Citie, that is common both to gods and men, comprehending all things, obliged to certain eternall and irreuocable Lawes; where the celeſtiall bodies performe their courſe without repoſe or laſſitude. There ſhalt thou ſee innumerable ſtars, and wonder to ſee one Planet that enlightneth all things; the Sun that by his daily courſe diuideth the ſpaces of day and night, equally diſtinguiſhing the yere into Winter and Summer. There ſhalt thou ſee the nocturnal ſucceſſion of the Moone, borrowing her milder and remiſſer heate from her brothers beames; ſometimes hidden, and ſtraight againe ouer-looking the whole earth with a full face, admirable in her increaſes and decreaſes, being no one day the ſame, but altered continually. Thou ſhalt ſee the fierie Planets obſeruing different courſes, and ſhining oppoſitely the one againſt the other in their Spheares: on their ſo ſodaine courſes depend the deſtinies of nations, great and leſſer effects doe follow, according to the benignitie or malignitie of their aſpects. Thou wilt admire to behold the clouds that are gathered, the raines that fall, the oblique flaſhes of lightning, and the thunder in the ayre. When thou ſhalt caſt thine eyes vpon the earth (that are alreadie glutted with the ſight of celeſtiall wonders;) thou ſhalt be entertained with another form of things and wonderfull in another kind. On this ſide, the extent of ſo ſpacious plaines that the eie cannot apprehend them; on that ſide, the toppes of mountaines enuying the clouds, charged with ſnow, the downefall of riuers, the floudes iſſuing from one and the ſame ſowrce, running from Eaſt to Weſt, the forreſts inconſtantly bending their bowes vpon the tops of the higheſt mountaines, ſo many woods with the beaſts that inhabite them, and ſuch varietie of melodious birds. After theſe, the diuers ſituation of Cities, the nations ſeparated the one from the other by the difficulty of paſſages, the one retiring themſelues to the mountains, the other ſpread themſelues along the riuers ſides, lakes, vallies, and marſhes: the harueſt forwarded by the huſbandmans hand: the trees fruitfull without aſſiſtance of man, the gentle fleating of breakes and of the lawndes, the pleaſant gulfes, the commodious hauens, ſo many Iſles diſperſed in the Ocean, which by their ſituation diſtinguiſh the ſeas. I ſpeak not of pearles or precious ſtones, nor of gold that runneth amidſt the ſands of the moſt violent riuers, nor of thoſe fires that are enkindled both in the earth and in the ſeas, nor of the Ocean, which is the bond of Nations which ſeparateth them with a triple ſtraight, hauing otherwaies her perpetuall flux and reflux. When her billowes are laid, and ſteale along without any agitation of the windes, thou ſhalt ſee terrible fiſhes, and of incredible greatneſſe: others more heauie which ſwimme along vnder the conduct of others, ſome verie ſwift, and more ſodaine in their turnings then a veſſell with many Oares, others breathing out water to the great dangers of thoſe that are Paſſengers. Thou ſhalt obſerue on theſe Seas certaines veſſels that go to ſeeke out new found lands, thou ſhalt ſee that humane boldneſſe would know and diſcouer all things; and thou thy ſelfe ſhalt be a looker on, and the greateſt Aduenturer in the voyage: thou ſhalt learne and teach

teach Arts, whereof ſome tend to the commoditie, otherſome to the ornament, and others to the gouernement of this life. But on the other ſide, there ſhall be a thouſand plagues of bodie and ſoule, warres, theſts, impriſonings, ſhipwrackes, heate, cold, terrible changes of the ayre, and cruell puniſhment of our bodies, and of thoſe whom we loue moſt; and finally, death which thou knoweſt not whether it ſhall be ſweet and eaſie, or accompanied with tortures and grieuous puniſhments. Deliberate with thy ſelfe, and ballance carefully which of theſe two thou wilt entertaine: if thou haſt part of thoſe goods that are mentioned before, thou muſt iſſue likewiſe thorow the midſt of thoſe miſeries. Thou wilt anſwer that thou wilt liue, and why not? Nay, rather I thinke that thou pretendeſt not to approch ſuch a thing whereof thou canſt not endure that any one ſhould pull any portion from thee. Liue therefore as it becommeth thee; no man, ſaiſt thou, hath demaunded our aduice. Our parents haue conſulted about vs, who whereas they knew the condition of life verie well, haue brought vs vp vnto that end.

Chap. XIX.

The one and twentieth, They that are deceaſed are not abſens, neither haue abandoned vs, but haue gone before vs, and wee ſhall ſodainely follow after them.

But to returne to conſolations, we muſt firſt of all ſee what the infirmitie is whereunto we ought to apply a remedie. Secondly, in what manner. He that mourneth is moued with the loſſe of him whom he loued, and this appeareth tollerable in it ſelfe. For we bewaile not thoſe who during their life time are and ought to be abſent from vs, although wee be depriued of their preſence and the aide they might yeeld vs. It is therefore opinion that tormenteth vs, and all affliction is as much to be priſed as we haue rated it at. The remedy is in our owne hands. Let vs iudge that our friends, parents, and neere kinſfolke are abſent, and let vs deceiue our ſelues, we haue diſmiſſed them; nay more, we haue ſent them before with a purpoſe to follow them. This likewiſe moueth him that mourneth; I ſhall want one to defend me, and protect mee from contempt. To vſe a ſcarce probable, but yet a true comfort: In our Citie want of children getteth vs more grace then it taketh from vs. And ſo much hath ſolitude enabled olde age that was wont to deſtroy it, that ſome faine hatred of their children, ſome forſweare them, and willingly make themſelues deſolate. I know what thou wilt ſay, my detriments moue me not, for he is vnworthie of ſolace that taketh it heauily that his ſonne is departed from him, as if hee had loſt a ſlaue, and that conſidereth in his ſonne any other thing then his owne perſon. What therefore moueth thee *Marcia?* whether art thou agrieued becauſe thy ſonne is dead? or for that he liued not long? If becauſe he is dead, thou ſhouldſt haue beene alwaies in griefe, for thou kneweſt alwaies that he ſhould die. Thinke this, that the dead are afflicted with no euils, thoſe things that make hell terrible vnto vs, are but fables, we know that the dead are not enfolded in darkeneſſe, that they are not in priſon. We belieue not thoſe flouds flaming with fire, neither the lake of forgetfulneſſe, nor the iudgement Seat, neither that there are any guiltie in that ſo large libertie, neither likewiſe that there are Tyrants. Theſe are poeticall, and thus haue they tormented vs with vaine terrors. Death is both the the ſolution and end of all ſorrow, beyond which our euils paſſe not, for ſhe repoſeth vs in that tranquility wherein we lay before we were borne. If a man will be ſorrowfull for thoſe

The two and twentieth, Oft times it is better for vs to be alone then in companie.

The three and twentieth, Since thoſe that are dead were created to die, we ſhould not weepe for them.

The foure and twentieth, Death is the end of miſeries. But this muſt be ſo vnderſtood that it is intended onely in reſpect of the body, and till the time aſſigned whereon the world ſhall haue an end.

that

that are dead, let him haue compaſſion likewiſe on thoſe that are vnborne. Death is neither good nor euill. For that may be either good or euill which is any thing; but that which of it ſelfe is nothing, and reduceth all things to nothing, betrayeth vs to no fortune. For thoſe things that are good and euil haue relation to ſome matter. Fortune cannot derayne that which Nature hath diſmiſſed, neyther can he be a miſerable man that is no man. Thy ſonne is exempted from thoſe bands wherein he was in bondage. He is entertained by a great and eternall peace; he is not afflicted with the feare of pouertie, the care of riches, the prouocations of luſt attainting the minde by pleaſures; he is not touched with the enuy of another mans felicitie, neither are his modeſt eares beaten with any ſlanders. Hee beholdeth neyther publique nor priuate ſlaughters, he taketh not care for that which is to come, neither dependeth he on euents which tend and incline alwaies from euil to worſe. At laſt he is ſtayed in ſuch a place, from whence nothing may driue him away, and where nothing affrighteth him.

CHAP. XX.

The fiue and twentieth, He proſecuteth his diſcourſe, wherein he proueth more particularly the commodities of death.

How ignorant are men of their miſeries, who praiſe not death which is the beſt inuention of nature! Which whether it include felicitie, or repulſeth calamitie, or terminateth facietie or laſſitude of olde age, or carries away youth in his flower whilſt better things are hoped for, or cutteth off childhood before he vndergoe dangerous courſes: She is the end of all, the remedie of many, the wiſh of diuers men, deſeruing better of no men, then of thoſe to whom ſhe came before ſhe was called. She diſmiſſeth the ſlaue in diſpight of his Lord, ſhee vnchaineth priſoners, ſhakes off the fetters of thoſe men whom tyrants hold captiue. She ſheweth baniſhed men that haue alwaies their hearts and eyes fixed vpon their countrie, that it is a ſmall matter amongſt whom they are laid and buried. She when as Fortune hath diuided common goods vnequally, and hath giuen to two brothers different things, maketh them equall. She it is that hath neuer done any thing according to another mans liking, ſhe it is in which no man hath felt his humility, ſhe it is that hath obeied no man, ſhe it is *Marcia* whom thy father deſired. She it is, I ſay, that bringeth it to paſſe that to be born is no puniſhment, that cauſeth me not to loſe my courage when I am threatned by infinite accidents, that maketh me preſerue my mind entire and maiſter of himſelfe; I know where I muſt arriue; I ſee on this ſide gibbets of diuers faſhion, ſome hanging their heads downeward towards the earth, ſome thruſt thorow with ſtakes, ſome hauing their armes ſtretched out vpon the gallows. I ſee cords, ſtrapadoes, and tortures for euery member of the body, yea likewiſe I ſee death. On the other ſide, I perceiue furious enemies, & proud citizens, but here likewiſe ſee I death. It is no hard matter to ſerue, when as at ſuch time as a man cannot endure his maſter, he may attaine his libertie by ſtepping one foote forward; againſt the iniuries of life I haue the benefit of death. Thinke how much good a fit and commodious death affordeth vs, and what euils haue befalne many by liuing too long. If *Pompey* (that honor & ſupport of our Commonweale) had dyed at Naples, vndoubtedly a man might haue ſaid, Behold the Prince of the Romane people is departed. But now the adiection of a little more time made him fall from the height of his dignitie. He ſaw his legions ſlaine before his

The ſixe and twentieth, One death diſchargeth vs of many ſorrowes.

his face,and what miſerable remainders were theſe of that battaile, where the Senators ledde the armie, to the end that their Generall might be ſaued? For anon after he ſaw the Ægyptian murtherer, and preſented his ſo venerable bodie to a ſouldier that ſlew him. And had his life beene ſaued,he had repented himſelfe. For what a ſhame had it beene that a King ſhould haue giuen *Pompey* his life? If *Marcus Cicero* had died then,when he deliuered himſelfe from that maſſacre,which *Catiline* pretended to execute vpon him and Rome, that Commonweale that was defended by him, had called him her Protector and ſafegard. Afterwards had he followed his daughter,then might his death haue beene eſteemed happie, he had not ſeene thoſe threatning ſwords that were brandiſhed ouer the heads of his Citizens, nor the goods of thoſe that were murdered,giuen to the murderers, in ſuch ſort that their riches were the cauſe of their deaths who poſſeſſed them: he had not vnderſtood that thoſe goods that were taken from Conſuls,were ſold at out-cries; nor of the murthers,nor of the ſpoiles which were recompenced out of the publique treaſure, nor of the warres and rapines of three as bloudie as *Catiline*. Had the ſea ſwallowed vp *Cato* when he returned from Cyprus,with thoſe goods which the King had bequeathed by his Will to the Romane people, or had he periſhed with all that ſiluer which he brought with him, which was afterwards employed in the maintenance of ciuill warre, had he not died happily? Surely he had carried away this honour with him,that no man had or durſt do any fault in *Catoes* preſence. But now the adiection of a few yeares conſtrained this man, who was borne to maintaine both his owne and the publique libertie,to flie from *Cæſar*, and to follow *Pompey*. No euill therefore hath vntimely death brought to *Metillius*. Nay more,he is thereby exempted from all euils; yet died he too ſoon, and too yong. Firſt,preſuppoſe that he liueth yet, and conſider how little time is allotted man,in regard of the yeares of his life. And what is this? Wee are placed in this world for a moment of time, and ſhall in leſſe then an inſtant diſlodge from the ſame: and hauing entered thereunto vpon this condition, wee haue alwaies our eye fixed on that place whither we muſt tend: I ſpeake of our yeares which fleet away with an incredible ſwiftneſſe. Examine how many yeares Cities haue ſtood, and thou ſhalt ſee how little while they haue laſted, yea euen thoſe that moſt glorie in their antiquity. All humane things are fraile, and ſcarce occupie any place in this vaſt extent of infinite time. We ſay that all this earth, with the people thereof, theſe Cities, riuers, and that ſea which incloſeth them, is but a poynt in reſpect of the Vniuerſe. Our life is leſſe then a point, if it be compared with all that time which is paſt,and is to come, which hath farre greater extent then the world, conſidering that time ſo oftentimes turneth and meaſureth himſelfe in this ſo great incloſure of the ſame. What auaileth it vs then,to extend that which being brought to his full extent,will be almoſt as much as nothing? In one kind we haue liued enough,& long enough, if it ſufficeth vs. And if thou liueſt as long as thou canſt deſire,and that therein old age be extended ſo farre as thou maieſt make reckoning of ninetie or of an hundred yeares: yet if thou wilt fixe thy thought vpon all the time of eternitie, there wil be little difference betwixt the ſhorteſt and the longeſt life: if conſidering how many yeres euery one hath liued, thou compare them with thoſe wherein he hath not liued. Againe, he died not vntimely,for he liued as long as he ſhould haue liued: for there was no ouerplus of time wherein he ſhould haue liued longer. The age of olde men is not alike, no more is that of beaſts. Some creatures are a wearie of life after foureteen yeres,and this is their longeſt age,

The ſeuen and twentieth, That no man dieth too ſoone.

The eight and twentieth, No man dieth before his time, becauſe he hath liued as much as he ought.

age, which to a man is but the firſt. Each one hath a different faculty of liuing. There is no man dieth too ſoon, who was not to liue longer then he liued. Euerie mans time is prefixed, it ſhall alwaies continue where it was ſetled; neither ſhall either diligence, trauell, or valew, aduance the ſame further: and we know that he breaketh his braines, and loſeth his labour that pretendeth the ſame. Thy ſonne hath runne his race, and hath attained to the prefixed end of his life. Thou art not therefore to loade thy ſelfe in this ſort. He might haue liued longer. His life was not interrupted, and Fortune neuer croſſed the courſe of his yeares. Euerie one is payed that which is promiſed him: the Deſtinies are carried according to their proper vehemencie: they neither lengthen or ſhorten the time: in vaine are they beſought or ſolicited. Euerie one ſhall haue as much as the firſt day of his life hath aſſigned him. From that time he began to ſee the light, he hath entered the way of death, and approached Deſtinie: thoſe yeares that were added to his youth, were ſtolne away from life: we are all in this errour, that we thinke that none but olde and aged men are neere vnto death, whereas infancie, youth, and euerie other age leadeth vs thereunto. The Fates ply their buſineſſe, they ſteale from vs the apprehenſion of our death; and to the end ſhe may more eaſily ſteale vpon vs, ſhe masketh her ſelfe vnder the name of life. Childhood carrieth away infancie, youth rauiſheth childhood, and olde age youth: but if thou calculate well theſe increaſes, they are as many decreaſes and loſſes.

The nine and twentieth, We are all in error, there is no man more eſtranged from life then another.

Chap. XXI.

THou complaineſt, *Marcia*, that thy ſonne liued not ſo long as hee might; but how knoweſt thou whether it were expedient for him to liue longer, or more profitable for him that he dyed thus? What man canſt thou finde at this day, whoſe affairs are ſo firme and well aſſured, that he hath no cauſe to feare that which is to come? Humane affaires ſteale and ſlip away. Neyther is there any part of our life more declining and incertain, then that which pleaſeth vs moſt. And therefore the moſt happy ought to wiſh for death; becauſe amidſt this inconſtancie and confuſion of things, nothing is certaine but that which is paſt. Who could aſſure thee that this faire bodie of thy ſonne, and the maruellous care that he had of his honour, maintained in the middeſt of ſo many eyes of a Citie founded and confounded with diſſolutions and exceſſe, could in ſuch ſort warrant himſelfe from ſickeneſſe, that vntill old age his beautie and ſeemlineſſe ſhould haue remained vntouched?

The thirtieth, It is onely God that knoweth when it is expedient for vs to leaue our liues.

Chap. XXII.

PRopoſe vnto thy ſelfe a thouſand infirmities of the ſoule: for many excellent ſpirits haue not maintained vnto their old age, that hope that we had conceiued of them in their youth; but oftentimes they haue degenerated. In their latter dayes therefore conſequently, and to their greater ſhame, they haue addicted themſelues to palliardiſe, which hath made them ſoile the faire beginnings of their life. Or being plunged in drunkenneſſe and gourmandiſe, their principall care

31. No man knoweth his deſtinie, and the beſt aduiſed cannot foreſee that which is to come to paſſe; wee ought not therefore to bewaile thoſe that die in youth.

hath beene to know what they ſhould eate or drinke. Adde hereunto the burnings, the ruins, ſhipwracks, the operation of Surgeons, who cut off their members, pull out their braines, thruſt their hands into their entrailes; and heale their priuie parts, not without exceſſiue paine: after theſe, baniſhment, for thy ſonne was no honeſter man then was *Rutilius*: and priſon, ſure he hath not bin a wiſer man then *Socrates*: and the ſtab of a Poinard that was voluntarily buried in his breſt, ſure he was not more vertuous then *Cato*. In conſidering theſe things, thou ſhalt finde that they are happy whom nature hath retired in good time into a place of ſecuritie, conſidering that in the end they could not receiue any other reward of their life, then that or ſome ſuch like. There is nothing ſo deceitfull as mans life, nothing ſo trayterous. No man would haue accepted life, except it had beene giuen at vnawares: and therefore it is a great happineſſe not to be born, and another happines that death is neere to ſhorten that life, and put vs in that eſtate wherein we were before we liued. Call to thy remembrance thoſe wretched times, wherein *Seianus* made a preſent to *Satirus Secundus* his Client, of the confiſcation of thy fathers goods, which he tooke from him by reaſon of ſome confident ſpeeches he had vttered: for thy father could not hold his peace, ſeeing that men intended not onely to make vs ſubiect to *Seianus*, but that by degrees he mounted to the ſoueraigne authority. It was decreed that a ſtatue ſhould be raiſed for him in *Pompeis* Theater, which the Emperor cauſed to be reedified becauſe it had been burned. *Cordus* exclaimed, *That then the Theater was wholy ruinated.* And what heart would not haue burſt, ſeeing *Seianus* ſit vpon *Pompeis* cinders, and a wicked ſouldier enſtalled in the place of a great Captaine? Notwithſtanding the ſtatue was reared with a ſubſcription. On the other ſide, thoſe maſties that this curſed *Seianus* nouriſhed with humane bloud, to the end that they ſhould be priuate to himſelfe, and inraged againſt all others, began to barke on euerie ſide againſt thy father, who thought not of them. What ſhould he doe? To maintaine himſelfe in life, it behoued him to humble himſelfe before *Seianus*; to die, to haue licence from thee his daughter. But it was impoſſible for him to pacifie *Seianus*, and his daughter leſſe, yet at the laſt *Cordus* reſolued with himſelf to deceiue his daughter. Hauing therefore taken his bath (the more eaſily to deceiue her) he retired himſelfe into his chamber, as if he intended to take ſome refection before his ſupper; and hauing diſpatched his ſeruants and pages about ſome buſineſſe, he caſt ſome morſels of meat out of the window, to the end it might be thought that he had eaten. Afterwards, as if he had ſufficiently nouriſhed himſelfe in his chamber, he abſtained from his ſupper, continuing the ſame courſe the ſecond and third day: vpon the fourth day, the infirmitie of his body diſcouered what he meant Embracing thee therefore, he ſaid, *My deareſt daughter, I haue concealed nothing from thee during my whole life, but this; I am entred the way of death, & haue almoſt attained the halfe: thou neither ſhouldeſt, nor canſt recall me back again.* After he had ſpoken this, he cõmanded the lights to be caried away, and retired himſelfe into an obſcure place. This act of his being diſcouered, euery one was glad that the prey was taken out of the throats of thoſe greedie Wolues. His accuſers by *Seianus* incitation, preſented themſelues before the ſiege of the Conſuls, complaining that *Cordus* was a dying, to the end to obtain permiſſion to withdraw him from that whereunto they had compelled him; ſo much were they aggrieued that *Cordus* ſhould eſcape their fingers. The queſtion was vpon a matter of great importance, whether thoſe that were adiudged to die ſhould be hindered from procuring their death. Whilſt this matter was

A notable manifeſtation of Cremutius Cordus conſtancie and death, yet let vs not temper their iudgments: there is a Law aboue Stoicall, and that muſt reforme theſe reſolutions.

was in debating,and the accusers goe & come,*Cordus* was deliuered from their clawes. Seest thou not, *Marcia*, how vnexpectly the reuolutions of wretched times doe steale vpon vs? Doest thou weepe because one of thine must needes die? Thou seest how hard a thing it was for him to get this priuiledge.

Chap. XXIII.

The two and thirteth, Our bodies are the prisons of our soules, which conceiue great content to get their recourse to heauen.

BEsides this, that euery future thing is vncertaine, and the way to the worse is more assured: it is easier for vs to ascend to heauen, when as our mindes are quickly dismissed from humane conuersation. For they haue gathered lesse drosse and ordure,and being deliuered, which before were confused and ouerwhelmed with the meditation of earthly things,they are more light to flie back again to their original; and more easily ouerpasse all that which may hinder them. For neuer did great wits take pleasure to remaine in their earthly prisons,they are glad to forsake them, and breake thorow them: these so strict limits are displeasing to them,being accustomed to raise themselues aboue the heauens,& to contemne from aboue all humane and base things. Thence is it that *Plato* crieth, *That a wise mans minde is wholly intended vpon death, that this he willeth, this he meditateth, that he is alwaies possessed with this desire, when hee beholdeth exterior things*. What,thoughtest thou, *Marcia*, when thou sawest a young man replenished with aged wisdome,a mind triumphing ouer all pleasures, reformed, deuoid of vice; rich without auarice,raised to honor without ambition,desirous to haue pleasures without dissolution,that thou shouldst keepe him long time? Whatsoeuer hath attained his perfection hasteth to his end. Perfect vertue retireth it selfe,and vanisheth from our eies: neither do the fruits expect their Autumne,that are ripe in Summer. The fire the more it shineth,the sooner is it extinguished,and that lasteth longest which being mixed with a moist matter and hard to kindle and smothered in smoke,shineth thorow the smother. For that which nourisheth it,as it were by cõstraint,is the cause it continueth more long time. So good spirits,the more famous they are,the shorter they liue. For whereas there is no place of encrease, their decrease is the neerer. *Fabianus* said, (and our predecessors also haue seene it) that there was an infant at *Rome*, as great as an absolute man;but he liued not long, and euery one that had iudgement was of opinion that he should die shortly. For he could not encrease so much in yeares as he had attained by his stature. So maturitie is a token of imminent ouerthrow,and the end approcheth where encreases are consummate.

Chap. XXIV.

The three and thirtieth, Hee that hath liued vertuously,ought not to be bewailed in his departure out of this world, where the longer he had stayed,the more might he haue beene corrupted.

ESTimate thou him by his vertues, and not by his yeares. He hath liued enough, he was left a pupill,and vntill the foureteenth yere of his age he was vnder the gouernment of Tutors, but alwayes vnder his mothers custodie: when he had a house of his owne, yet would he not leaue thine. Being a young man (both in stature, beautie, and other strength of the bodie, borne to be a souldier) he refused warfare, because he would not leaue thee desolate. Consider *Marcia*, how many mothers there bee in diuers houses, that see their children ve-

rie little. Thinke you that thoſe Mothers, whoſe ſonnes follow the Warres, loſe in reſpect of them whole yeares, and liue ſolitarily. Then ſhalt thou know that there is much time remaining thee, in which thou haſt loſt nothing. Thy ſonne neuer departed out of thy ſight, hee framed his ſtudies in thy preſence, ſhewing himſelfe of a moſt excellent ſpirit, but it was accompanied with a modeſt feare, the which hath buried many perfections in diuers men. He was one of the goodlieſt Gentlemen that a man might behold, yet behaued he himſelfe with ſo great temperance and modeſtie, that amidſt ſo great a troope of men corrupting women, he gaue no occaſion of ſuſpition: and whereas ſome of their impudence had attempted ſo far as to tempt him, hee bluſhed and was angry with himſelfe, becauſe he had pleaſed. This holines in his manners was the cauſe, that ſo yong as he was, he was thought worthy to bee entertained amongſt the number of thoſe that intermedled with thoſe things that appertained to Religion, & that by the ayd and aſſiſtance of his Mother. In contemplation of theſe his vertues ſo behaue thy ſelfe, as if he were more conuerſant with thee now, then euer. Now hath he nothing to withdraw him; he ſhall neuer put thee in care, or cauſe thee to ſorrow, and all the griefe thou haſt conceiued for ſo good a ſonne is finiſhed: the reſt being exempted from caſualties, are full of pleaſures, if thou knoweſt how to make vſe of thy ſonne: and if thou knoweſt that which hath beene moſt precious in him, thou haſt but loſt the Image and reſemblance of him, although it reſembled him not rightly. For he is eternall, and for the preſent in better eſtate then euer, deſpoyled of forren incumbrances, and at his full libertie. Theſe bones that thou ſeeſt wreathed about with nerues, this skin that couered vs, this countenance, and theſe miniſtring hands, and thoſe other members that encloſe vs, are the bonds and fetters of the ſoule which is deiected, obſcured, infected, and hindered from knowing the truth of thoſe things that appertaine vnto her, and diſtracted with error. She hath a grieuous combate with this fleſh, to the end ſhe may not be made captiue and ſlaue vnto it. She extendeth and raiſeth her ſelfe to the place from whence ſhe was ſent: there is her eternall repoſe, where in ſtead of troubles and confuſions of this world, ſhe ſhall ſee nothing but that is cleare and pure.

CHAP. XXV.

The foure and thirtieth, The body is not the man but the ſoule, which leaueth nothing of her ſelfe vpon the earth.

THou haſt no cauſe therefore to runne vnto thy ſonnes ſepulchre. There lye his bones and aſhes, the worſer part of him, and moſt troubleſome vnto him, and are no more parts of him then his raiment and other couertures of his body. He is fled away wholly, and is departed wholly out of this world, without leauing any thing of himſelfe vpon the earth: and afterwards hauing made a little pauſe aboue vs, to cleanſe him from thoſe ſpots that were remaining in him, and to ſhake off the ruſt of this corruptible life, he hath beene carried to farre higher places, where he conuerſeth with the happier ſoules, and hath beene entertained by that holy company of *Scipioes*, *Catoes*, and others that haue contemned this life, and now enioy a full libertie by the benefit of death. There, *Marcia*, thy father embraceth his nephew (although that there all be parents) ioyful to ſee him enlightned with a great brightneſſe, and teacheth him the courſes of the neighbouring Starres not by coniecture, but as one that is truely expert and leadeth him willingly into the ſecrets of Nature. And as he that ſheweth

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the ſingularities of an vnknowne City, is an agreeable gueſt to that ſtranger that hath not ſeene them: ſo is this domeſticall interpreter welcome to his nephew, that examineth the cauſes of celeſtiall things, and taketh delight to prie into the ſecrets of the earth. For he hath a ſingular contentment to behold from on high that which he hath left. Behaue thy ſelfe therefore in ſuch ſort, O *Marcia*, as if thou wert in the preſence of thy father and thy ſonne, not ſuch as thou kneweſt them, but without compariſon more excellent and highly raiſed. Be aſhamed to eſtimate them ſo, as if they were in ſome abiect and contemptible eſtate; bewaile not them who are happie, and who haue attained through free and ſpacious fields to the place of eternitie. They are not hindered by entercourſe of ſeas, neither by high mountaines, nor by deepe valleyes, nor by the dangerous ſtraits & quickſands of the ſea. Their wayes are eaſie euery where, they may change, and end them eaſily, the one ſheweth the other, and are intermixed with the Starres.

The fiue and thirtieth, wee ought not lament thoſe, that without compariſon are more happie out of the world, then in the world.

CHAP. XXVI.

THinke then, O *Marcia*, that thy father (who before time had credit with thee, as thou haddeſt with thy ſonne) addreſſing himſelfe vnto thee, from the celeſtiall tower ſpeaketh thus: But not with that thought which made him to deplore the ciuil wars, and proſcribed them for euer, who made vp the rowles of thoſe who were proſcribed; but with a ſence as farre more cleare, as he is more highly raiſed. Daughter, why ſo long time remaineſt thou in diſcomfort? Why art thou ſo long time blinded in the ignorance of the truth? to thinke that thy ſonne hath beene hardly dealt withall, in that being wearie of this life, he hath retired himſelfe amongſt his anceſtors. Knoweſt thou not with what ſtormes Fortune diſtributeth all things? how little fauour ſhe ſheweth, except to thoſe who haue not in any ſort frequented with her. Shall I recount vnto thee by name thoſe Kings that ſhould haue beene moſt happie, if death had more maturely taken them from their inſtant euils? or thoſe Romane Captaines, who wanted nothing of their greatneſſes, if ſomewhat had been diminiſhed of their yeares? or thoſe noble and famous perſons who haue yeelded their necks, and expected the ſtroke of their ſouldiers ſwords? Behold thy father and thy grandfather. The one fell into a murtherers hand, that tooke away his life. I my ſelfe offered my ſelfe to no other mens hands, and forbearing my meate, made it knowne, with how great a minde I had written. Why is he ſo long time lamented in our houſe, who died moſt happily? We are altogether vnited into one, and ſee that you that are aliue are inuironed with profound darkneſſe. There is nothing amongſt you that is to be wiſhed for, nothing excellent or worthie: but all things are humble, heauie, and incertaine: neither ſee you but a little parcell of our light. Shall I tell thee that here are no warres, nor battels fought by land or ſea, that parricides are neither imagined nor thought vpon here, that our Courts are not confuſed with pleas, but that our dayes are perpetuall, that nothing is done in obſcuritie, that our mindes are ſimple, our hearts open, our liues laid open to euerie one, and that all ages and euents are manifeſt? In life I tooke delight to collect together all the aduentures of a whole age, in a corner and remote place of the World, and ſuch actions as were attempted by a few. Now may I ſee ſo many age, the courſe and carriage

For concluſion and confirmation of all that which is paſt, before hee induceth Marciaes father to diſcouer the ioyes of thoſe that are dead, and too Stoically ſpeaketh hee of the end of the world. Laugh at the abſurdities, pittie his ignorance, embrace the beſt.

of ſo many yeares, and whatſoeuer time is paſt. Here may I behold thoſe kingdomes that are riſing, and thoſe that fall to ruine, the ouerturne of mighty Cities, and new courſes of the ſeas. For if it may yeeld thee any comfort to vnderſtand the ſecrets of common Deſtinie, I tell thee, that nothing that ſtandeth ſhall continue ſtedfaſt: age ſhall deſtroy and carrie away all things with it, and ſhall play her part, not only amongſt men (for how ſlight a portion are they of Fortunes power?) but alſo in places, countries, and parts of the world. So many mountaines ſhall ſhe ſuppreſſe, and enforce others in another place: ſhe ſhall ſup vp the ſeas, and turne riuers; and breaking off the commerce of Nations, ſhall diſſolue the ſocietie of mankind. In other places ſhe ſhall deuoure Cities with horrible yawning of the Earth, and ſhake them with Earth-quakes: ſhe ſhall cauſe peſtilent exhalations to ariſe from the earth, and ſhall couer the inhabited Countries with deluges of water, killing euery creature, drowning the whole world, and with vaſt fires ſhall terrifie and burne all mortall men. And when the time ſhall come, that the world ſhall ceaſe, to the end it may be renewed againe: theſe things ſhall beat and break one another, and all things ſet on fire, all that which now ſhineth by an artificiall brightneſſe, ſhall be conſumed by one and the ſame fire. We alſo that are bleſſed ſoules and partakers of eternitie, when it ſhall ſeeme good vnto God to warpe theſe things once againe, when all things ſhall be confounded; then we who are but a ſmall part of this great ruine, ſhall returne into our ancient elements. O *Marcia*, how happie is thy ſonne, who alreadie knoweth all theſe things!

Stoicall concluſions, praiſe God that hath giuen thee a better light.

The end of the ſecond Booke of Comfort.

OF

CONSOLATION.

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

TO

HIS MOTHER HELVIA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis Booke was written during the time of his Exile, which was about the first yeare of CLAVDIVS *Reigne (in the yeare since the Citie was builded* DCCXCIIII.*) by the suggestion of impure* MESSALLINE. *This publike Harlot obiected against him, that he had committed adultery with* IVLIA GERMANICVS *Daughter, and charged* SENECA *therewith. Of this haue we spoken in his Life. Now therefore being banished into Corsica, hee comforteth his Mother, and sheweth her how he brooketh his misfortune constantly, and that she should doe no lesse. He wrote it not presently vpon the beginning of his Exile, (which the Preface testifieth,) but at the end of the first yeare, or the beginning of the second. But this wrote he now, when he was in the vigour and maturitie of his iudgement, being somewhat more then fortie yeares old. And therefore his Writing is answerable, full of Confidencie and Eloquence. Perfect in stile and structure, and more orderly disposed then all the rest. I dare say it carryeth away the Palme from all other Bookes. He maketh two heads of this his Consolation: Thou must neither bee sorrie for my sake, nor for thine owne: Not for my sake, for none of those which the common sort repute for euils, as change of Place, Pouertie, Ignominie, Contempt, are euils; and this orderly proueth he till the fourteenth Chapter. Neither must thou be sorrie for thine owne sake, for there are two things that may afflict thee, either because thou hast lost some helpe and comfort by mee, or because thou canst not endure my want. The first belongeth not to thee, because thou art not ambitious, neither euer didst boast of the grace and power of thy Children. Neither ought the other, because thou wert alwayes constant aboue thy sex. Thou hast suffered many miseries, endure this. Imploy thy selfe in the studie of Wisdome which will further thee. Turne thy self to my Brothers, and thy Nephews by them and me; thou*

thou art not alone, nor leadeſt a ſolitary life. This will both ſerue and delight thee. Turne thy ſelfe likewiſe to my Siſter, which will proue both a comfort and example vnto thee. And he concludeth his Booke with her prayſes.

CHAP. I.

He profeſſeth diuers reaſons why he deferred to comfort his Mother.

IHaue alreadie oftentimes vndertaken this reſolution (moſt deareſt Mother) to comfort thee, and oftentimes haue I contained my ſelfe. Many conſiderations moued me thereunto. Firſt, I ſuppoſed that I ſhould deſpoyle thee of all ſorrow, if being vnable as yet to ſuppreſſe thy teares, I ſhould in the meane ſpace wipe them away. Secondly, I aſſured my ſelfe that I ſhould haue more authoritie to excite thee, if firſt of all I had conformed and confirmed my ſelfe. Furthermore, I was afraid that if I had not maſtered Fortune, ſhe would haue troden vnder foot ſome of thoſe whom I moſt loued. I therefore endeuour howſoeuer, in laying my hand on mine owne wound, to creepe forward and bind vp yours: notwithſtanding there were ſome things on the contrarie ſide that croſſed this my reſolution. I knew well that it behoued me not at the firſt to encounter with thy ſorrow, when it was moſt vehement, for feare leſt my Conſolations ſhould incenſe & afflict thee the more. For in infirmities and ſickneſſes likewiſe, there is nothing more pernicious, then vntimely remedies. I expected therefore, whileſt thy ſorrow had weakened and diſheartned it ſelfe, to the end, that being mitigated and confirmed, by delay to ſuſtaine remedies, it might ſuffer it ſelfe to bee comforted and cured. Moreouer, after I had turned ouer all the Monuments of thoſe happie wits, which they had compoſed to pacifie and moderate ſorrow, I found not any example of ſuch a man who had comforted his friends, when as he himſelfe was bewailed by them. So then I remained perplexed in this new accident, and was afraid leſt my endeuour, in ſtead of prouing a Conſolation, ſhould become a renewing and cauſe of a further griefe. Beſides this, had not that man need of new words, not borrowed from vulgar and ordinary diſcourſe, that lifting his head from the Biere, ſhould vndertake to comfort his friends? But it cannot otherwiſe be, but that the greatneſſe of a griefe that exceedeth all meaſure, ſhould vtterly deface the ornament and choice of words, when as oft-times it ſtoppeth and cloſeth the mouth. Yet howſoeuer I will endeuour, not in reſpect of the confidencie I conceiue in mine owne wit, but becauſe I may ſerue for a moſt aſſured Conſolation, becauſe I propoſe it my ſelfe. My hope is, that ſince thou wouldeſt vouchſafe me any thing that I ſhould require, that thou wouldeſt doe me this fauour (although that all ſorrow is rebellious) to ſuffer me to prefixe ſome limits to thy diſcontent.

CHAP.

Chap. II.

The summe of his Discourse is, that since his Mother hath aproued her selfe couragious and a Conquerour in other afflictions, she should not giue place to this.

BEhold how much I vsurpe vpon thine indulgence. I doubt not but I shall be as powerfull with thee as thy griefe, which notwithstanding is a passion that wonderfully mastereth the afflicted. Neither will I suddenly attempt to charge him, I will first defend his cause, I will discouer all things whereby he is prouoked, and cut vp those things that are alreadie cured. Some man will say, What kinde of Consolation is this, to reuiue long buried euils, and to discouer vnto the vnderstanding all his aduersities, that can scarsly endure the presence of one onely? But let this man think that those afflictions that are so crosse and pernicious, as they surmount their remedies, are oftentimes cured by their contraries. And therefore will I present sorrow with all her owne attendants, and will not make a palliatiue cure, but I will seare and scarifie. What shall I get by it? That thy inuincible spirit that hath ouer-mastered so many miseries, may be ashamed to shrink at one wound in a body that hath so oftentimes bin cicatrized. Let them therefore weepe and mourne longer, whose delicate minds haue beene weakened by long felicitie, and are quickly deiected vpon the motion of the slightest miseries: but let them who haue spent their whole yeares in calamitie, endure the most grieuous assaults, with a confident and vnmoueable constancie. This one good hath continuall infelicity in it, that finally she hardneth those whom she tormenteth ordinarily. Fortune hath not giuen thee any intermission, but hath exercised thee in most grieuous sorrowes, nay, she hath not spared thee on the very day of thy birth. Thou diddest lose thy Mother as soone as thou wert borne, nay, euen in thy very entrance into the World, and as soone as thou wert, as it were, abandoned to this life. Thou wert brought vp vnder thy stepdame, whom thou by all obsequiousnesse and pietie (as much as could be expected from a naturall Daughter) compelledst to bee thy Mother; yet none there is that hath not paid dearely to finde out a good stepdame. When thou expectedst the arriuall of thine Vncle by thy Mother side, a man both vertuous and valiant, thou diddest lose him. And lest that Fortune should make thy misfortune more slight by delay, a moneth after thou buriedst thy deerest Spouse, by whom thou haddest three sonnes. In the height of thy sorrow these mournfull tidings were brought thee, euen then when thy children were absent, as if all thy miseries had beene reserued till that time, to the end that thy sorrow might haue no meanes of relieue or refuge. I passe ouer so many dangers, so many affrights that incessantly assaulted thee, and which thou hast endured. Into the same lap wherein before time thou hast dandled thy three litle Nephewes, thou hast afterward entertained their dead bones. Twentie dayes after thou haddest solemnized the Obsequies of my sonne, who dyed enfolded in thine armes, and attended by thy louing kisses, thou heardest the newes that I was banished. Thou wert as yet vnexercised to bewaile the liuing.

Chap. III.

That although this accident be grieuous, yet Heluias constancie so much approued before, both can and may resist that.

I Confesse that this later wound is one of the most grieuous that thou hast euer felt, and that it hath not only scratcht off the skin, but hath pierced into the depth of thy brest and entrailes. But euen as young Souldiers bemone themselues ouer-much for a slight wound, and are as fearefull of the Phisicians hand as the Sur-

Surgeons razor; where contrariwiſe they that are old Souldiers, although they are thruſt thorow, doe patiently and without groning ſuffer their armes & legs to be cut off, as if their bodies were not their owne: ſo muſt thou now preſent thy ſelfe with a great courage to entertayne thy cure. Remoue from thy ſelfe theſe lamentations, theſe ſhrill ſhreekes & other immoderate howlings of diſconſolate women. For in vaine haſt thou ſuffered ſo many miſeries, if thou haſt not yet learned to be miſerable. What, thinkeſt thou that I deale too fearefully with thee? I haue taken none of thine euils from thee, but haue heaped them vp and laid them before thee. I haue done this reſolutely, for I am reſolued to ouer-come thy griefe, not to circumſcribe it.

Chap. IV.

Senecaes intēt in this Treatiſe, which he diſtinguiſheth into two principall points.

I Shall firſt of all get the vpper hand as I thinke, if I ſhall approue vnto thee that I ſuffer nothing, in reſpect whereof I might be called wretched, and much leſſe make other men wretched whom I touch. Secondly, if I ſhall paſſe ouer vnto thee, and approue that thine accident which dependeth on mine is not grieuous. This firſt wil I vndertake, which thy pietie wil be content to giue eare to, that I haue no euill: & if this ſeeme vncredible vnto thee, I will make it manifeſt, that theſe things wherewith thou thinkeſt me to be oppreſſed, are not intolerable. But if this may not be beleeued, yet will I pleaſe my ſelfe the more, becauſe I ſhall bee happy amongſt thoſe things which are wont to make others miſerable. Thou art not to credit others in that which concerneth me, I my ſelfe tell thee (to the end thou mayeſt not be deluded by ill grounded reports,) that I am not miſerable; nay, I ſay further (to ſecure thee more,) that I cannot be miſerable.

Chap. V.

He entreth into the conſideration of the former point, which concerneth himſelfe, and ſo weth that he is not miſerable. Firſt, Nature hath taught vs to be contented with a little.

WE are firſt borne vnder a good condition, except wee forſake the ſame. Nature hath ſo diſpoſed things, that to liue well, wee haue no need of great neceſſaries: euery man may make himſelfe bleſſed. Theſe externall things are but ſlight matters, and haue no great effect either in proſperitie or in aduerſitie, neither doe the one of theſe raiſe a Wiſeman, neither doth the other depreſſe him. For hee hath alwaies endeuoured that his greateſt goods ſhould conſiſt in himſelfe, and the complement of his contents ſhould bee reſident in his heart. What then? ſay I that I am a Wiſeman? no: for if I could freely ſpeake it, I would not only deny that I was miſerable, but contrariwiſe I would maintaine it boldly, that I was the moſt fortunate of all men, and would repute my ſelfe to be moſt neerly lodged by the gods. For the preſent, (which is ſufficient to mitigate all my miſeries) I haue wholly dedicated my ſelfe to Wiſemen, and being ſcarce able enough to aſſure and counſaile my ſelfe, I haue retyred my ſelfe into another mans Campe, that is to ſay, amongſt thoſe who eaſily both defence themſelues and their owne fortunes. They haue commanded me alwaies to ſtand addreſſed, as if I were enioyned to ſtand Sentinell, and to foreſee all the aſſaults and attempts of Fortune long before they aſſaile me. To them is Fortune tedious whom ſhe aſſayleth ſuddenly; and eaſily repulſe they her, who continually expect her. The enemies charge, moſt inſtantly defeateth thoſe whom they ſuddenly

denly set vpon: but they that before the battell haue prepared themselues for a future War, being well arranged and in a readines, doe easily sustaine the first assault, which commonly is the most dangerous. I neuer gaue credit to Fortune, although she seemed to claime a truce at my hands: and as touching all those things which with a liberall hand she hath bestowed vpon me, such as are Siluer, Honors, and great Credit, I haue put them in that place where she may fetch them, without either my discontent or preiudice. There was a great distance betwixt her and me, and therefore hath she carried them away from me, and not pulled them out of my hands. Aduersitie hath neuer ouerthrowne any man, but him whom prosperity hath deceiued. They that haue loued her presents as if they had bin perpetuall and properly theirs, who would haue themselues respected by reason of those trifles; discomfort themselues incontinently, when these false and fraile delights abandon their feeble and childish vnderstādings, who know not what true pleasure is. But he that is not puffed vp with prosperitie, neither restrained by aduersitie, hath an inuincible heart at all times, and an approued constancie in either Fortune; for he knoweth well in his felicitie, that he can make head against mishap. I haue therefore alwayes had this opinion of those things which all men wish for, that there is no true goodnesse in them; nay more, I haue alwaies found that they were vaine and outwardly smoothed with a deceiueable glosse, but inwardly hauing nothing that is answerable to their exteriour resemblance. For in those things which we cal euils I find nothing so terrible and hard as the common opinion threatneth. The word it selfe by a certaine perswasion and consent, is now-a-dayes more distastfull vnto the eares, and afflicteth those that heare the same, as if it were some heauy and execrable thing, for so will the people haue it: but men of wisdome doe for the most part disanull the Ordinances of the people.

Secondly, Nothing vnbecomes him that he hath not foreseene, because he neuer gaue credit to worldly prosperitie.

Thirdly, the goods of this World are not truly goods, and the euils are but apparantly euill.

Chap. VI.

He disputeth plentifully of banishment, and proueth that there is no euill therein, and that those euils which accompany the same should not be called euils.

LEauing apart therefore the iudgement of diuers men, which is extinguished by the first appearances of things: howsoeuer they be beleeued, let vs consider what banishment is. It is the change of place. It may be thought that we seeme to lessen the same, and that we take from it all that is worst in it. This change of place is accompanied with the incommodities of pouerty, of ignominy, & contempt: against these hereafter I will combate. In the meane while I will first of all haue this looked into, which incommoditie this change of place breedeth. It is an intollerable thing to be depriued of a mans Countrey. Behold this multitude which may hardly be contained within so many thousand houses of this City, the greatest part of this troup wanteth their Countrey; they are retyred hither from their Hamlets, Colonies, & all the quarters of the World. Some are drawn hither by Ambition, other some by the necessitie of publike Offices, some by Embassages enioyned them; other some are inuited for ryot sake, that hunteth after the opportunity of riches, and a fit place wherein to exercise their dissolutions; other some are drawne with a desire of liberall studies; others with a delight to haunt the Theaters; some to visit their friends, others to make proose of their industrie, hauing gotten an ample meanes to make shew of their vertue; some haue brought their beauty to set it out to sale; other some their eloquence. All sorts of men resort hither, where both vertues and vices are highly prized.

Com-

Command and cite euery one of theſe in perſon, and aske of euery of theſe whence he is; thou ſhalt ſee that for the moſt part of them they haue forſaken their Country, to come and dwel in this ſpacious City, which notwithſtanding is but a Citie, and not their owne. Againe, depart from this *Rome* (which may be called a common Country of all men,) and ouerſee other Cities, and there is none of theſe wherein thou ſhalt not finde a greater part of forreine multitude. But leaue thou theſe Countries, and all thoſe who for the pleaſant ſituation of the place, are drawne to inhabite there, and goe into the Deſerts and deſolate Iſles, as thoſe of *Sciathus, Serephium, Giare*, and *Corſica:* thou ſhalt not finde any place of baniſhment, but that ſome one remayneth there for his pleaſure. What place may a man finde more naked and craggie on euery ſide, then this mountainous Iſle which I inhabite? Is there any ſoyle more barren? Are any people more ſauage? Is any ſituation of place more vnholſome, or Aire more diſpleaſing and intemperate? Yet are there more ſtrangers dwell here then thoſe that are naturall, borne in that Countrey. So little therfore is the change of place grieuous vnto men, that this Iſle hath withdrawne ſome from their owne Countrey. I find ſome that will ſay, that there is a certaine naturall deſire in mens mindes to change their ſeats, and to transferre their houſes. For man hath a moueable and vnſetled mind giuen him, he is neuer Maſter of himſelfe, he is confuſed, he intrudeth his thoughts into all knowne & vnknowne things, ſtill ſtirring and neuer quiet, and beſt contented with the noueltie of things; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou conſider his firſt originall. The mind is not compoſed of a terreſtriall and weightie matter, it is a parcell of the celeſtiall ſpirit. But the nature of celeſtiall things is alwaies to be in motion; ſhe flyeth and is carryed away with a moſt ſwift courſe. Behold the Planets that enlighten the World; there is none of them that ſtandeth ſtill, but they inceſſantly turne, and daily change their places. Although they whirle about with the Heauens, yet haue they their contrary motion. The Sunne runneth thorow all the Signes of the Zodiaque, his motion is perpetuall, neither remayneth he at any time in one point. All things turne and paſſe without ſtay; and as the Law & ſetled ordinance of Nature hath determined, they are carried from one place to another: when as the celeſtiall bodies ſhall within certaine ſpaces of moneths and yeares finiſh their courſe in their Spheares, they ſhall renew the ſame. Goe therefore now and make thy ſelfe beleeue that humane vnderſtanding (cõpoſed of the ſame ſeeds that diuine things are,) euer patiently endures a paſſage and change from place to place, ſince that God himſelfe taketh pleaſure in a continuall and ſudden motion, and maintaineth himſelfe thereby. But withdraw thine eyes from theſe celeſtiall things, and behold theſe terreſtriall and baſe things: thou ſhalt ſee Nations and people change their ſeate. What meane theſe Cities, peopled with *Grecians*, euen in the very middeſt of barbarous Nations? What meanes this *Macedonian* Language amongſt the *Indians* and *Perſians? Scythia* and all that tract of fierce & vnconquered Nations, ſhew vs the Cities of *Achaia*, built vpon the ſhores of the *Pontique* Sea. The continuall cold and the ſtrange and inflexible natures of thoſe Nations more ſtrange & vnpleaſant then their Aire, could not hinder the *Grecians* from planting their Colonies there. There is a company of the *Athenians* in *Aſia*, the City of *Miletũ* hath people ſeuenty fiue Cities in diuers places: All that ſide of *Italy* that bordereth vpon the lower Sea, was the greater *Greece*. The *Tuſcans* iſſued from *Aſia*, the *Tyrians* planted themſelues in *Africa*, the *Africans* in *Spaine*, the *Greekes* in *France*, and the *French* in *Greece*. The *Perinean* Mountaines forbad not the

Ger-

Iſlands in the Ægean Seas.

Whence it commeth that men are ſo mutable.

Germanes to passe onward, humane leuity led them by vnhanted and vnknown wayes. They drew with them their children, their wiues, and their parents loden with age. Some of these being wearied with long trauell, chose not their habitation by iudgement, but by reason of their wearinesse made choice of that they next met withall. Some maintained their possession by force of armes; some in seeking out vnknowne Countries perished by sea; some planted their pauilions there where necessity commanded them; neither had they all of them the same cause of seeking out, and leauing their Country. Some of these after the ruine of their Cities, escaping from the furie of their enemies, haue by force made themselues Lords of other Cities, and haue driuen out the right owners; othersome haue beene dispersed by ciuill warres: othersome when their Cities were ouer peopled, were mustred and sent away to other places, as superfluous. Some Nations haue beene driuen out of their habitations by the plague, or by often earthquakes, or by some insupportable incommodities of the territorie: and othersome haue beene allured by the bruite that ranne, that such or such a Country was farre more pleasant and fruitefull then their owne. Some others haue forsaken their houses for diuers occasions. This then is euident, that no one hath remained in the place where he was borne, and that humane kinde ceaseth not to runne hither and thither. There is dayly some change in this so great a world. Here some men lay the foundation of new Cities, there ariseth a new Nation, and the name of the olde is lost, and is made and becommeth more great then any other. But what are all these transmigrations of peoples but publike banishment?

Chap. VII.

He proueth the change of place by those that first founded and peopled the Empire of Rome.

WHy leade I thee in so great a Windelesse? What neede I specifie vnto thee *Athenor* that builded *Padua*? or *Euander* that planted the Kingdome of the Arcadians vpon the bankes of *Tiber*? What should I tell thee of *Diomedes*, and so many others, who both victorious and vanquished, haue beene scattered by the Troian warre into so diuers countries? Behold the founder of the Roman Empire, who (being an Exile, a fugitiue, gathering together some few scattered souldiers with him after the sacke of *Troy*, constrained by necessity, and to warrant himselfe from the hands of his victorious enemies,) searched out forraine countries & arriued in *Italy*. After all this, how many hath this people sent in Colonies thorow out the countries of the whole world? Whersoeuer the Roman is conquerour there dwelleth he. To this change of places euery one willingly subscribed his name, and the oldest forsaking their altars and fires, willingly accompanied those that sought out other Countries beyond the Seas.

Chap. VIII.

A second proofe by the inhabitants of the Isle whereinto he was banished.

THe matter required not much example, I will onely adde that which I know to be ordinary; the Isle where I am hath changed the inhabitants diuers times. But wee ought not to insist vpon those histories which antiquitie hath buried. The Greekes themselues, who at this time inhabit *Marsilles*, had before time made their abode in this Isle. No man knoweth who draue them thence, whether it were the ayre which is vnpleasant, or the feare they had of *Italy*, which is the

Mistrine of the world, which is neere neighbour to the Ile, or becauſe there is dangerous landing at it. That the naturall fierceneſſe of Iſlanders was not the cauſe, it appeareth, becauſe theſe Greekes went and intermixed themſelues with the French, a cruell nation, and who at that time knew no ciuility: Anone after theſe of the Coaſt of *Genes* came hither, the Spaniards likewiſe, which appeareth by their reſemblance in manners, and the behauiour both of the one and the other; for their head attire is the ſame, and their ſhooes, ſuch as the bordering Spaniard vſe; they retaine likewiſe ſome words of their language, hauing forgot their mother tongue by reaſon of the conuerſation they haue had with the Greekes and Genowayes. After theſe *Marcius* cauſed a Colony of Romane Citizens to be ſent thither, and *Sylla* another. See here how oftentimes one barren, cragged and mountainous Countrie hath changed inhabitants. In briefe, thou ſhalt not finde one Angle of the earth that a man may ſay that it was manured by the homebred Countriemen of that place. All are mixed, tranſported and tranſlated from one quarter to another. One people hath ſucceeded another. One Nation hath deſired to dwell in that place which another hath diſpeopled. That other haue beene driuen from that place whence they expulſed others. So hath it pleaſed the Deſtinies, that nothing ſhould alwayes remaine firme and continue in one place. *Varro* the moſt learned man amongſt the Romanes, thinketh this a ſufficient remedy, that whereſoeuer wee become, we account it the ſame world. *Marcus Brutus* thinketh this ſufficient for thoſe that are baniſhed to carry their vertues with them. If any one thinketh that theſe two expedients conſidered apart, haue little power to comfort a baniſhed man, hee will confeſſe that theſe two together may doe very much. For that which wee haue loſt, deſerueth it to bee called any thing? Two the moſt excellent priuiledges, that is to ſay, common nature, and our proper vertue will follow vs in euery place whereſoeuer wee fixe our foote. Beleeue mee, whoſoeuer hath created this Vniuers, whether it be that almighty God, whether it be incorporall reaſon that Workemaſter of great things, whether it be a demy ſpirit equally extended and ſpred amidſt all great and ſmall Creatures; whether it be Deſtinie, and this immutable ſucceſſion of things enchained the one within the other: ſuch a one hath cauſed that no things (except they bee things moſt abiect and of little worth) are not out of our power. All that which is good in man, is not ſubiect to humane power and violence, which neither can giue it, or take it away. Nature hath created this world which is the greateſt and faireſt thing that a man may ſee. But as touching the ſoule that contemplateth and admireth the world, whereof ſhe is the moſt excellenteſt part, ſhe is proper vnto vs, ſhe is perpetuall and ſhall continue ſo long with vs, as we continue: let vs goe forward therefore willingly and confidently, whither ſoeuer our fortune leadeth vs; let vs march forward with a confident pace.

The third, in all the eſtates of the world. Priuiledges which euile cannot take from vs.

A doubtfull opinion of Seneca, as touching the Deitie, and ordinary Paradox, tying the firſt cauſe which is God, to ſecondary cauſes; leade here with aduice.

Chap. IX.

Another notable conſideration in exile to, that the whole world is a mans Countrie.

Let vs trauell ouer what countries ſoeuer wee will, and wee ſhall find no country in this world that is not acceſſible by a man. On what ſoeuer ſide wee addreſſe our eyes towards heauen; theſe things that are diuine, are ſeparated from thoſe that are humane by equall diſtance: ſo then, prouided that mine eyes be not hindered from beholding the heauens, as long as it ſhall bee lawfull for mee to beholde the Sunne and Moone, and to conſider neerely the other celeſtiall bodies,

dies, their risings, settings and distances; to search out the causes why the one haue more swifter motions then the other; & to behold so many shining Stars by night, the one fixed, the other shaping a short course, and retyring into their Spheares; some appearing sodainly, others blemishing the eye with their spacious cleareneſſe, as if they would fall, others flying with a long tract, and great light. As long as I shall behold these things, and exercise my selfe amidst these celestiall troupes, (as much as is lawfull for a mortall man) & may haue alwaies my mind lifted vp on high in contemplation of those things that concerne the same, what care I vpon what ground I tread? But this Land wherein thou liuest is not fertile, neither beareth it shadowy Trees, it is not watered by the currents of great and nauigable Riuers, it bringeth forth nothing that other Countries might seeke after; scarsly is it able to sustaine the Inhabitants: no precious stone is cut here, no veines of Gold or Siluer are digged out of it. Base is that minde that taketh pleasure in terrestriall things; to those things must he be addressed which euery way appeare equally, and euery where shine equally: and this is hee to thinke, that the goods of this World through the false opinion that men haue conceiued of their firmity, doe but obscure & hinder the true goods. The more they enlarge the walkes and porches of their houses, the more high they raise their Turrets, the more larger they extend their streets, the more deeper they digge their Caues and summer Retreates, the more higher they rayse the roofes and seelings of their dining Chambers, the more they hide the Heauens from themselues. An accident hath driuen thee into a certaine Countrey, where in stead of a Pallace thou hast but a little Cabbin; truely thou hast but a weake minde, and such as is comforted with base delights, if therefore thou endure not this patiently, because thou knowest *Romulus* his Cottage. Rather say thus; whatsoeuer the house be, it is bigge enough to entertayne Vertues. Then will it be more faire then all the Temples when Iustice shall bee seene there, when Continencie, when Prudence, Pietie, the meanes how to discharge himselfe of his dutie, and the knowledge of diuine and humane things. No place is too streight that entertaineth this troupe of so great vertues, no banishment is grieuous, wherein a man may march in such company. *Brutus* in that Booke which he wrote of vertue, saith; *That he saw* MARCELLVS *that was banished into Mitilene, and as farre as humane Nature permitted, liuing most blessedly, neuer more desirous of the knowledge of good Letters then at that time:* hee therefore added, *that he in departing from him, rather thought that he went into banishment, who was to return back againe without him, then that he left him an exile.* O far more happy *Marcellus* at that time when he approued his banishment to *Brutus*, then when he iustified his Consulate to the people of *Rome?* How great a man was he, who brought that to passe, that man should seem a banished man in his own iudgement, in departing from him that was an exile? The same *Brutus* saith, that *Cæsar* passing along by *Mitelene*, would not enter into the same, because as he said, he could not endure to behold a deformed man. The Senate by mutuall supplication obtained *Marcellus* reuocation, so pensiue and sad were they, that a man would haue said at that time, that euery one of them had *Brutus* soule, and besought not for *Marcellus* but for themselues, for feare least being without him, it should proue a true banishment; yet more attained he that day when *Brutus* was sorry to leaue him an exile, and *Cæsar* to see him: for by this meanes he had a testimony from them both. *Brutus* was sorry to return without *Marcellus*, *Cæsar* was ashamed: doest thou doubt that this so worthy a man did not encourage himselfe to endure his banishment with a quiet mind

Notable considerations to pacifie the fury of exile, worthily set downe vnder the person of Marcellus.

in these or such like words? *It is no miserie for thee that thou wanteſt thy Countrey: ſo haſt thou informed thy ſelfe with good Letters, that thou knoweſt that euery place is a Wiſemans Countrey. And what ſhall we ſay of him that hath baniſhed thee? Hath he not beene out of his Countrey for the ſpace of tenne whole yeares? Vndoubtedly it was to the end to encreaſe the Romane Empire, yet was hee abſent ſo long. And now behold Africa draweth him vnto her, being repleniſhed with the alarmes of a threatning Warre. Spaine recalleth him that repayreth the broken and diſperſed troupes of* Pompey, *perfidious Ægypt cals him forth, and in concluſion the whole World which is intent vpon this occaſion of the ſhaken Empire. Whither ſhall hee march firſt, againſt what partie ſhall he firſt oppoſe himſelfe? His victory ſhall driue him thorow all the Countries in the World. Let all Nations reuerence and ſerue him; as for thy ſelfe, finiſh thy dayes with this content, that thou art much eſteemed by* Brvtvs. Constantly therefore did *Marcellus* endure his exile, neither did the change of place any waieschange his minde, although he were preſſed with pouerty, wherein there is no euill, as that man knoweth very well, when Auarice and Diſſolution (which ouerturne all things,) haue not as yet ouerturned his vnderſtanding. For how little is it, that is neceſſary for a mans entertainment? Hath a vertuous man need of this or that? For mine owne part I find that I am diſpoſſeſſed of many incumbrances, and not of my goods. The deſires of thoſe things whereof the body ſtandeth in need are ſhort, hee demandeth no more but a couering to defence him againſt the cold; and meate, and drinke to extinguiſh his hunger and thirſt. All that a man deſireth beſides theſe, ſerueth but to entertaine exceſſe, and hath no true vſe. It is not neceſſary to ſound all depthes, nor to murther ſo many beaſts to fill the belly, nor to goe and fiſh for Oyſters in forreine and vnknowne Seas. The Gods and Goddeſſes deſtroy thoſe men, whoſe diſſolution hath exceeded the bounds of the *Romane* Empire ſo much enuyed. They will haue the Fowle of their ambitious Kitchens taken and brought from beyond the floud *Phaſis*, which is in the further part of *Aſia*, and are not aſhamed to ſend for their dainties from the *Parthians*: from whom as yet we haue not demanded recompence for the wrongs they haue done vs. They bring from all places that which they know is proper to enkindle theſe gluttonous appetites: that which theſe decayed ſtomacks will hardly diſgeſt, being glutted with too many dainties, is brought from the fartheſt Ocean: they vomit to the end they may eate, they eate to the end they may vomit: they take not time to diſgeſt thoſe dainty morſels which they ſearch through the whole World. If a man deſpiſe theſe delicacies, what wrong doth he to pouertie? If a man deſire them, pouertie likewiſe profiteth him. Some there are that are not healed but againſt their wils; and if a poore man being depriued of theſe Dainties, ceaſſeth not to wiſh for them, yet vndoubtedly when hee cannot, hee is like to him that will not. *Caius Cæſar* whom Nature as I thinke brought into this World to ſhew what great vices might do in a great and worldly proſperity, ſpent at one only ſupper the ſum of two hundreth and fiftie thouſand Crownes, and being herein aſſiſted by the wits of his beſt belly-gods, yet ſcarſly found he how he might conſume in that one repaſt all the reuenue of thre Prouinces. O miſerable men whoſe pallats are not pleaſed but with precious Dainties, which are made precious, not by reaſon of their excellent ſauour, or any ſweetneſſe they yeeld the taſte, but by reaſon of their rarity and cunning in dreſſing. Otherwiſe if they would awaken themſelues neuer ſo little, what need they ſo many Arts to entertaine their bellies? what need they ſuch traffiques, ſuch deſolation of woods,

ſuch

ſuch fiſhing of Seas and Riuers? Nature hath furniſhed in all places ſufficient meat for our bodies. But theſe Countries and places like blinde men they paſſe ouer, and trauell through all Nations, and ſaile all Seas; and when as they may ſatisfie their hunger with a little, they prouoke the ſame with much.

CHAP. X.

A continuation of his inuectiue againſt Intemperance.

IT pleaſeth me to aske: Why rig you and lanch you your Ships? Why arme you your hands both againſt wilde beaſts and men? Why run you hither and thither ſo tumultuouſly? Why heape you riches vpon riches? Wil you not think how litle your bodies are? Is it not a deſperate fury and extreame folly when as thou canſt hold ſo little, to deſire ſo much? Although therefore you increaſe your Rents and enlarge the bounds of your Lands, yet ſhall you neuer make your bodies greater. When your traffique hath bin proſperous, your Warfare hath brought home rich ſpoyles, when all the dainties you haue ſought for from all places are gathered together: where will you beſtow all this prouiſion? Why heape you vp ſo many things? Vndoubtedly your Anceſtors whoſe vertues at this time are a ſtay to our vices, were vnhappie, who prepared their meat with their owne hands, whoſe bed was the Earth, whoſe houſes as yet ſhined not with gold, whoſe Temples as yet ſhined not with precious ſtones. In theſe daies they ſware religiouſly by gods made of Earth, and thoſe that had ſworne by ſuch Images returned to the Enemy with reſolution to dye, to the end they would not violate their plighted Faith. By this account leſſe bleſſedly liued our Dictator who gaue audience to the Embaſſadours of the *Samnites*, at ſuch time as he dreſſed his homly victuals by the fire with his own hands; yea, with ſuch hands as had alreadie oftentimes defeated the Enemy, & put the Crowne of Laurell in the lap of *Iupiter Capitoline*. Then *Apicius* liued in our memorie, who in the ſame Citie out of which ſometimes Philoſophers were commanded to depart, as if corrupters of youth, made profeſſion of the ſcience of gormandiſe, and infected the whole age with his diſcipline; whoſe death it ſhall not be amiſſe to conſider and know. After he had gathered together into his Kitchen the ſumme of two Millions and a halfe in Gold, after he had in his particular Banquets conſumed all the Preſents that were giuen him by Princes and the great reuenue of the Capitoll, finding himſelfe very much in debt, hee beganne at that time to conſider in what eſtate his affaires ſtood, and finding that there remayned as yet the ſumme of two hundreth and fiftie thouſand Crownes, ſuppoſing that it was too little, & that he ſhould be in danger to dye for hunger, he killed himſelfe by Poyſon. How great was his diſſolution that thought himſelfe poore, hauing two hundreth and fiftie thouſand Crownes? Goe now and thinke that the meaſure in money and not in minde, is pertinent to the matter.

CHAP. XI.

The frugalitie and proſperitie of the ancient Romanes.

APICIVS made ſmall reckoning of two hundreth and fiftie thouſand Crownes, and that which other men deſire with wiſhes, hee droue away by Poyſon. But to a man of ſo depraued a minde, that laſt potion was the moſt wholſommeſt. Then eate hee and drunke hee Poyſon, when as hee was not only delighted with im-

Hauing ſufficiently deteſted Intemperance, hee proueth againe that euer Countrey hath enough in it ſelfe to nouriſh him that inhabiteth the ſame.

The desire of worldly goods is insatiable.

measurable banquets, but gloried therein: when he braggd of his vices, when as he had drawne the whole Citie into admiration of his ryot, when as he had incited the youth (who of themselues are apt enough to follow euill examples) to follow and imitate him. This is the end of those men who keepe no measure in the vse of worldly goods (which notwithstanding haue their bounds,) but abuse and follow euill custom, that hath no limit or rule but her vnbridled will. Couetousnesse thinketh no thing enough, nature is sufficed with a verie little. Is pouertie then no incommoditie to those that are banished? None; for there is no exile so miserable that is not fertile enough to nourish one man. Should not a banished man couet a gowne or a lodging? if he desireth them only for vse, he shall neither want house or clothing: for the body is couered with as little as it is nourished. Nature hath made euerie thing easie which she knew necessarie for a man. If he wish for a furre gowne of purple, embroidered with gold, composed of diuers colours, and after a rich fashion, he is poore by his owne default, and not by the rigour of aduersitie. Restore vnto such a man all that he hath lost, yet shalt thou doe nothing for him, because he shall want more of that which he desireth, then a banisht man wanteth of all that which he hath had. If he coueteth a Cubbord garnished with vessell of gold, siluer cups of great price, because that long agoe they were laboured by cunning workmens hands, medals made precious by a few mens madnesse, and a troupe of Seruants so great that the house (which otherwaies is spacious) is vnable to containe them; a goodly stable furnished with many fat and gallant Horses; marbles, and other stones of price, brought from all the corners of the World. Let a man gather vp together as many of these things as he can, yet will they neuer satisfie an vnsatiable minde: no more then all the water in the World is sufficient to quench his thirst that desireth to drinke, not to satisfie his necessitie, but to extinguish the heate proceeding from the inflammation of his entrailes. For this is no thirst but a sickenesse: neither hapneth this only in monie but in meate also. This is the nature of euery desire that proceedeth from errour, not from want: all whatsoeuer thou shalt heape vp will but serue to inflame him, not to satisfie him. He then that containeth himselfe within a naturall measure will haue no sence of pouertie, but he that exceedeth this mediocritie in midst of his greatest riches shall alwayes finde that pouerty attendeth him. The most solitary and barren places suffice those that content themselues with necessary things, but they that desire superfluity haue neuer enough although they had whole Kingdomes. It is the minde that maketh men rich, he it is that accompanieth them in exile and in the desert, where finding sufficient to maintaine his bodie he hath goods in abundance, and enioyeth them contentedly. Money appertaineth nothing to the mind, no more then all those things (which vntrayned minds & too much addicted to their bodies so much affect,) concerne the immortall Gods. Precious stones, gold, siluer, great Tables well garnished, are but earthly burthens, which a sincere minde and such as is not forgetfull of his nature cannot loue, because it is alwayes light, and will mount as high as Heauen as soone as hee findeth the gate open; in the meane while (and in as much as these bonds of the body, and masse of the flesh which inuironeth the same, will permit,) vpon the wings of a sodaine & swift thought he visiteth & vieweth celestial things. And therfore a free-man that is allyed to the gods, and is as great as this World, or time, can neuer be banished: for his thought circleth the Heauens, and examineth both time past and that which is to come. This fraile body, the fetters & gyues of the soule, is tossed hither and thither,

Mediocritie on the contrarie side is alwayes, and euery where content.

Why vertuous men cannot loue the goods of this World.

thither; punishments, thefts, and sickenesses are exercised vpon it. As for the minde, it is sacred and eternall, and hands cannot be laid vpon it.

Chap. XII.

NEyther thinke thou, that to lessen the incommodities of pouerty (which no man feeleth to be grieuous, except he that supposeth it) that I vse only the precepts of Philosophy: first, consider how great the number of poore men is, whom notwithstanding thou shalt not see more pensiue or carefull then the rich, contrariwise I dare almost auow it, that they are more ioyfull, because their mindes are lesse distracted by affairs. Let vs ouer-passe the poore, and come vnto the rich: In the greatest part of their life resemble they not poore men? If men would trauaile they scantle their burthens, and trusse vp their packes, and as often as necessitie requireth them to make more hast, they ouergoe the troupe of their companions. They that follow the warres, for the most part carry none of their necessaries with them, because that militarie discipline permitteth them not to carrie much luggage. Besides this condition of time, and incommoditie of places, which equalleth them with the poore; sometimes they are so glutted with their riches, that some dayes they will content themselues to suppe vpon the grasse, and will command their vessels of Gold and Siluer away, and content themselues to be serued in platters & vessels of earth: mad and vnaduised, they alwayes feare that which they couet sometimes. What cloude of errour, and what ignorance of truth shaddoweth these men, which auoyde that which they imitate to yeelde them pleasure? For mine owne part, as often as I consider the life of our ancestors, I blush and dare not vse the solace that pouerty giueth me, because that dissolution hath gotten so great a head in this time, that at this day banished men haue a greater *viaticum*, and more commodities then great Princes patrimonie and reuenues came to in times past. It is well knowne that *Homer* had but one seruant, *Plato* three, and that *Zeno* (the author of that seuere and manly wisedome of the Stoickes) had none at all. If any one will therfore say, that they liued miserably, wil not he think himself a captiue & miserable, by reason of this his false opiniõ? *Menenius Agrippa* (who made a peace betwixt the Senate and the Roman people, that were ready to assaile one another) was buried at the common charge. *Attilus Regulus* after he had ouerthrowne the Carthaginians in Africa, wrote vnto the Senate that his husbandman was dead, by reason whereof his lands were vnmanured; whereupon the Senate tooke order as long as *Regulus* was absent. See here what he gained by hauing no seruant, for by this meanes the Commonweale of Rome became his husbandman. *Scipio's* daughters were married at the cities charge, because their father had left them nothing. Truely there was great reason why the people of *Rome* should pay tribute vnto *Scipio* once, when as they exacted a tribute from Carthage alwayes. How happy were the husbands of these daughters, who had the Romane people for their fathers in law? Thinkest not thou them more happy, whose daughters after they had played in the Theaters, had twentie thousand crowns to their marriage, then *Scipio* was, who from the Senate their Tutor, haue receiued some small summe of money for their dowry? What man is he that dare disdaine pouertie, that hath so worthy examples? Would a banished man complaine that he wanted this or that, when as *Scipio* had no mony to marry his daughters? *Regulus* was without a husbandman, *Menenius* had

The fourth fruit of exile and pouertie, is, that it hath no care or torment of mind; and contrariwise, the rich are poore for the most part of their liues.

Diuers examples of the temperance of our ancestors. See Titus Liuius *in his second booke, and eighteenth chapter:* Valerius Maximus *in his fourth Booke, and fourth chapter.*

had need of friends to pay for his funerals; and considering that all that which was wanting to those worthy men, hath beene more plentifully ministred vnto them, what wanted they? So then such Patrons not onely make pouertie secure, but also gracious.

Chap. XII.

An obiection, that ignominy annexed with pouertie is a thing very odious

TO this it may be answered, Why so artificially discoursest thou on these things, which considered apart may bee maintained, but if they be compared, cannot? Change of place is tolerable if thou onely change thy place: pouertie is tolerable, if ignominy be taken from it, the which alway is woont to oppresse mens mindes. To him who would terrifie me with a troupe of euils, thus would I answer; If thou haue force enough against euery part of Fortune, the like mayest thou haue against all. When vertue hath once hardned the mind she maketh him inuincible. If auarice dismisse thee, (which is the most violent plague of Mankind,) ambition will neuer leaue thee at rest. If thou beholdest thy last houre, not as a punishment, but as a Law of Nature, into that brest whence thou hast driuen the feare of death, there is no feare of any thing that dare enter. If thou remembrest that the honest desires of Marriage, was not alloted man to feed his lust, but to encrease his Family; thou shalt know that the heart where this mortall passion hidden and fixed in the bottome of the entrailes hath not corrupted, shall be exempted and warranted from all other couetousnesse. Reason not onely ouerturneth vices one after another, but all of them together: shee fighteth at once, & ouercommeth the enemy at one stroke. Thinkest thou that a Wiseman that is grounded in vertue, and estranged from vulgar opinion, is shaken by ignominy? Death is more ignominious then one simple ignominie; yet *Socrates* with the same countenance and resolution entered the Prison, wherewith he in times past alone brought the thirty Tyrants into order, and tooke the ignominie from the place by his entry: for that could not seeme to be a Prison wherein *Socrates* was lodged. What man is hee so brutish, that will say or thinke that *Marcus Cato* was disgraced, at such time as he demanded the Pretorship, and afterwards the Consulate? It was a disgrace both to the Pretor and Consulate who were honoured by *Cato*. No man can be despised by another man, except hee first be contemned by himselfe. An humble and abiect minde becommeth subiect to this contumely; but whosoeuer encourageth himselfe against these terrible accidents, and ouercommeth those euils wherewith other hearts are ouerturned, reputeth his afflictions to be his ornaments: when we are thus affected, that nothing moueth more admiration in vs then to see a man couragious in his miseries. *Aristides* was led by the *Athenians*, and commanded to be put to death, who made all those to hang downe their heads and mourne that saw him in that estate, not as if they had executed a iust man, but Iustice her selfe; yet was there one amongst them that spit in his face: this might he haue taken heauily, because he knew that no man that had modestie would haue done it, yet wiped he his face, & smilingly beheld the Magistrates, & said thus, *Admonish this man, that hereafter he open not his mouth so vncleanly.* This were enough to humble outrage it selfe. I know that some will reply, that nothing is so hardly digested as contempt, and that death seemeth more pleasing then the same. To these I answere, that oftentimes exile is exempted from these incommodities. If a man of note fall vpon the ground, yet is he alwayes the

His opinion as touching death, proceeding from the ignorance of the fall of the first man.

Examples to cõfirme his answer

Plutarch *in* Phocions *life, saith thus much of him.*

the same, and as great; neither is contemned any more, then when as the ruins of sacred Temples are troad vpon, which as well both the religious as the standers by doe adore. Thou canst not therefore finde any want of thy sonne that is taken from thee, whom during his aboad with thee, thou neuer thoughtest to appertaine vnto thee.

CHAP. XIV.

He now cõmeth to the second point of his discourse, the scope whereof, is, that Heluia in regard of her selfe hath not any occasion to torment her selfe for the absence of her sonne, and that for two principall causes.

SInce, most deere mother, thou hast not any occasion in respect of me to afflict thy selfe thus continually, there must be therefore some particular considerations that presse thee thus. But these are two; for either thou tormentest thy selfe because thou thinkest that thou hast lost some stay, or because thou canst not endure the sorrow thou sustainest. I will slightly touch the first consideration; for I know that thy heart loueth nothing in thy children but themselues. Let those mothers, who by their indiscretion breed much discontent to their children that are growne in credit, consider what they doe. Being vnable to execute publique charges, they shew themselues ambitious by their children; they embezzill and spend their reuenues, and by their bables breake their heads, who are constrayned to giue eare vnto them. But for thine owne part thou hast greatly reioyced at the goods that haue befalne thy children, which thou hast neuer had a part of. Thou hast alwaies restrayned our liberalitie, when thou hast had no power of thine owne: thou being but the daughter of a family, hast not forborne to bestow thy fauours plentifully vpon thy children that were rich: thou hast administred the goods that our father left vs, as if they had beene thine owne, and hast beene as sparing of them as if thou hadst had them to restore them to some strangers: thou hast spared our credite, as if thou hadst beene to employ such an one that were no wayes allied vnto thee: our estates and honours were but a charge and pleasure to thee, and thou neuer diddest respect vs to enrich thy selfe: thou canst not therefore desire that in the absence of thy sonne, which thou hast neuer esteemed to appertaine vnto thee at such time as he was whole, and safe, and neere vnto thee.

CHAP. XV.

To remedie his Mothers sorrow the better, he specifieth the parties, and applieth diuers remedies.

ALl my consolation must be aimed to withstand that, whence the true force of thy motherly sorrow doth arise. I want the embraces of my deare child, I cannot see him, I cannot deuise with him. Where is he, by whose sight I redeemed my sorrow, to whom I cõmunicated al my discontents? Where are his discourses, wherwith I could not satisfie my selfe? Where are his studies, which I entertayned more willingly then a woman, more familiarly then a mother? Where is this meeting, wherein the sonne shewed himselfe ioyfull to behold his mother? Thou wilt adde hereunto the very places where I was wont to reuerence thee, to drinke and eate with thee: the place likewise, whereas we met the last time, which cannot but haue great efficacie to afflict the mind. For this likewise did Fortune most cruelly complot against thee, because that when thou wert secure, and fearedst no such matter, she dared to assault thee three daies before I was strucken. We had before times beene fitly separated by distance of places, and our absence during some yeares, had, as it were, disposed thee to this affli-

ction:

ction: thou cameſt backe againe vnto me, not to enioy any pleaſure or contentment by thy ſonne, but to the end thou mighteſt not loſe the good to conuerſe and communicate with him. Hadſt thou beene ſeparated from him long time before, this aſſault had not ſo much vexed thee, becauſe the diſtance of time might haue aſſwaged thy ſorrowes: if thou hadſt not been ſeuered from him, thou hadſt endured thy loſſe more contentedly, becauſe thou hadſt enioyed this laſt fruit to be yet two daies in thy ſonnes companie. But cruell Deſtinie hath carried the matter in ſuch ſort, that thou foundeſt me not at *Rome* at ſuch time as I was baniſhed; and arriuedſt there incontinently afterwards, to receiue the more griefe, becauſe I was then vpon departure. But the more furious theſe aſſaults are, the more oughteſt thou to call thy better reſolued vertue to aſſiſt thee, and to fight more confidently with thine enemie, which is ſufficiently knowne vnto thee, and that heretofore hath bin diuers times defeated by thee. This bloud of thy preſent affliction, is not the firſt that thou haſt loſt, thy precedent wounds, as yet vnhealed, haue beene renewed againe.

Chap. XVI.

He confirmeth her by the conſideration of other womens infirmities.

THou oughteſt not to alledge in thine excuſe, that thou art a woman (which is almoſt permitted to weepe her fill) and yet ought there to be ſome meaſure. And therefore our Anceſtors allowed them ten moneths ſpace to bewaile their huſbands, and in limiting in this ſort by their publike ordinance this obſtinate ſadnes of women, they pretended not to hinder their teares, but to bring them to ſome end. For it is a fooliſh and vnbridled affection in any one to torment himſelfe inceſſantly, for the death of another whom he loueth. As contrariwiſe, not to be moued, is to be reputed to haue a heart both obdurate and inhumane. The beſt meane that we can obſerue betwixt pietie and reaſon, is to feele ſome remorſe, and afterwards to extinguiſh the ſame. There is no reaſon thou ſhouldeſt build vpon certaine women, that hauing once begun to entertaine ſorrow, neuer giue it ouer till death hath made an end of them. Thou haſt knowne diuers, that hauing loſt their ſonnes, haue neuer afterwards put off their mourning garments. The conſtancie that thou haſt alwaies ſhewed heretofore, requireth ſomewhat more at thy hand. Such a one as in times paſt hath approued it to all men, that ſhe was deliuered from all feminine imperfections, cannot alledge for her excuſe, that ſhe is a woman. Impudicitie (one of the moſt greateſt euils that reigne in our time) hath not entangled thee amongſt diuers others: pearles and precious ſtones haue not tempted thee; riches, which are eſteemed the greateſt good in this world, haue not bewitched thine eyes, the dangerous examples wherewith the wickeder ſort ſeduce the beſt, haue not diſtracted thee; thou that haſt been well brought vp in a Noble and well ordered Family, art not aſhamed to haue beene fertile, and the mother of diuers children: as if thou wert vpbraided thereby that thou art old. Neuer haſt thou (according to the cuſtome of diuers other women, which deſire nothing more then to be reputed beautifull) hidden thy groſſeneſſe, as if it had been an vnfitting burthen, neyther haſt thou made away the fruit of thy wombe, which thou thoughteſt thou hadſt receyued. Thou haſt neuer painted thy ſelfe, nor taken any pleaſure to weare ſuch garments as might diſcouer thy naked skin. Modeſtie is the onely ornament which thou haſt eſteemed to be moſt fitting,

moſt

moſt ſeemely, and ſuch as cannot be indemnified by age. So then thou canſt not (to the end thou mayeſt obtaine licence to weepe;) pretend the name of a woman, becauſe thy vertues haue ſeparated thee from that ranke. So farre oughteſt thou to be eſtranged from the teares of this ſex, as thou art from their imperfections. Women likewiſe themſelues will not permit thee to cenſure and ſubmit thy ſelfe to thy ſorrow: but hauing ſuffered thee to weepe a little, and as much as neede requireth, they will make thee riſe vp, eſpecially if thou wilt behold thoſe women, who for their excellent vertues, haue beene numbred amongſt the moſt famous men. Fortune reduced *Cornelia*, the mother of twelue children, to that paſſe, that ſhee had onely two remaining (if thou wouldeſt count thoſe ſhe had buried, they were ten; if thou wilt eſtimate them ſhee had loſt, they were the *Gracchi*,) yet expreſſely forbad ſhe thoſe that wept about her, and curſed that vnhappie accident, to accuſe Fortune in any ſort, which had giuen her the *Gracchi* to her ſonnes. By this woman ſhould he be bred, who ſaid vnto a certaine perſon that declaimed before the people; *Speakeſt thou euill of my mother that bare me?* But the mothers ſpeech, in my iudgement, is more couragious. The ſonne made high reckoning of the birth of the *Gracchi*, The mother of their deathes. *Rutillia* followed her ſonne *Cotta* into exile, and her loue towards him was ſo entire, that ſhee had rather endure exile then his want; neither returned ſhe backe againe into her Countrey, before ſhe returned with her ſonne. After his returne, and at ſuch time as her ſonne was raiſed to the greateſt honours, ſhee bare his death as conſtantly as ſhee had followed him couragiouſly; and no man could euer marke that ſhe let one teare fall from her eyes after he was enterred. She made proofe of her vertue at ſuch time as he was baniſhed; and of her wiſedome, when death drew him out of this world. Nothing hindered her from ſhewing her ſelfe charitable, and nothing detained her in a ſottiſh and ſuperfluous ſorrow. My deſire is that thou ſhouldeſt bee numbered amongſt ſuch women, and becauſe thou haſt alwaies imitated their life, be thou continually moſt ſtudious and carefull to follow their example, and to repreſſe and ſuppreſſe thy ſorrow. I know that the matter is not in our power, and that there is no paſſion that will be moderated, and eſpecially not that which proceedeth from griefe, for it is fierce and rebellious againſt all remedy: yet will we in the meane time, that it maſter and ſwallow vp ſorrowes, and yet notwithſtanding permit wee teares to ſtreame along a counterfeit and concealed countenance: wee will indeauour to exerciſe the mind in ſports, or in ſeeing the Sword-players skirmiſh; but amidſt all theſe ſpectacles that ſhall detaine them, wee are content that a light touch of griefe ſhall ſhake them. It is far better then to ouercome the paſſion, then to abuſe it: for ſorrow withdrawne by the pleaſures of this world, or beguiled by occupations, relieueth himſelfe, and by the meanes of repoſe gathereth more greater forces, and skirmiſheth afterwards more confidently. But the mind that giueth place to reaſon, attaineth a perpetuall repoſe. But I will not teach thee theſe remedies which I know diuers others haue vſed, namely that thou ſhouldeſt paſſe the time in ſome long voyage, or that thou ſhouldeſt ſport thy ſelfe in places of pleaſure, or that thou ſhouldeſt employ many daies in carefully ouerlooking how thy affaires are caried, and to order thy reuenew, or in ſhort that thou ſhouldeſt entangle thy ſelfe alwaies in ſome new affaires. All theſe things profite for a ſhort moment, and are not remedies, but delaies of ſorrow. For mine owne part I had rather thou ſhouldeſt ceaſe then deceiue thy griefe. I will therefore leade thee thither, whither all they ought to haue recourſe who flie from Fortune, that is, to Philoſophy,

He animateth her by worthy examples.

Afterwards he counſelleth her to conquer, and not to diſguiſe her paſſions.

A principall remedy in foolish and vnbridled passions, to haue recourse to Philosophie, whereunto hee exhorteth his mother.

phy, which will heale thy wound, and plucke out all sorrow from thy minde. Although hitherto thou hast neuer addicted thy selfe thereunto, yet now must thou doe it. But thou hast not studied all the liberall sciences, thou hast onely tasted so much as the ancient seuerity of my father permitted thee. I could haue wished that my father (one of the best men in the world) had bin lesse addicted to the fashions of our ancestors, and that he would haue permitted thee seriously to bee instructed in Philosophy, and not slightly: now then shouldest thou not haue neede to prepare a remedy against Fortune, but thou shouldest be exercised therein. As for those that vse good letters, nor for wisedome sake, but rather for ostentation and pride, for their cause he suffered thee the lesse to follow thy studies, but by reason of thy pregnant wit thou hast apprehended more in a little time then could be expected. The foundations of all sciences are laid in thee. Returne now vnto these, and they will make thee secure; these will comfort thee, these will delight thee, these if they enter thy mind in good earnest, neuer shall sorrow or solitude, nor the vaine-sorrow of superfluous affliction enter into thy heart any more; thy brest shall lie open to none of these, for already is it shut vp against all other vices. These are the most assured remedies, and such as can onely deliuer thee from Fortune. But whilst thou hast attained that part which studies promise, thou hast neede of some supports and staies, and therefore in the meane while will I shew thee thy comforts.

Particular remedies. He requireth her to consider her other children that continue with her, and describeth the benefits and pleasures she enioyeth by their presence.

Behold my brothers, who being in securitie, it is vnlawful for thee to accuse fortune, thou hast in both to delight thy selfe for their seuerall vertues; the one by his industrie hath attained honours, the other hath contemned them wisely: content thy selfe in the one of thy sonnes dignitie, and the others quiet, note the pietie of them both. I know the inward affections of my brethren, the one in this respect affecteth dignitie, that hee may bee an ornament vnto thee; the other hath retired himselfe to a peaceable and quiet life, onely to attend thee. Fortune hath disposed thy children well, both for thy succour, and for thy delight; thou mayest bee defended by the dignitie of the one, and enioy the others retirement. They will contend in offices towards thee, and the desire of the one shall be suplyed by the pietie of them both. I dare boldly promise thee, thou shalt want nothing but the number. From these behold thy Nephewes likewise, *Marcus* that pretty wanton lad, at whose sight all sorrow must bee banished; there is nothing so great, nothing so newly impressed in any mans breast, which hee by his wanton dalliance will not lenifie: whose teares will not his pleasures suppresse? whose minde except it bee wholly contracted by care, will not his merry and wittie iests make ioyfull? Who will not bee drawne to delight by beholding his wantonnesse? who though wholly fixed and deuoured in thoughts, would not bee delighted by his pretty prattle, and so pleasing that neuer wearieth any man? I beseech the gods to grant him long life amongst vs. Let all the wearied cruelty of the Fates bee spit and spent vpon mee; let all my mother should grieue for, bee transferred to mee, or what afflicts my grand-mother, afflict me. So the rest may flourish in their accustomed estate, I shall not complaine of mine owne solitude and condition. Let mee onely bee the expiation of the family, that hereafter shall liue in repose. Keepe in thy lappe my *Nouatilla* that shall shortly make thee a great Grand-mother with that affection I appropriated and made her mine owne, that hauing lost me, she might seme to bee an Orphan, although I am now liuing. Loue her I pray thee for my sake: Fortune of late hath taken her mother from her; thy pietie may effect this that she shall only haue cause to bewaile

bewaile the death of her Mother, and yet notwithſtanding ſhall haue no ſenſe of this loſſe. Now faſhion her mind, and then her manners. Precepts take beſt hold when they are imprinted in tender yeeres. Let her accuſtome her ſelfe to thy ſpeeches, let her conforme her ſelfe according to thy manners, thou ſhalt giue her much, although thou giue her nothing but thy example. This ſo ſolemne an endeuour will ſerue for a remedie, nothing can diuert a mind that is piouſly ſorrowfull, but either reaſon or honeſt occupation. I ſhould number thy Father likewiſe amongſt thy great comforts, but that hee is abſent: but now bethinke thy ſelfe by thine owne affection what his affection might be, & thou ſhalt vnderſtand how far iuſter a thing it is that thou art reſerued for him, then to conſume thy ſelfe for me. As often as immoderate force of ſorrow ſhall inuade thee, and ſhall command thee to follow it, thinke vpon thy father; in giuing him ſo many Nephewes and Nephewes Children, thou haſt brought to paſſe that thou art not alone. Meanwhile thou enioieſt this honor, that thou haſt happily finiſhed the courſe of thy life, and as long as he liueth, it is vnlawfull for thee to complaine that thou haſt liued.

Secondly, her Father.

CHAP. XVII.

YEt had I almoſt concealed thy greateſt ſoiace, thy Siſter that hath alwayes beene ſo faithfull vnto thee, in whoſe boſome thou haſt familiarly diſcharged all thy ſorrowes, and who hath ſhewed towards vs all an affection of a Mother; thou haſt mingled thy teares with hers, and on her boſome thou beganſt to gather thy ſpirits. She is the ordinary companion of thine affections, yet complaineth ſhe in my perſon but not for thee. By her hands was I brought into this City, by her pious and motherly nurſing I recouered after a long and dangerous ſickneſſe, ſhe employed her credit to make me Queſtor. And whereas ſhee bluſhed if any one ſhould haue ſpoken to her, or ſaluted her with a lowder voice, ſhee was not aſhamed to go and ſpeake with diuers ſeuerall men in my behalfe, neither could her retyred courſe of life, neither her modeſty (in ſo great petulancy of Country women) neither her quiet, neither her ſecret and inclined manners, (ayming at nothing more then repoſe,) detaine her from ſhewing her ſelfe ambitious in my behalfe. This, deare Mother, is a ſolace whereby thou maiſt be comforted; as much as in thee lyeth ioyne thy ſelfe to her, and tye thy ſelfe to her ſtrict embraces. They that are in ſorrow are wont to flye thoſe things which moſt they loue, and to ſeeke a libertie for their ſorrow: but ſee that thou both retyre thy ſelfe and whatſoeuer thou thinkeſt, vnto her; whether thou wilt keepe this habit, or lay it aſide, with her thou ſhalt finde, either a companion, or an end of thy ſorrow. But if I be not deceiued in the wiſdome of this moſt perfect woman, ſhe will not ſuffer thee to conſume thy ſelfe in fruitleſſe lament, and will propoſe thee her owne example, whereof I my ſelfe was a witneſſe. Hauing bin marryed young, ſhe loſt her Huſband, and our Vncle vpon the Sea, yet in the meane while, and at the ſame time ſhee endured her ſorrow and feare, and afterwards eſcaping from the ſtorme ſhe ſolemnized his Funerals. O how many worthy actions of women are buried in obſcuritie, if this woman had liued in the time of our Anceſtours, who with a pure affection honoured their vertues; how many braue ſpirits ſhould haue enforced themſelues to extoll a woman, who without any apprehenſion of her weakneſſe, neither feared windes,

Thirdly, her Siſter, whoſe vertues and conſtancie ſhee commendeth.

The Heroike vertues of Heluias Siſter.

neither letted by waues, expoſed her ſelfe to all hazards to bury her Huſband, and thinking of his Obſequies, had not any thought at all of her owne? The Poets haue ennobled *Alceſtis*, that hazarded her life to ranſome her Huſband from death. But this is more, to ſearch with the expence of her owne life a Tombe for her Huſband: more greater is the loue that redeemeth by eminent danger that which ſeemeth to be little. Furthermore, is not this a thing worthy of admiration that during the ſpace of ſixteene yeeres, in which her Huſband was Gouernor of *Ægypt*, ſhe was neuer ſeene in the ſtreet, neither ſuffered ſhee any of that Prouince to enter her houſe? ſhe demanded nothing at her Huſbands hands, neither ſuffered any other to entreat ought elſe at her hands: by reaſon whereof this Prouince (ſo talkatiue and ingenious to defame their Gouernors, wherein diuers hauing carryed themſelues honeſtly, haue notwithſtanding beene accuſed of euill conuerſation) reuereneeth thy Siſter as the onely example of ſanctity, and enforcing their owne natures which is to take pleaſure in ieſting whatſoeuer become of it, carefully contained their tongues, and although they hoped not euer to haue had ſuch a Gouerneſſe, yet wiſhed they the like daily. It was much for her to make her ſelfe knowne in *Ægypt* in ſixteene yeares ſpace, but it was farre more to conceale her ſelfe ſo long. I recount not theſe things to the end to rip vp the prayſes of this woman, for to repreſent them ſo briefly, is to diminiſh them; but to the end that thou mayeſt vnderſtand that ſhe is a woman of a great mind: whom neither Ambition, nor Auarice (the companions & plagues of all human greatneſſe) could ouercome, neither the apprehenſion of death, affrighted ſo much (although ſhee ſaw the Ship diſarmed & readie to ſink) but that holding her dead Huſband embraced in her armes, ſhe ſought out, not the meanes to eſcape, but how ſhe might burie his body. The like reſolution oughteſt thou to ſhew, & to retire thy minde from ſorrow, and behaue thy ſelfe ſo that men may not thinke that thou repenteſt this that thou haſt brought mee into this World, but becauſe it is needfull when as thou haſt done all things, thou ſhouldeſt now and then reflect vpon me, and that for the preſent no one of thy Children is more frequent in thy memory then I, (not becauſe they are leſſe deare vnto thee, but becauſe it is a naturall thing to lay thy hands more often on that which is aggrieued.) Behold what thou oughteſt to thinke that I am: I am ioyfull and merry, as if all my affaires were in the beſt eſtate of the World, and ſo they bee, becauſe my minde being diſcharged of all cares, imployeth it ſelfe in thoſe actions that are proper vnto it, and ſometimes delighteth himſelfe in more pleaſing Studies; and ſometimes being greedy to diſcouer the trueth, diſpoſeth and cauſeth himſelfe to conſider both mine owne nature, and the diſpoſition of the whole World. Firſt, hee taketh a reuiew of all Countries, and ſearcheth out their ſituations. Afterwards he conſidereth the Sea that circleth them round about, and the ebs and floates of the ſame; then regardeth hee all that which is marueilous, and dread full in the Heauens and Earth, that is to ſay, this great ſpace, wherein the noyſe reſoundeth of ſo many Thunders, of ſo many Lightnings, of contrary windes, of ouer-flow of Waters, of Snowes and Haile. And hauing trauelled through theſe low places, hee aſcendeth more high to enioy the ſight of more diuine things, and remembring himſelfe of Eternitie, hee examineth all that which either hath beene, or ſhall be in all Ages.

The end of the laſt Booke of Conſolation.

For concluſion, and for his laſt Conſolation, hee ſaith that Helua hath no occaſion to bee ſad, becauſe her ſonne enioyeth a ſingular contentment in minde in his Exile.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The first Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE handleth that part of naturall Philosophie in these Bookes, which is called Μετεωρολογία, *that is, The discourse of Meteors, because for the most part it intreateth of sublime matters, and those things that are betwixt Heauen and Earth; yet intreateth he of the motion of the Earth, as also of flouds and waters; but in this respect, because they haue their beginning or cause from spirit or Ayre, and in the regard thereof haue some relation to sublime Nature likewise. These Bookes are both excellent and learned; I will not say more better, yet more plentifull then* ARISTOTLES *are vpon this Argument, and such as he wrote when hee was very old, about that time when he wrote his Epistles. They are therefore fitly annexed in this place. This appeareth by diuers places, where he maketh mention of his old age, where he speaketh of* CAIVS BALBILLVS, *who was Prefect of Ægypt vnder* NERO; *but most manifestly in the beginning of his sixt Booke, where hee speaketh of that Earth-quake which shooke Campania, when as* VIRGINIVS *and* MEMMIVS *were Consuls. And these were some two yeares before* SENECAES *death.*

THE PREFACE.

AS much difference as there is (*Lucillius* the best of men) betwixt Philosophie and other Arts, so much suppose I that there is betweene that part of Philosophie that concerneth men, as the other that concerneth the gods. This is more high and couragious; it giueth it selfe a larger scope, and not content with that which shee discouereth by the eyes, suspecteth that there is somewhat more greater and more fairer, which Nature hath locked from our sight. In briefe, there is as much difference betwixt the one and the other,

The difference betwixt Philosophie and other Sciences, and betwixt that which is natural and the other that is morall.

ther, as betweene God and Man. The one teacheth what is to bee done vpon Earth, the other what is done in Heauen. The one diſcuſſeth our errours, and miniſtreth vs light, whereby wee may diſcerne the doubtfull things in this life: the other raiſeth vs aboue that gulfe of obſcuritie wherein wee were confounded, and hauing redeemed vs from thence, bringeth vs thither where this brightneſſe ſhineth. Verily I then prayſe and giue thankes vnto Nature when I behold her, not by this meanes which is publike, but when as I haue entred her ſecrets. When I learne what the matter of the World is, who is the Author and Conſeruer thereof, what God is, whether hee bee wholly intended in the contemplation of himſelfe, or whether ſometimes hee haue a care of vs; whether hee doe any thing daily, or whether hee hath done it at once; whether he be a part of the World, or the World; whether it be in his power to ordaine ſomething to day, and to derogate ſomewhat from fatall deſtiny; whether it ſhould be a diminution of his Maieſty, and confeſſion of his errour, to haue made things that ſhould be ſubiect to change: for it is neceſſary ſince that nothing can pleaſe him that is not perfectly good, that thoſe things which pleaſe him ſhould be alwayes the ſame; and yet for all this is he no leſſe free and powerfull, for he is neceſſitie himſelfe. If I were not admitted to the knowledge of theſe things, there was no neceſſitie why I ſhould be borne: for what cauſe had I why I ſhould be glad that I am numbred and placed amongſt the liuing? What to ſwallow downe and diſgeſt meate and drinke? What to glut this fraile and decaying bodie that muſt periſh, except it bee interchangeably nouriſhed? Or to liue a ſlaue to infirmitie, or to feare death, whereunto we are all of vs borne? If thou take away from life this ineſtimable good, it is not ſo much worth as to be ſweat or laboured for. O how contemptible a thing is man except hee rayſe himſelfe aboue humane things! As long as wee ſtruggle with affections, what doe we that deſerueth prayſe? Although we get the vpper hand, yet ouercome we but Monſters. What cauſe haue we to boaſt of our ſelues becauſe wee are vnlike the worſt men of the World? I ſee not why hee ſhould take pleaſure in himſelfe that is ſtronger then a ſicke man. There is great difference betwixt ſtrength and good health. Thou haſt eſcaped from the vices of the minde; thou art no hypocrite, nor flatterer, nor double, nor ſoyled with auarice, which denieth her ſelfe that, which ſhe hath taken from all men; nor grounded in diſſolution, which ſpendeth his goods and money baſely, and getteth them likewiſe moſt villeinouſly; neither trauelled with ambition, which will not leade thee to dignity but by indignities. Thou haſt as yet gotten nothing; thou haſt eſcaped many mens hands, but not thine owne. For that vertue which we affect is magnificent, not becauſe it is a bleſſed thing of it ſelfe to haue wanted euill, but becauſe it freeth the minde, and prepareth it to the knowledge of heauenly things, and maketh it worthy to come and accompany God. Then enioyeth the minde the conſummate and complete good of humane condition, when as (treading all euill vnder foot) he flyeth to Heauen and neſtleth in the ſecret boſome of Nature. Then taketh he delight in wandering amidſt the Stars, to laugh at the pauements of the rich, and to deride the Earth with all her Gold, not onely that I meane which ſhee hath deliuered out and giuen to make money of, but that alſo which ſhe keepeth cloſe hidden, to content the auarice of proſperitie. He cannot contemne the porches, nor the houſe beames that are burniſhed with Iuory, nor the Groues planted vpon the tops of houſes, nor the Riuers drawne and conuayed thorow chambers, before he hath circled the whole World, & beholding the Globe thereof from aboue, ſmall

Happy is contemplation if it be rightly gouerned.

This is wrath and other paſſiõs of the minde.

ſmall and for the moſt part couered with the Sea, and in that place where it diſcouereth it ſelfe, hugely deſert, and either burnt or frozen, without ſaying to himſelfe: Is this that point that is diuided amongſt ſo many Nations by Fire and Sword? O how ridiculous are the bounds of mortall men? Let not the Dane paſſe beyond the Riuer of Iſter, let Strimo include the Thracians, let Euphrates bound the Parthians, Danubius ſeparate the Sarmatians and the Romanes, let Rhene border Germany, the Pyrenean Mountaines raiſe their heads betwixt France and Spaine; let the deſolate vaſtneſſe of ſands diuide Ægypt from the Æthiopians. If wee ſhould giue humane vnderſtanding vnto Antes, would not they likewiſe diuide a little Mole-hil of earth into Prouinces? When as thou haſt raiſed thy ſelfe to thoſe things that are truly great, as often as thou ſhalt ſee whole Armies marching with diſplayed Engines, and as if there were ſome greater matter in hand, the Horſemen now ſcowting and diſcouering before, now flanking the battell, thou mayeſt freely ſay,

What a vertuous man thought it, that enioieth the fruits of vertue.

The blacker Squadron trotteth though the Plaines.

All this is but a buſineſſe of Antes that labour in a Mole-hill. What difference is betwixt them and vs, except it be in the meaſure of their little bodies? It is but a point wherein you ſaile, wherein you go on warfare, wherein you diſpoſe Kingdomes, yea, and a very little one if a man conſider the Ocean, that begirteth it on euery ſide. Aboue theſe there are ſpacious extents, into the poſſeſſion whereof the minde is admitted. If hee bring with him a very little of the bodie, if hee bee cleanſed from all ordure, and being expedite and light, and contented with a little, hee hath ſhined in theſe lower parts. When hee attayneth theſe, he is nouriſhed, he increaſeth, and being as it were deliuered from bondage, returneth to his originall. And this Argument hath he of his Diuinitie, that hee is delighted in diuine things, not as ſtrange vnto him but as his owne. He ſecurely beholdeth the riſing and ſetting of the Planets, and the different courſes of ſo accordant Creatures. He diligently obſerueth where euery Starre beginneth to riſe & lend her firſt light to the World, where her Zenith is, what way ſhe ſhapeth her courſe, and how farre ſhee deſcendeth. Like a curious obſeruer he examineth and debateth on euery point; why ſhould he not enquire, he knoweth that they appertaine vnto him? Then contemneth he the ſtreightneſſe of his former houſe; for how farre is it betwixt the vttermoſt ſhores of Spaine and the Indies? It is ſailed in a few daies if the wind be in the Poop, and proſperous. But that celeſtiall Region furniſheth a way for thirty yeares ſpace to the ſwifteſt Planet, that neuer ſtayeth but runneth on his courſe with equall ſwiftneſſe. There at length learneth he that which hee hath long time ſought. There beginneth he to know God: what is God? The minde of the Vniuerſe. What is God? All that thou ſeeſt, & all that thou ſeeſt not: ſo at length he comprehendeth his greatnes, then which no greater thing may be imagined; if he alone be all, and holdeth his work both without and within himſelfe. What difference then is there betwit the nature of God & Ours? Our better part is the minde: in him no part is without the minde: hee is all reaſon, and mean-while men are ſo dull as to eſteeme that the Heauen, which hath nothing like vnto it in beauty, in diſpoſition, or in continuance, is a caſuall thing that turneth by chance; ſo that it findeth it ſelfe much troubled, amidſt lightnings, clouds, tempeſts, and other ſuch noiſes as ſhake the Aire, the Water, and the Earth. Neither is this folly onely pregnant amongſt the common ſort, but ſome profeſſors of

The affaires of the World are trifles.

A worthy deſcription of vanitie.

The argument of Diuinitie is to contemplate diuine things.

Philosophie likewise haue beene tainted with this errour. Some there are that thinke that they haue a minde, yea, such an one as is prouident, and dispenseth euery thing both his owne and others: but that this vniuerse wherein likewise we are, is void of counsaile, and either is transported with a certaine temeritie, or by Nature, that knoweth not what she doth. How profitable is it, thinkest thou, to know these things, and to prefixe limits vnto Science? To know how much God can, whether he formeth his owne matter, or vseth that which is giuen him; whether the *Idea* was before the matter, or the matter the *Idea*. If God maketh all that which hee willeth, or if in diuers things there faileth him somewhat to worke vpon, or if diuers things are kindly formed by their great Workmaster, not because his Art ceaseth, but because the matter wherein he is exercised, is not oftentimes conformable to his Workmanship. To examine these things, to learne these things, to search the secrets of these things: is not this to exceed Mortality, and to be translated into a better estate? What, saiest thou, will these things profit thee? If they further me in nothing else, of this I rest assured, that all things are too little. But of this hereafter.

The supernaturall Philosophie of the Stoikes.

The vse of this Discourse.

CHAP. I.

Of the Meteors of fire.

NOw let vs come to our intended purpose. Heare that which Philosophie teacheth, as touching those Fires that the Ayre driueth ouerthwartly. It is a signe that they are driuen by great force, because they are carryed side-long, and by a violent swiftnesse. It appeareth that they goe not, but that they are forced. And of these fires there are diuers formes. *Aristotle* calleth a certaine kind of these Goates. If thou askest mee why, thou must first of all giue mee a reason, why they are called young Kids. But if we be agreed vpon the name, as it is expedient, let none of vs examine one another, what this or that man saith. It shall be better to examine what the thing is, then to wonder at it, why *Aristotle* called a Globe of fire that is in the Aire a Goat. Such was that which appeared as great as the body of the Moone, when *Paulus Æmilius* made war against *Perseus*. And we our selues haue oftentimes seene a flame in forme as great as a Pillar, which notwithstanding in the very course thereof was scattered. About the time that *Cæsar Augustus* dyed, wee saw the like Meteor, and prodigie: wee saw the like, when *Seianus* was adiudged to death; neither was *Germanicus* death vnaccompanied with the like presage. Thou wilt say vnto me, Art thou then so badly taught, as to thinke that the gods send some predictions of death, and that there is any thing so great on the Earth, that the Heauens should foresee the end? Wee shall find another time for this matter: meane while we will see if all things be deduced by a certaine order, and the one so infolded in the other, that that which goeth before, is either the cause of those things that follow, or the signe. We will see whether the gods haue care of humane affaires, or whether the order of things discouereth by certaine markes, that which ought to be done. Meane while, I thinke that these fires are assembled by a vehement agitation of the Ayre, when as the inclination thereof hath extended it selfe towards one part, and hath not giuen

Lib. 1, Meteor. cap. 4.

They were called Goats, by reason they had some resemblance of little beards hanging on them

Whether extraordinarie Meteors are foretokens of things to come.

uen place, but fought within himſelfe. From this encountrie and enterſhocke of the aire ariſe theſe pillars, theſe globes, theſe flaſhings. But when the ayre aſſembleth more mildely and remaineth ſhut, there iſſue diuers impreſſions of fire farre leſſer, and theſe crinite and bearded comets haue their originall: then the fires that are leſſe thicke marke out their way which appeareth not verie much, which they extend in the heauen, in ſuch ſort as there paſſed not a night, wherein a man may not ſee ſuch impreſſions in the aire, becauſe there needeth no great agitation to create them. To ſpeake in a word, theſe impreſſions haue the ſame conſiderations, as lightnings, yet are they cauſed with leſſe force. Euen as clouds being but indifferently broken one vpon another, cauſe flaſhes, and being impelled with greater force, breed lightnings. *Ariſtotle* yeeldeth this reaſon. The globe of the earth exhaleth diuers vapours, ſome moiſt, and ſome drie, ſome cold, and ſome other hot, and fit to be enflamed: neither is it to be wondered at, that ſo many different vapours iſſue from the earth, ſince in the heauens there appeare diuers colors, but ſome more fierce, as the fierie redneſſe of the Dog-ſtar, ſome more remiſſe, as that of *Mars*; ſome none at all, as that of *Iupiter*, but a pure and cleare ſhining. It muſt therefore needs be, that in this ſo great abundance of exhalations, that mount from the earth into the ayre, there muſt ſome aliments of fire be raiſed to the clouds, that might fall on fire, not onely by reaſon of their enterſhock, but alſo by the aſſiſtance of the beams of the Sunne. For with vs likewiſe we ſee that ſtraws that are beſprinkled with brimſtone, draw vnto them fire that is diſtant from them. It is likely therefore to be true, that this matter gathered together within the clouds, is as eaſily kindled, and that the fires are great or little, according as the vapors haue bin feeble or ſtrong. For this were a fooliſh thing to imagine that the ſtarres fall, or that they riſe and mount againe, or that any thing is taken away or ſeparated from them: becauſe if this were ſo, by little and little there ſhould be no more ſtars, they ſhould faile. For there is no night whatſoeuer, during which a man ſeeth not diuers ſtars, that ſeeme to ſhoote forward or backward. But contrariwiſe, euery one of them is found in his accuſtomed place, and euery one continue in their proportion. It followeth therefore, that theſe fires are engendred vnderneath theſe ſtars, & continue not long time, becauſe they neither haue foundation nor certaine place. Why therefore likewiſe are they not transferred by day? What if I ſay that the ſtars are not by day, becauſe they appeare not? Euen as theſe remaine hidden, and obſcured by the light of the Sun, ſo the Meteors of fire runne in the aire, as well by day as by night, but the brightneſſe of the day hindereth our eyes from beholding them. Notwithſtanding, ſometimes the matter whereof they are compoſed is ſo abundant and bright, that they are manifeſtly diſcouered euen in the day time. In our age we haue oftentimes ſeene diuers fires in the day time, the one gliding from the Eaſt to the Weſt, the other from the Weſt to the Eaſt. The Mariners thinke it to bee a ſigne of a tempeſt, when as many Stars ſhoot; but if there bee a ſigne of windes, it is there where the windes are, that is, in the Aire which is in the middeſt betweene the Moone and the Earth. In a vehement tempeſt there appeare certaine fires or ſtars that ſit vpon the ſailes, and at that time thoſe that are in danger doe ſuppoſe that they are aſſiſted by the god-heads of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. And their cauſe of better hope is, becauſe already the tempeſt ſeemeth to be allayed and the windes calmed. Sometimes theſe fires are caried, ſomtimes they are ſetled. When as *Gilippus* trauelled towards Syracuſa, he ſaw a Star that ſetled it ſelfe vpon his lance. In the Roman campe, in ſome mens iudgement, there appeared cer-

Ariſtotles reaſon as touching the impreſſions of the aire.

Shooting of many ſtarres the ſigne of a tempeſt.

The fires called Caſtor and Pollux. Theſe were Iupiters ſonnes by Leda, who for their great valour and cunning by ſea were reputed gods.

Gilippus had a ſtarre that lighted on his lance.

certain darts, as if set on fire by reason of fire in the aire that fell on them, which oftentimes after the maner of lightnings, are wont to blast both men and trees. *Of falling fires.* But if they descend with a lesser force, yet slip they downe and settle themselues without doing any hurt, or inflicting any wound. Some of these breake thorow the clouds, some other in faire weather, if the ayre be fit to enkindle. *Why it thundreth, and what thunder is.* For sometimes it thundereth in faire weather, vpon the same cause as it doth in close and troubled aire, which is by reason of the collision of the aire within it selfe, which although it be clearer and drier, yet can meete together, and make some bodies that are like vntó clouds, which by incountrie sound and make a noise: sometimes therefore there are diuers pillars made, and sometimes shields, and images of vaste fire, when as the like, but greater cause falleth vpon such matter. *Of thunders.*

CHAP. II.

Of the circles and crowns that appeare about the Sunne and Moone. Albert lib Meteorolog. tract. 4. cap. 8. *A wittie manifestation what Halo is.*

LEt vs now see whence that light is made that enuironeth the Planets. It is reported that vpon the same day that *Augustus* returned from Apollonia and entered Rome, there was seene a certaine circle of diuers colours about the Sunne, after the manner of a Rain-bow. The Grecians call this *Halo*, and we may properly call it a Crowne. I will endeuour to expresse whence the cause hereof is. When as a stone is cast into a Fish-poole, we see that the water maketh diuers circles, whereof the first is small, the second more great, the others consequently greater, vntill the force of the stroake be vanished, and that the water be setled as it was before. Let vs suppose that some such matter is done in the ayre, which becomming more thicke may receiue an impression, by the meanes of the brightnesse of the Sunne, or of the Moone, or of some Star; the which enforcing it selfe against the Sunne, constraineth it to retire, and to fall in circles. For humiditie and ayre, and all that which taketh forme by reuerberation, is impelled into the habitude of that thing that impelleth the same. But all light is round, by meanes whereof it must needs be, that the aire beaten back by this brightnesse, must shew it selfe in the same forme. And therefore is it that these shining circles are by the Grecians called *Areæ*, because that the places that are ordained to thresh corne in, are round for the most part. But we thinke not that these, either *Areæ*, or crownes, are caused neere vnto the Moone, or the Sunne, or other celestiall bodies, for they are few of them, although they seeme to begirt and crowne them. This impression is made not farre off from the earth, *In what region of the aire.* but our eyes being deceiued by their ordinarie imbecillitie, thinke that it is placed iust about the star. But no such thing may be done neere vnto the Sun or the starres, because the etheriall region is thin and transparent. It is in grosse and thicke bodies, that such impressions are accustomed to be made, neither can they take footing in subtile and thin bodies. We see I know not what such like as these impressions about our lamps in the stoue, by reason of the obscuritie. *In what time.* They are made for the most part at such time as the Southern wind bloweth, when as the skie is couered and obscured. Sometime by little and little they are dispersed and vanish, sometimes they breake in some part, and from thence the Sailers expect the winde where the flame first appeareth. For if it fall to the Northward, a Northerly winde will follow; if to the Westward, a Westerly, which is an Argument that in that part of the Heauens these

crownes

Crownes are made, where ordinarily the winds are engendred: But the higher Region of the Aire hath none of theſe Circles, becauſe the Winds are lodged vnder it. To theſe Arguments adde this likewiſe, that a Crowne is neuer gathered there, but where the Aire is ſetled and ſtill. Otherwiſe it is neuer ſeene. For the aire that is ſetled may be puſhed, extended, and moulded into ſome forme, but that which is agitated cannot receiue impreſſion of the light, for it is not formed, neither reſiſteth, becauſe euery firſt part and portion thereof is ſcattered and hath no ſtay. And therefore neuer ſhall wee ſee any Planet whatſoeuer crowned, except when the Aire is thick, and calme; by meanes whereof it is capable to conſerue the Line which in appearance begirteth his round brightneſſe, and not without cauſe. For call againe to thy remembrance the example I propoſed thee a little before. The ſtone that is caſt into a Fiſhpoole or a Lake or any ſetled water, maketh innumerable Circles, & this it doth not in a Riuer. Why? Becauſe the water that flyeth thus quickly, giueth not any leiſure or meanes to the ſtone to forme any figure. The ſame therefore falleth out in the Aire: for that which is ſetled may receiue any impreſſion, but that which fleeteth & runneth away ſwiftly, is incapable of forme, & diſperſeth euery figure that would approch it if it ſtayed. Theſe Circles being ſcattered by litle & litle, and as it were confounded in themſelues, expreſſe the ſtilneſſe, repoſe, and tranquillity of the Aire, and if they ſcatter but on one ſide, the wind commeth from thence: if they be opened in diuers places, ſome ſtorme will follow. How this commeth to paſſe, it may bee vnderſtood by thoſe things which I haue declared alreadie. For if the whole face of the Circle vaniſh, it appeareth that the Aire is moderate, & conſequently ſtill and peaceable: if it be cut off but on one ſide, we ſee that the Aire is ſhaken on that ſide that is opened, & that from the ſame the wind will blow. But when it is diſperſed in euery part, it is a ſigne that it is aſſailed diuers waies, and that the Aire ſturreth it ſelfe from one ſide to an other. By meanes whereof it appeareth that a ſtorme is at hand, and that there will be ſome combate of the winds by reaſon of this inconſtancie of the Aire, that whirleth and turneth it ſelfe thus from all parts. Theſe Crownes for the moſt part appeare about the Moone in thé night time, and are noted about the other Stars, but ſeldome by day: ſo that ſome of the *Grecians* haue denyed that they are at all, whereas Hiſtories reproue and confute them. But the cauſe of this raritie is this, in that the light of the Sunne is more ſtrong, and the Ayre it ſelfe being agitated by the ſame, and being hot is leſſe thick. But the power of the Moone is more feeble, and therefore is it more eaſily ſuſtained by the Aire that inuironeth the ſame, and becauſe that the other celeſtiall fires being feeble cannot by their beames breake or ſcatter the Aire, thence cõmeth it that theſe impreſſions are made at that time without any let, for they pierce and plant themſelues very eaſily in a ſolid matter, and that ſcattereth not as it doth by day. The Aire likewiſe ought not to be ſo thick, that it exclude and driue away from him the brightneſſe that is lent him, neither ſo thin and attenuate that it giueth not any meanes to the beames that beat vpon it to ſtay with him. This temperature properly falleth out by night, when as the Stars reflect vpon the ſame by their brightneſſe, not violent or forcible, the Aire gathereth together and formeth theſe Circles, becauſe it is more thicker then in the day time.

Swiftly fleeting things incapable of formes.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Raine-bow, the cauſe and forme thereof, and why it appeareth not by night.

CONtrariwiſe, the Raine-bow is neuer made by night, except very ſeldome, becauſe the Moone hath not ſo much force to trauerſe and colour the Clouds as the Sunne hath. For thus make they the forme of the diſcoloured Raine-bow: Becauſe ſome parts in the Clouds are more ſwelling, other ſome more ſubmiſſe; ſome thicker then that the Sunne beames may be able to pierce them; otherſome ſo thin that they paſſe quite thorow them. This inequalitie mixeth together this ſhadow and this brightneſſe, and maketh this wonderfull varietie in the Raine-bow. There is another reaſon giuen of this Raine-bow; Wee ſee that when a Pipe is broken in any place, that the water bubleth forth by a little cracke: and if the Sunne beateth obliquely vpon this water, it repreſenteth the diuers colours of the Raine-bow. The ſame ſhalt thou ſee fall out, if at any time thou wilt obſerue a fuller, when as he hath lightly filled his mouth with water, and beſprinkleth his cloth that is ſtretched on the Tenters: in this Aire beſprinkled with water there appeareth diuers colours, ſuch as we ſee in the Arch. Doubt thou not but the cauſe hereof is in the humours: for the Raine-bow is neuer ſeene except it be in rainy weather. But let vs examine how it is made: Some ſay that there are certaine drops of water, beaten backe by the Sunne and the Clouds, ſo thicke as the brightneſſe cannot pierce them, in ſuch ſort that from theſe drops there proceedeth a ſhining, and from the thick Clouds a ſhaddow; by meanes whereof, and by this encounter the Raine-bow is made; one part whereof, which receiueth the Sun, is ſhining, the other that repulſeth the ſame, & hath made a ſhadow of it ſelfe to the neighbouring Clouds, is more obſcure. Others there are that are not of this opinion. For this might ſeeme true, if the Raine-bow had but onely two colours, and it conſiſted of light and ſhaddow.

Examples to expreſſe this.

How the Raine-bow is cauſed.

This opinion is examined.

But we although that colours infinite
Shine in this Arch, yet neth'leſſe their light
Is ſo conioyn'd, as it deceiues the ſight,
Becauſe their meetings are not knowne aright:
For that which toucheth is the ſame vnite,
And yet the brinkes are partie coloured quite.

Of the colours of the Arch.

Wee ſee in it I know not what yellowneſſe, redneſſe, greene, blue, and other colours drawne after the manner of ſubtil lines, as the Poet ſaith, that whether they bee different colours thou canſt not know, except thou conferre thoſe of the one ſide with thoſe of the other, for their coniunction and aſſemblance bleminſheth and dazeleth the eyes: and therein is ſhewed the admirable worke of Nature, becauſe that that which began with things that were alike, endeth in different. To what purpoſe therefore ſerue theſe two colours of light and ſhadow, whereas a reaſon is to be yeelded of innumerable ſorts? Some thinke that the Raine-bow is made thus: they ſay that in that part where it raineth, euery drop of the falling raine is a ſeuerall mirror that repreſenteth the Sun; then that this great and infinite number of Images long, large, and hollow, come and ioyne and mixe themſelues togther; ſo that the Raine-bow is an aſſembly of diuers mirrours or repreſentations of the ſame. To prooue this, behold what they

they alledge: If in a faire and cleere day you ſet a thouſand Baſons in the Sun, all of them ſeuerally repreſent his countenance. Put me a drop of water vpon euerie leafe of a tree, each one of theſe droppes will haue in it ſelfe the reſemblance of the Sunne; but contrariwiſe, a great ſtanding poole repreſenteth but one Image. Why? Becauſe all this limited plainneſſe that hath his brinks, cannot be but one mirror: but if thou makeſt partitions, and diſtinguiſheſt by diuers walls a huge and mightie Fiſh-poole, ſo many images ſhalt thou haue of the Sunne as there are ſeuerall lakes. Leaue that Fiſh-poole intire and one as it was, thou ſhalt obſerue but one Sunne. It is no great matter whether the drop of water be ſmall, or the Fiſh-poole narrow; if it hath brimmes, it is a mirror of the Sunne. So then, theſe infinite drops of water, carried by the raine that falleth, are as many mirrors, and haue as many faces of the Sunne. Theſe appeare confuſed to him that looketh againſt them, and ſeeth not their diſtances, becauſe the ſpace ſuffereth him not to diſtinguiſh the ſame. Furthermore, in ſtead of ſo many faces there appeareth but one confuſed and compoſed of all. *Ariſtotle* is of the ſame opinion: From all that (ſaith he) that is light and thin, the ſight reuoketh vnto it ſelfe his beames; but there is nothing lighter then ayre or water; and therefore the radiations of our eyes returne from the thick ayre backe againe vnto vs. But if the ſight be feeble and infirme, it faileth vpon the leaſt thicke that the ayre yeeldeth it. Some are troubled with this infirmitie, that they themſelues ſeeme to meet themſelues, and euery where they behold their owne image. Why? Becauſe the weakeneſſe of their ſight cannot penetrate the ayre that is neereſt them, but ſtayeth ſhort; ſo that whatſoeuer the ſogges effect in others, euery aire worketh in theſe. Euery ayre how thin ſoeuer it be, hath power enough to repulſe a weake ſight, yet more eaſily may a thick aire reflect backe again vnto vs our ſight, becauſe it cannot be pierced, but ſtayeth the beames of our eies, and repelleth them backe againe from whence they came. So then, ſince there are diuers drops of water, they are as many mirrors; but by reaſon of their ſmalneſſe, they repreſent onely the colour, and not the forme of the Sunne. Moreouer, when as one and the ſame colour is impreſſed in the infinitie of drops that fall without intermiſſion, it beginneth to be a face, not of many different images, but of one that is long and continued How commeth it to paſſe (ſaith ſome one) that thou telleſt me that there is ſo many thouſand of images here, where I ſee not one? And ſince the Sunne is all of one colour, why are theſe images thus diuers coloured? To anſwer thee hereunto, and to other ſuch obiections, I muſt tell thee that there is nothing more incertaine then our ſight, not onely in thoſe things which he is hindered from ſeeing exactly, by reaſon of this diuerſitie of colors, but alſo in thoſe things which he diſcouereth hard at hand. A Water-mans Oare being plunged into a little cleere water, ſeemeth either broken or crooked, although it be ſtraight Apples ſeeme greater to thoſe that looke vpon them thorow a glaſſe. The pillars in long Galleries ſeeme to be ioyned together, although there be a diſtance betwixt euery one of them. Returne againe to the Sunne it ſelfe; he whom reaſon approueth to be greater then the whole world, our eye hath ſo contracted, that ſome wiſe men contend that it hath but a foote of Diameter. Wee know that he runneth with a ſwiftneſſe ſurpaſſing all ſwiftneſſe, yet none of vs perceiueth any motion; neyther would wee beleeue that he had kept on his courſe, except it were apparant that he moue. There is none of vs that can diſcouer the courſe of the heauens, turning with a headlong and incredible ſwiftneſſe, in ſuch ſort, that in the twinkling of an eye he cauſeth in diuers climats of the world,

The opinion of Ariſtotle as touching the colors in the Arch.

Of the diuers colours in the arch.

World both day and night; why then wondreſt thou that our eyes cannot diſcerne the drops of water, or that the difference of theſe ſmall Images vaniſh from thy ſight that is ſo farre diſtant? No man can doubt but that the Raine-bow is an Image of the Sunne, conceiued in a moyſt and hollow Cloud. The reaſon is, becauſe the Raine-bow is alwayes oppoſite againſt the Sunne, either higher or lower, according as the Sun ſetteth or riſeth, but by a contrary motion. For when the Sunne ſetteth, the Raine-bow is more high; and if he riſeth aboue the Horizon, the Raine-bow is more low. Oftentimes ſuch a Cloud appeareth on the ſide of the Sunne, which maketh not a Raine-bow, becauſe it draweth not an Image by a right reflexiõ. But this varietie proceedeth from no other cauſe, but for that a part of the colour is in the Sun, and another part in the cloud it ſelfe: but this humidity formeth & draweth now blue lines, ſometimes greene, otherwhiles purple, and ſometimes dimme and fiery; in briefe, two ſorts of colours, (the one liuely, the other pale,) are theſe that cauſe all this diuerſitie; for ſo purple iſſueth not in the ſame ſort from the ſhell, but it importeth much how long time it hath remayned ſteeped, what ſucke it hath drawne either ſubtile, or thicke, or if it hath receiued tincture one time onely. It is not therefore to be wondred at, conſidering that the Sunne and the Cloud are two things, (that is to ſay, the body & the mirror,) if a man ſee ſo many different colours which may ariſe or fall in diuers ſorts: for of one kind is the heat that proceedeth from a fierce light, another that proceedeth from a brightneſſe not ſo ſhining and ſparkling. To ſearch out other cauſes, it were extrauagant, conſidering that wee haue not any ground that may ſuſtaine our diſcourſe, except wee ſhould build vpon coniectures, which haue no end. Here then it appeareth that there are two cauſes of the Raine-bow, the Sunne and the Cloud: for the Rain-bow is neuer made in faire weather, neither then when it is ſo cloſe weather, that the Sunne appeareth not; ſo then it is made of both, without either of which it cannot be.

Why the Raine-bow appeareth oppoſite againſt the Sunne.

Why there are diuers colours in it.

A compariſon from Purple.

Two cauſes of the Raine-bow.

CHAP. IV.

LEt vs adde to that which is aboue-ſaid, another proofe no leſſe euident. The Image and repreſentation which is made by reaſon of the mirror, neuer appeareth except the mirror bee oppoſed in ſuch ſort, that a man may ſee the ſame in one place, and the thing that is repreſented in another that is oppoſite. There are certaine reaſons alleaged by the Geometricians which perſwade not, but inforce; neither hath any man cauſe to doubt, but that the Arch is an Image of the Sunne, which is badly expreſſed by reaſon of the defect and figure of the mirror. But let vs aſſay in the meane time to produce other proofes. Amongſt other arguments why the Arch is cauſed thus, I put this, that it is ſodainly made, and vaniſheth alſo as ſodainly. But there is nothing more readily repreſented then an Image in a Glaſſe, for the mirror doth nothing but onely repreſent the obiect. *Parianus Artemidorus* addeth, what kind of Cloud it ſhould be which repreſenteth ſuch an Image of the Sunne, if thou makeſt (ſaith he) a hollow mirror, that is as it were the halfe of a Bowle, if thou ſtandeſt vpright behind this halfe, all theſe that are neere vnto thee ſhall appeare vnto thine eyes more neere vnto thee then the mirror. The ſame (ſaith he) falleth out when we behold a round and hollow Cloud on one ſide of vs, that the Image of the Sunne which is ſe-

A confirmation of that which hath bin ſaid, the Arch is formed by oppoſition againſt the Sun, by the compariſon of Artemidorus.

ſeuered from the Sunne, is more turned towards vs; the yellow colour therefore commeth from the Sunne, the blew proceedeth from the cloud, the other colours grow by a mixture of them both.

CHAP. V.

AGainſt theſe things, theſe ſucceeding Arguments are aymed. There are two opinions of mirrors; for ſome are of opinion that the reſemblances are ſeene in theſe, that is, the figure of our bodies, ſent forth and ſeparated from our bodies: ſome ſay that the images are not in the mirror, but that the bodies themſelues are beheld; the ſight of the eye being retorted and reflected, and returned againe into it ſelfe. Now it appertaineth nothing to the matter, how wee ſee, whatſoeuer wee behold, but how the like image ſhould bee repreſented by the looking glaſſe. What is ſo vnlike as the Sunne and the Rainebow, wherein neither the Center, nor the figure, neither the greatneſſe appeareth? for the Rainebow is longer and more ample, and in the brighter part thereof more red then the Sunne, but in the other colours diuers. Againe, when thou wilt compare a mirror with the aire, thou muſt giue me the ſame leuitie of body, and the ſame equalitie, and the ſame brightneſſe. Bnt there are no clouds that haue the ſimilitude of a loking glaſſe, wee oftentimes paſſe through them, and yet ſee not our ſelues in them. They that clime vp to the tops of Hills, behold the clouds, and yet ſee not their image in the ſame. Euery droppe is a ſeuerall mirror. *I* grant it, but this I deny, that a cloud conſiſteth of drops. For ſhee hath ſome things whereof ſhee may create ſuch drops, not her ſelfe; neither hath a cloud any water in it, but the matter of future water. I will likewiſe grant thee that there are innumerable drops in clouds, that yeeld ſome reſemblance, yet all of them yeeld not one and the ſame, but euery one hath his apart. Againe, vnite thou mirrors together, they will repreſent more then one face; for euery one will retaine in himſelfe the ſimilitude of that hee repreſenteth. There are many mirrors that are compoſed of diuers ſmall peeces to which if thou preſenteſt but one man, yet there appeareth a multitude, euery part expreſſing and repreſenting his owne face. Theſe though conioyned and placed together, doe notwithſtanding reſerue vnto themſelues their images apart, and of one, they make a multitude; yet confound they not their multitude, but diſtinguiſh it into ſeuerall faces. But the Rainbow is made all at once, and hath but one only face. What then? Is not the water that iſſueth from a broken pype, or is ſquirted or ſpit out of the mouth, wont to haue ſome ſuch like colours as we ſee in the Rainebow. Tis true: but not for the ſame cauſe, as thou thinkeſt, becauſe that euery drop of water receiueth the image of the Sunne: for theſe drops fall too ſoone to bee able to receiue any forme. They muſt needly ſtay to repreſent the ſame which they imitate. What is then done? They contract the colour, and not the image of the Sunne. Otherwiſe as *Nero Cæſar* ſaid moſt learnedly;

An obiection againſt the compariſon precedent.

Faire Venus *Doue, bending her necke aſide,*
In party coloured plumes, doth ſhew her pride.

And as often as the Peacocke turneth his head neuer ſo little, her party colou-

red plumes ſhine and ſparkle: ſhall wee therefore ſay, that theſe feathers are Mirrors, which vpon euery inclination of the head, preſent new colours? As much correſpondencie haue the clouds with mirrors as thoſe birds I told you of, and the Camelions and other kind of Creatures, who of themſelues change their colours, as often as either wrath or deſire of generation maketh them ſpread a humour which giueth a new tincture to the skin, or that they receiue this colour by reuerberation of the light according as it beateth vpon them directly or obliquely. What reſemblance is there betwixt mirrors and clouds? mirrors are not tranſparent, but thicke and of one peece and matter: contrariwiſe brightneſſe trauerſeth the clouds, which are thin, compoſed of confuſed matter, by meanes whereof they cannot remaine long times tied together, but the one of them deſtroyeth the other. Beſides, we ſee a part of the heauen that is red, when the Sunne riſeth, and ſometimes wee ſee clouds that are coloured like fire. What letteth then but as they receiue this colour by the arriuall and encountrie with the Sunne, ſo alſo they ſhould draw diuers colours, although they haue not the ſame efficacie as a mirror hath? Thou ſaidſt not long ſince, (will ſome man ſay) that the rainebow is alwaies made by the oppoſition of the Sunne, becauſe a mirror could not repreſent a face, if it were not ſet oppoſite againſt the Sunne. Herein, ſaith hee, wee are agreed. For euen as wee ought to ſet before the mirror the thing whoſe Image wee would haue the glaſſe to repreſent: ſo is it needefull that the Sunne beames ſhould beate directly vpon the clouds, and that they ſhould bee neere him to contract colour. This is their allegation, who would pretend that a cloud is coloured. *Poſidonius* and they that thinke that a cloud is a mirror, anſwere thus. If there were any colour in the Rainebow it would continue, and it ſhould be ſeene the more manifeſtly, the more neerer wee were vnto it: But now the image of the Arch appeareth beſt when it is furtheſt off, the more it neereth vs, the ſooner it dieth. I cannot giue way to this contradiction, although I approue the opinion. Why? I will tell you; becauſe the cloud is coloured, but ſo that the colour thereof appeareth not euery wayes, for the cloud it ſelfe appeareth not euery where; for no man ſeeth the cloud wherein he is. What wonder then is it, that the colour thereof is not ſeene vnto him, by whom ſhe her ſelfe is not ſeene? yet although ſhe bee not ſeene, ſhe is; and conſequently ſhee hath colour. So it is not an argument of a falſe colour, becauſe that in drawing neere vnto the ſame, ſhe ceaſeth to appeare the ſame as ſhee was before, for the like falleth out in the clouds themſelues, which are not therefore falſe, becauſe they are not ſeene. Furthermore, when it is tolde thee, that the cloud is ſtraked with the Sunne, it is not intended that this colour was mixed as in a hard, firme, and permanent bodie, but as in a fluid and flitting maſſe, which receiueth neither forme nor colour but for a very little while. The better and deeper tincture the Tyrian ſcarlet is, the higher muſt you holde the ſame, to the end that the luſtre thereof may ſhew the better, yet loſeth it not in being neere vnto vs his perfect colour, but that tincture it hath, how ſoeuer it be diſcouered, ſheweth it ſelfe. Of that opinion am I that *Poſidonius* was, that the Arch is made when as the cloud is formed after the manner of a mirror, hollow and round, like the halfe of a bowle. This cannot be approued by the aſſiſtance of the Geometricians, who by inuincible reaſons proue that the cloud is an image of the Sunne, and yet reſembleth him not; as likewiſe mirrors are not anſwerable wholly vnto the truth of things. There are ſome thou wouldeſt bee afraid to looke vpon, ſo deformed maketh it their face to appeare that behold the ſame, by repre-

Senecaes opinion touching the faſhion of the Arch.

ſenting

ſenting their ſimilitude quite contrarie. Others of them are ſuch, that in beholding them, will make thee thinke thy ſelfe ſome worthie man, becauſe that both thine armes, and the other members of thy body will ſeeme to bee more greater and mighty then they are. Some of them repreſent a true ſimilitude of the face; others halfe the face; ſome there are that leſſen and turne it vpwards. What is it therefore to wonder at, if the Sunne be imperfectly repreſented in a cloud, as well as in theſe artificiall mirrors?

CHAP. VI.

The Prognoſtiques touching the Rainebow.

AMongſt other reaſons this ſhall be one, that the Arch neuer ſheweth more greater then the halfe of a Circle, and that the leſſe it is, the higher the Sunne is.

The mightie Arch doth drinke,

As our *Virgil* ſaith, at ſuch time as the raine is ready to fall: but the Prognoſtiques of the Arch are diuers, according to his ſituations; if it apppeareth in the ſouth, it bringeth with it much raine, becauſe that by their aboundance they could not bee ſurmounted by the ſunne. Contrariwiſe, if it appeareth in the weſt, there will follow but a dew and ſome little raine; and if it bee in the eaſt, it is a ſigne of faire weather. But if the Arch bee the image of the Sunne, whence commeth it that the Arch appeareth to be more great then the ſunne? Becauſe the nature of ſome mirror is ſuch, that it ſheweth things to bee more greater then they were preſented vnto it, and will make the body appeare of more prodigious biggeneſſe: contrariwiſe, there are ſome that make things ſeeme farre leſſe then they bee. Tell me why the face ſheweth round in a ſquare mirror? Haply thou mayeſt tell mee whence theſe diuers colours proceede; but thou canſt not tell mee whence this forme commeth, except in thy hand thou haſt ſome patterne whereupon it is formed: But there is no other then that of the Sunne, from whence thou muſt needſly confeſſe that the Arch borroweth his colours, and conſequently his forme. Finally, we are agreed, that theſe colours which wee ſee in the Heauens proceede from the Sunne: but our difference is, that thou maintaineſt that it is a colour, and I ſay that it ſeemeth to be a colour; but whether it bee the one or the other, yet thou canſt not tell mee why this colour vaniſheth ſodainely, whereas all other lights are extinguiſhed by little and little. This apparition and diſparition of the Raine-bow maketh for mee: for it is the nature and property of a mirror not to ſhew things in parts, but wholly and at once. Euery Image is made and vnmade equally. To repreſent the ſame or not repreſent the ſame, there needeth no more but to ſhew it, or to take it away. There is no proper ſubſtance or body in the cloude; it is but a fiction and reſemblance without the thing. Wilt thou know that it is thus? the Raine-bow will vaniſh if thou hide the Sunne. I tell thee if thou oppoſe another cloud vnto the Sunne, the varietie of the Raine-bow will vaniſh; yet is the Sunne ſomewhat greater then the Arch. I haue already anſwered, that there are ſome mirrors which multiplie the whole body which is preſented vnto them: whereunto I adde that all things ſeeme more great, if they be beheld thorow the water. Letters, although they be but ſmall and obſcure, appeare more greater and clearer,

Why it appeareth greater then the Sunne.

Of the colour.

A proofe that the compariſon betweene the Rainbow and the Mirror is proper.

when they are read thorow a Violl filled with water. Apples seeme more fairer then they bee, if they swimme in a glasse. Behold the Starres thorow a cloud, and thou wilt iudge them more great, because our eye slippeth in the humiditie, and cannot faithfully apprehend that which it would. This appeareth cleerely, if thou fillest a glasse with water, and castest into it some ring; for although the ring remaineth in the bottome, yet the resemblance thereof appeareth in the top of the water. All that which a man seeth thorow the water, is farre greater then the thing it selfe. What wonder is it then, if in a moist cloud the image of the sunne appeareth more greater then naturall? When as this hapneth vpon two causes: because in the cloud there is somewhat that is like vnto glasse, which can shine: there is somewhat likewise of water, which although not formed, yet the nature thereof appeareth; and finally, of a cloud we see that there commeth raine.

Examples shewing how the Rainebow seemeth more greater then the Sunne.

CHAP. VII.

BEcause (sayest thou) thou hast made mention of a glasse, euen from the same will I produce an argument against thy selfe. Men are accustomed to make certaine rods of glasse very narrow, wherein there are diuers angles, and knots or points. If these bee shewed athwart the Sunne, they present the same colours of the Raine-bow, so that thou seest that in it there is not the image of the Sunne, but an imitation of his colour by reuerberation. In this thine argument there are many things that make for mee. First, this glasse ought to bee thinne, and as it were a mirror to reflect the Sunne. Afterwards it appeareth, that in stead of a right colour, it maketh a representation of a false colour, such as the necke of Pigeons in turning themselues is wont to doe, and changeth diuers colours. The same is in a mirror wherein no man perceiueth any colour, but an appearance of strange colours. This onely remaineth to bee resolued, why a man seeth not the Image and representation of the Sunne in these rods? They are not capable to expresse the same well, the matter is polished and disposed thereunto, by meanes whereof they inforce themselues to represent the Sunne; but it is impossible, because both their forme and fashion repugneth the same. If they were made and fashioned with conuenient proportion, they would present as many Sunnes, as many insectures as they had: but because their diuisions are confused, they haue not so great brightnesse as a mirror, they onely begin to make representations of the Sunne, and finish them not; and for that they are neere, they confound all these representations and images together, whence the appearance of one colour proceedeth.

Of the triangles of glasse that represent the colours in the Rainebow, and the difference betwixt them and it.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Why the Arch is but halfe a circle.

BVt why doth not the Raine-bow, in ſtead of this great and halfe circle it maketh, become wholly round? Some thinke thus, that the Sunne being farre more higher then the clouds, beateth not, but vpon the vpper part, whence it followeth that the inferiour is not attainted with light. Entertaining the Sunne therefore but in one part, they likewiſe repreſent but a part of the Sunne, and this part is neuer more great then the halfe. This reaſon hath no great weight. Why? Becauſe that although the Sunne inclineth towards the higher part, yet beateth he vpon the whole cloud. He hath coloured it then: why not? ſince it is his cuſtome to dart his beames, and to penetrate thorow euery thickneſſe. Moreouer, they contradict their owne intent; for if the Sunne be aboue, and for this cauſe reflecteth onely on the higher part of the clouds, neuer will the Arch deſcend vnto the earth; but we ſee that it extendeth it ſelfe euen vnto the ground. Furthermore, the Arch is alwaies oppoſite againſt the Sunne, neither appertaineth it any thing to the matter, whether it bee aboue or beneath the ſame, becauſe that euery place that is oppoſite againſt the Sunne, cannot but bee beaten with the beames thereof. Againe, ſometimes a weſterly Sunne cauſeth a Raine-bow, when as he reflecteth vpon the clouds beneath; & is neereſt to the earth, which at that time hath but his halfe circle, although the clouds receiue the Sunne, when he tendeth to his declination. The Stoickes that would haue the light appeare in the cloud, as a fire doth in the mirror, ſay, that the cloud is hollow, and as it were a halfe bowle, which cannot make an entire globe, becauſe it is onely a part thereof. I approue their intention, but not their argument. For if in the cauitie of a mirror, all the face of the oppoſite orbe is expreſſed, then in an halfe orbe there is no cauſe why the whole globe may not be beheld; and if we haue ſaid heretofore that a man ſeeth entire circles of the ſame colours as the Raine-bow, inuironing the Sunne and the Moone: whence commeth it in the meane ſpace, that theſe circles are intirely whole, and the Raine-bow is neuer but halfe a circle? Againe, why doe hollow clouds, and ſuch as are not flat and round, receiue and entertaine the Sunne? *Ariſtotle* ſaith, That after the Æquinoctiall in autumne the Raine-bow is made euery houre of the day, but that in Summer it is neuer ſeene, but vpon ſun-riſe, or ſun-ſet. The cauſe is euident. Firſt, becauſe about noonſtead the ſun is ſo ſtrong that he diſperſeth the clouds, by meanes whereof he cannot impreſſe his image in them. But in the morning and euening he hath leaſt force, and therefore the clouds may ſuſtaine and repulſe him. Moreouer, whereas he is not accuſtomed to forme the Arch, except at ſuch time as he is oppoſite to thoſe clouds where he cauſeth the ſame; when the dayes are ſhorter, then is he alwaies oblique. Therefore in euery part of the day, yea, euen at mid-day there are certaine clouds, that hee may oppoſitely beate vpon. But in Summer time hee is carried aboue our heads, by meanes whereof, at nooneday hee beholdeth the earth ſo directly, that there is not any cloud that can bee oppoſed againſt him; for at that time they are all vnder him.

CHAP. IX.

Of rods that are imperfect Arches.

NOw muſt I ſpeake of rods or wind-gales, which are no leſſe coloured and diuers then the Raine-bow, which notwithſtanding ceaſe not to foretell raine. Wee neede not ſtand long vpon this matter, for ſuch rods or windegales are no other thing, but vnperfect Raine-bowes. For theſe haue a diſcoloured face, yet haue they nothing crooked in them. For they appeare for the moſt part neere vnto the Sunn in a moiſt cloud that beginneth but to ſpread, ſo that they haue the ſame colour that the Raine-bow hath, but not the forme, becauſe the forme of the clouds, when they extend themſelues, is different alſo.

CHAP. X.

SVch like varietie is in Crownes, but in this they differ, becauſe Crownes are made euery where whereſoeuer the Sunne is; the Rainebow is not made, but in oppoſition againſt the Sunne, the rods but neere vnto the Sunne. I can likewiſe this way deliuer a difference of all; if thou diuideſt a Crowne, it is a Raine-bow, if thou ſtraighten it, it is a rod. In all of them there is a multiplicitie of colours, of blew, red and yellow. Only the rods are neereſt to the Sun, the Raine-bowes all of them are either ſolare, or lunare, Crownes are made about al the planets.

CHAP. XI.

Of Parelici.

THere appeareth likewiſe another ſort of rods, when as ſmall, ſcattered, and long beames addreſſe themſelues together, and ſtreme from out ſome ſtraits of the clouds. Theſe are fore-tokens of vehement raines. But what ſhall I ſay heere? What name ſhall I giue vnto theſe rods? Are they the Images of the Sunne? The Hiſtorians call them Sunnes, and write that two of them appeared, and ſometimes three: the Grecians call them Parelia, becauſe they are ordinarily ſeene neere vnto the Sunne, or becauſe they reſemble the Sunne ſomewhat, for they imitate not the whole, but his image and figure. Otherwiſe they haue no heate or vigor whatſoeuer, they are dull and imperfect. What name then ſhall wee giue them? Shall I doe as *Virgil* did, who in the beginning doubted of the name, and afterwards gaue that whereof he doubted:

What ſhall I call thee Rhetica diuine,
Contend not therefore with Falernian wine?

There is nothing that can hinder vs from calling them by the name of Parelia. Theſe are images of the Sunne in a thicke and neighboring cloud, in the forme of a mirror. Some ſay that they are round clouds, ſhining, and like vnto the Sunne. For they follow him, remaining alwaies with him, as long as they dure in equall diſtance from him: no man is afraid to behold the image of the Sunne in any fountaine or ſtill water, but the face hereof may appeare as well aboue as beneath, prouided that he find proper matter to repreſent the face.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the eclipſes of the Sunne, and how they are diſcouered.

IF at any time we would diſcouer whether there were an eclipſe of the Sunne or no: wee fill certaine baſons with oyle or pitch, becauſe a thicke humour is not troubled ſo eaſily, and therefore retaineth the images that are offered vnto it. But the images and repreſentations cannot appeare, except it bee in that which is liquid and ſtill. At that time are we wont to marke, how the Moone oppoſed her ſelfe againſt the Sunne, how ſhe hideth him, being greater then her ſelfe, by the oppoſition of her bodie, now in part, if it happen that their encountrie be but oblique; ſometimes ſhe obſcureth him, being right vnder him. This is called an intire defection and eclipſe, during which we ſee the Starres, and the brightneſſe of the day is loſt, that is to ſay, at ſuch time as the Sunne hath the Moone right vnder him. Euen as therefore vpon the earth wee may behold the image of them both; ſo may a man ſee them in the aire, when as it is ſo ſtill and faire, as the face of the Sunne is imprinted therein, which other clouds receiue likewiſe but let ſlip, if either they are too mooueable, or too rare, or too ſullen. For the mooueable ſcatter him, the rare and cleere let him ſlip, the thicke and darkeſome feele him not, no more then on the earth ſpotted mirrors repreſent a perfect forme vnto vs.

CHAP. XIII.

Of double Parelies.

IN the ſame manner likewiſe two Parelies are wont to bee made. For what letteth it, but that there may bee as many as there are clouds that are fit to repreſent the image of the Sunne? Some are of that opinion, that as often as they ſee two ſuch repreſentations, that they iudge the one to be of the Sunne, the other of the image it ſelfe. For amongſt vs likewiſe, when as diuers mirrors are diſpoſed ſo, that the one is in the ſight of the other, all of them are filled, but yet there is but one image of the thing; the other are the reſemblances of that image. For it is no matter what the thing is, which is ſhewed in a mirror, becauſe it repreſenteth all that which is ſet before it. So there likewiſe in the aire, if any caſualtie diſpoſe the clouds, ſo as they behold one another: the one cloud will repreſent the Sunne it ſelfe, and the other repreſent the image of the Sunne. But ſuch clouds as theſe ought to be thicke, light, ſhining, and entirely of the nature of the Sunne; and therefore all theſe repreſentations are white, and reſemble the Creſcent of the Moone, becauſe their brightneſſe proceedeth from an oblique reuerberation of the ſunne. For if the cloud be beneath the Sunne and neerer vnto him, ſhe is diſſipated by him, and being ſet farre off, of him, ſhe cannot ſufficiently entertaine his beames, to make ſhew of an impreſſion, as mirrors repreſent not our faces which are farre off from them, becauſe the ſight of our eye hath not recourſe vnto vs backe againe. Furthermore, the Parelies or Sunnes betoken raine (for I will vſe the Hiſtoriographers name) eſpecially if they ſhew towards the Southward, where the clouds are eſpecially gathered: when ſuch impreſſions as theſe begirt the Sunne on euery ſide, if we beleeue *Aratus*, it betokeneth a Tempeſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of other diuers sorts of fiery Meteors.

IT is time now to consider those other fires, which haue diuers appearances; sometimes there shineth a starre, sometimes the heauen is as it were inflamed, sometimes there are fixed and inherent fires, sometimes they stay not in one place. There are many kinds of these seene; sometimes there are fires that outwardly are begirt with a crowne, and inwardly flame. Sometimes the heauens gather together, in such sort as if they seemed to be some round digged trench. There are some that are called *Pithyæ*, when as the greatnesse of a grosse and round fire, like vnto a tunne runneth in the heauens, or else burneth it selfe to nothing in one place. Furthermore there are * *Chasmata*, when as sometimes a space of the heauens openeth it selfe, and gaping wide seemeth as it were in the secret thereof to shew a burning flame: and all these Meteors are of different colours, some of intended rednesse, some of a slighter and fainter flame, some of a clearer and whiter light, some sparkling, and some equally yellow, without irruptions or radiations: we see therefore

* Chasma is when much vapour is inflamed in a watry cloud or one that is very thin.

The longest tract of Starres grow white behind.

These shoote and flie like starres, and seeme to shoote out long traines of fire, by reason of their immeasurable swiftnesse, when as our eyes cannot discerne their passing by, but whersoeuer they ranne, beleeued that all that part was on fire. For such is the swiftnesse of their motion, that wee cannot apprehend their distances, but onely see their ends. Wee see better the place where the bodie of a fiery starre presenteth it selfe, then the way that it holdeth. He therefore designeth all his course, as it were with a continuall fire, because the slownesse of our sight followeth not the moments of his race, but seeth at once both from what place it issued, and whither it attaineth: which falleth out in lightning; for the fire thereof seemeth long vnto vs, because he ouerslippeth his space in the twinkling of an eye, and all that circuit encountreth with our eyes, whereby it is discharged; yet is it not an extended bodie, that it may occupie all the space of the way whereby it commeth: for things so long and extenuated haue no force to giue a violent assault. How therefore doe these fires issue? When the fire is enkindled by the collision of the ayre, it is violently pushed downeward by the winde; and yet is it not alwaies caused by winde or by collision. Sometimes it is bred by reason of some opportunitie of the ayre; because that in this higher region there are diuers things that are drie, hot, and terrestriall amongst which it is bred, and the matter that feedeth it faileth very suddenly, and therefore is it violently carried and vanished away. But why is it that his colour is diuers? what importeth it, what that is which is enkindled, and how vehement it is, whereby it is set on fire? But this fall of this fire signifieth winde, from that part from whence it breaketh forth.

Whence this lightning and darting of them proceedeth.

Their signification.

CHAP. XV.

THou askeſt mee likewiſe, how thoſe lightnings are engendred, which the Græcians call *Sela?* In diuers ſorts, as it is reported. It may be that the force of the wind breedeth them, or the heate of the higheſt Heauen may produce them: for when as the elementarie fire is ſpred euerywhere, ſometimes it embraceth inferiour things if they be diſpoſed to take fire. The motion of the Starres may by his courſe enkindle this fire, and tranſmit it to inferiour bodies. What then? Can it not be that the ayre repulſeth that vertue which it hath from fire, as far as the æthereall Region, whence afterward there followeth a lightning or enkindling of a Starre, or ſome ſuch like darting fire? Of theſe lightnings, ſome fall directly downewards, reſembling ſhooting ſtars; ſome remayne in a certaine place, and ſhoot forth ſo much light as may diſperſe darkneſſe, and repreſent the day, vntil ſuch time as hauing conſumed their nutriture, they firſt of all become obſcure, and afterwards after the manner of a flame that is extinguiſhed in it ſelfe by continuall diminution, they are reduced to nothing. Of theſe ſome appeare in the clouds, ſome aboue the clouds, when as the thicke ayre hath drawne that fire as high as the ſtars, which it had long time nouriſhed and entertayned neare vnto the earth. Some of theſe ſuffer no delay, but runne here and there, and are extinguiſhed in that place where they firſt appeared. Theſe are truely called lightnings, becauſe their appearance is ſhort and of ſmall continuance. Neither fall they without ſome miſchiefe; for oftentimes they doe as much miſchiefe as tempeſtuous fire-breaks. By theſe haue wee ſeene the tops of houſes ſtrooken, which the Græcians call *Aſtropoplecta*. But theſe continued lightnings which haue their fire more ſtrong, and which follow the motion of the Heauen, or that haue a particular tract, are called Comets, according to the opinion of the Stoicks whereof I am to intreate. There are diuers ſorts of theſe; ſome bearded, ſome like torches or lamps, ſome are called *Cypariſſiæ*, and others whoſe fire is ſcattered and long in their breaking forth. Some doubt, whether they ought to put in the ranke of theſe Comets thoſe beames and tonns of fire that are ſeldome ſeene. For they haue need of much matter, and conglobation of fire, conſidering that ſometimes their body is ſo great that it ſurpaſſeth the thickneſſe and roundneſſe of the riſing Sunne. Amongſt them thou mayeſt place theſe fires which are oftentimes mentioned in Hiſtories, & whereof ſomtimes the brightneſſe is ſo high that ſuch fiery bodies ſeeme to be placed amongſt the Starres, otherwhiles it is ſo low that it ſeemeth to be the burning of ſome houſes, that are farre from the place where we are. In the time of the Emperour *Tiberius*, the Horſe-men galloped to ſuccour the Inhabitants of *Oſtia*, ſuppoſing that their City was ſet on fire; but it was a heate of the Heauens, and a brightneſſe of fire, thicke and ſoggy, which had ſhined for a great part of the night. Of theſe no man doubteth, but that they haue a flame which they ſhew, and their ſubſtance is certayne. The queſtion is of the former, I meane of the Rainebow and Crowne, whether they deceiue the ſight and are but counterfait, or whether they haue truly that in them which appeareth. Our opinion is, that neither the Raine-bow or Crownes haue any certayne body. For we eſteeme that there is not any thing but fallacious in mirrors, which doe but repreſent a body ſubſiſting without them; otherwiſe it would remaine therein, and could not be hidden or defaced by any other Image, neither ſhould a man in one inſtant ſee ſo many infi-

How lightnings are made.

Continued lightnings or Comets, and their diuers ſorts.

whether the Raine-bow and Crownes be but appearances.

infinite formes both appeare and vaniſh in one and the ſame mirrour. What is it then? They are Images and vaine repreſentations of true bodies, nay, which is more, there are ſome artificiall mirrors found, which may make ſome things appeare farre contrarie to that they are; for, as I ſaid, there are ſome mirrors that make their faces ſeeme crooked that looke into the ſame, and ſome there are that make their ſhew infinitely more huge, and exceeding humane habite, and the meaſure of our bodies.

CHAP. XVI.

A Monſter of intemperancy: a ſhame of Rome the villainous Hoſtius.

IN this place I will tell thee a ſtorie, to the end thou mayeſt vnderſtand that Luſt forgetteth not any inſtrument to prouoke his deſire, but is diligent and ingenious to excite his owne fury. There was a man called *Hoſtius* ſo vncleanly and villainous, that he was not aſhamed to make ſhew of his ſcurrilitie and filthineſſe in the publique Theater. This rich and couetous wretch was owner of two millions and fiue hundreth thouſand crownes; yet *Diuus Cæſar* after that his ſlaues had murthered him, iudged that hee was vnworthy that any man ſhould reuenge his death, & yet notwithſtanding would he not declare that he was iuſtly ſlaine. He was not only impure in reſpect of one ſex, but he ſurfetted in his luſt both towards men & women, and made certain mirrors of that faſhion, whereof I late made mention, that ſhewed the images of men far greater then they were, wherein one finger exceeded the arme in meaſure, length, and thickneſſe. Theſe did he diſpoſe in ſuch ſort that when he endured the company of men, he ſaw in the mirrour all the execrable motions of him he had admitted, enioying by this meanes a falſe greatneſſe of their members, as if it had beene true. In all bathes he made his choyſe, and choſe him men by the open meaſure of their length, yet notwithſtanding delighted he his inſatiable luſts with fained appearances alſo. Goe now and ſay, that looking-glaſſes were inuented for cleanneſſe ſake. It is ſhamefull to be ſpoken, what this Monſter (worthy to be torne with his owne teeth) both ſpake and did; when as on euery ſide mirrors were oppoſed againſt him, to the end he might bee a beholder of his owne haynous villainies. And thoſe things which a ſecret conſcience would ſuppreſſe, and ſuch as any one being accuſed thereof, would be aſhamed to confeſſe: theſe thruſt he not onely into his mouth, but into his eyes. But vndoubtedly, haynous ſinnes are afraid to behold themſelues. The moſt deſperateſt villaines, and they that are diſpoſed to all diſhonour, feele that the tenderneſſe of ſhame eaſily ſeizeth their eyes. But this man, as it were a trifle to ſuffer things vnheard of, and vnknowne in his owne perſon, hath made them come before his ſight, and was not onely contented to ſee the greatneſſe of his ſinne, but thought good to plant about himſelfe his mirrors, whereby he diuided, and diſpoſed his villainies. And becauſe he could not ſo diligently obſerue and ſee, at ſuch time as he was ſeized vpon, and his head hidden, and his body tyed to the ſhamefull part of ſome villaynous Buggerer, hee repreſented his monſtrous action to himſelfe by reſemblances: he ſaw in his mirrors the ſurquedrie of his mouth, he beheld the men whom he receiued vpon all the parts of his body. Sometimes diuiding himſelfe betwixt a man and a woman, and abandoning his perſon to ſuffer both wayes, he beheld thoſe villainies which a man durſt not either imagine or name. What hath this impure catife left himſelfe to doe in the darkeneſſe? Hee feared not the

Modeſt eyes bluſh, and chriſtian eares abhor theſe relations: ſhameleſſe; reade them with ſhame, for ſuch like actions, O can there bee ſuch that breede confuſion for euer?

the day, and durſt ſhew himſelfe thoſe monſtrous embracements, and approue them vnto himſelfe. What? doeſt thou thinke that he would not be painted in that habit? There is ſome modeſtie in thoſe that are proſtitute and harlots, and they couer in ſome ſort thoſe bodies of theirs, which are the obiects of publike diſgrace, whereby their vnhappy patience may lie hidden, ſo that in ſome ſort the very Brothel-houſe hath modeſtie in it. But that Monſter made a publike ſpectacle of his vncleanneſſe, and ſhewed thoſe things to himſelfe, to couer and hide which no night were darke enough. I, ſaith hee, endure both a man and a woman at once, and notwithſtanding in that part alſo which is left mee to ſome diſgrace, I exerciſe the part of a man. All my members are exerciſed in pallardiſe; it is therefore requiſite that mine eyes ſhould haue their part, and that they ſhould be witneſſes and controllers. Euen thoſe things which by ſcituation are hidden from the ſight of our bodies, are viſited by art, leſt any man ſhould thinke that I know not what I doe: Nature did nothing when ſhee gaue a man ſo feeble inſtruments to execute his luſts, and when ſhee hath learned bruit beaſts a more perfect contentment in their encountries. I will find a meanes how I may deceiue and ſatisfie my infirmitie; whereto ſhould my iniquitie ſerue me, if I ſhould not ſinne more then Nature hath taught me? I will ſet theſe kind of mirrors about mee, that may preſent an incredible greatneſſe of formes. If I might haue libertie I would make them truely as great, and becauſe I may not, I will feed my ſelfe with the ſimilitude; my villanie ſhall ſee more then it can conceiue, and ſhall admire at his owne patience. O deteſtable wickedneſſe! This man perchance was killed quickly, and before he ſaw theſe things. He deſerued to be maſſacred before his mirror.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the vſe of mirrors vpon the occaſion of the former compariſon.

LEt thoſe Philoſophers therefore bee now derided who diſpute thus of the nature of mirrors, enquiring whence it commeth that our face ſheweth thus, and turneth towards vs. What pretended the Nature of things, that after ſhee had giuen vs true bodies, ſhee would likewiſe that a man ſhould ſee theſe images? To what end was it to prepare this matter that was fit to entertayne formes? It was not to the end wee ſhould plucke our beards by a looking glaſſe, or to poliſh a mans face; Nature hath not allowed Diſſolution any thing to exerciſe her folly in: but firſt o'all, becauſe our eyes are too feeble to behold the Sunne at hand, to the end that they might comprehend the forme of the ſame, ſhe diſcouereth it in a more duller light. For although we may behold him both at his riſing and his ſetting, yet ſhould we not know his true forme in his reſplendent brightneſſe, if his face were not ſhewed vs more eaſily to be obſerued in ſome pure & poliſhed thing. Secondly, we ſhould not ſee the eclipſes, neither might we know what it is, if we did not more eaſily vpon the earth perceiue the images both of Sun & Moone. Thirdly, mirrors haue beene inuented to the end that a man might know himſelfe. Of this inuention haue followed diuers benefits; firſt, the knowledge of our ſelues; afterwards, the reſolution of ſome occurrents. The faire ought to learne herein how to auoid infamie: the foule, to redeeme by their vertuous behauiour, the imperfection of their countenance: The young, to remember themſelues, that being in their flowring years, that it is time for them to learne, and attempts actions of value. The old, to ſhake off all miſſe-beſeeming actions that

that are vnfitting for their white haires, and to meditate on death. For this cauſe nature miniſtred vs the meanes to ſee ourſelues. A cleere Fountaine, and euery poliſhed ſtone repreſenteth euery mans face.

Late did I ſee my ſelfe from the ſhore,
When ſeas were calm'd, and tempeſts ſtir'd no more.

What were theſe fellowes, thinkeſt thou, that combed themſelues by this glaſſe? That age was more ſimple, the men contented themſelues with that which next came to hand; as yet the benefits of Nature were not wrefted vnto vice, neither was her inuention imployed and raviſhed to ſatisfie diſſolution and exceſſe. At the firſt, as caſualtie offered the oportunitie, ſo men diſcouered their faces: but afterwards, when as ſelfe-loue had inſinuated it ſelfe amongſt mortall men, and made euery man beleeue that he was faire and well pleaſing, they oftentimes deſpiſed thoſe things, wherein at the firſt they ſaw and beheld themſelues. But when the world became euill, and men began to puzzle themſelues in the earth, the vſe of Iron was firſt found out, which had not brought with it any incommoditie, had men contented themſelues therewith. But other miſchiefes began to burgen out of the earth, which by their luſtre began to appeare, and pleaſe thoſe which otherwiſe thought not thereupon, ſo that the one conceiued a delight in beholding a goblet, another an inſtrument made of braſſe, and fit for ſeruice, and not to be beheld. Anon after ſome part of the earth was ordained to this ſeruice, although in other reſpects: ſiluer ſhined not as yet, but ſome other matter more brittle and of leſſe value. At that time alſo when as theſe old fathers liued temperately, yet cleanely enough, if they had waſhed away the ſweate and duſt which they had gathered by their daily trauell, in the fleeting ſtreame; it was inough for them to ſtroake downe their haire, and to combe their long beards, and in this time euery one ſerued himſelfe, and aſſiſted others. That haire which in times paſt was vſually wont to be ſcattered by mens hands, was dreſſed and handled by women; but they that had a faire haire, contented themſelues with the naturall growth thereof, as we ſee Horſes and Lyons doe. But afterwards, when as diſſolution had gotten the better hand of the world, men made mirrors of gold and ſiluer, as great as the bodie, and afterwards garniſhed them with precious ſtones, in ſo much as one of them coſt a woman more ſiluer, then in times paſt would haue ſufficed to endow the daughters of great Captaines, that were married vpon the common purſe. Thinkeſt thou that thoſe mens daughters had a mirror enchaſed with gold, whereas they were inforced to borrow ſiluer to marrie them? O happie pouertie, the cauſe of ſo worthie a renowne. Had they beene rich, the Senate had not allotted them their dowrie. But whoſoeuer he was that had the Senat for his father in law, vnderſtood that he had receiued a dower, which it was not lawfull to reſtore. At this day the ſumme of money that was furniſhed by the Senate for the daughters of *Scipio*, was not ſufficient to buy a glaſſe for the daughters of enfranchiſed ſlaues. For diſſolution inuited by little and little by her riches, is animated to much immodeſtie: and vices are growne to their full maturitie. In briefe, by ſuch deuices all things haue beene ſo confuſed, that that which we call a womans cabinet, is an equipage of men, nay, I will ſay leſſe, euen ſouldiers baggage. But now the mirror which was onely admitted for ornament ſake, is made a neceſſary inſtrument to whatſoeuer vice.

Whence diſſolution grew.

The end of the firſt Booke of Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The ſecond Booke.

CHAP. I.

A diuiſion of Philoſophy into three parts, according to Seneca.

ALl that which a man may draw in queſtion in reſpect of the Vniuerſe, is diuided into celeſtiall, aeriall, or earthly things. The firſt part examineth the nature of the ſtars & the greatneſſe and forme of thoſe fires, wherein the World is included: whether the heauen be ſolid and of a firme and concreate matter, or compact of a ſubtill and thin ſubſtance: whether it driueth or is driuen: whether the ſtars are vnder it, or fixed in the contexture thereof: how the Sunne obſerueth the annuall changes; or whether he obſerueth an oblique courſe, and other ſuch like queſtions. The ſecond part intreateth of the impreſſions of the ayre, and ſuch as conuerſe betwixt heauen and earth. Of this ſort are miſts, raines, ſnowes, and thunders that aſtoniſh mens mindes. In briefe, whatſoeuer the aire doth or ſuffereth; theſe call we ſublime, becauſe they are higher then the loweſt. The third part ſufficiently debateth vpon fields, lands, trees and plants, and (to vſe the Lawyers phraſe) all that which the earth containeth. Whence commeth it to paſſe (ſayeſt thou) that thou haſt put the queſtion of the motion of the earth in that place, wherein thou art to diſcourſe vpon thunder and lightning? Becauſe that the trembling of the earth is cauſed by the violence of the wind, which is but agitated aire, which althogh it plunge it ſelfe vnder the earth, yet ought we not to conſider it there, but in that place where nature hath lodged it. I will tell thee a thing that ſhall be more wonderfull, I muſt intreat of the earth amongſt celeſtiall things. Why (ſayeſt thou?) Becauſe that when we diſcuſſe in this place the properties of the earth, whether

Why he intermixeth the queſtions of the Meteors.

ſhe be broad and vnequall, or immeaſurably extended in length, whether it be compact wholly in the forme of a bowle, or aſſembleth her parts into an Orbe; whether ſhe encloſe the waters, or the waters haue encloſed and couered her; whether ſhe be a ſluggiſh or a ſenſeleſſe creature, or a bodie full of ſpirit, but comming from another place, and ſuch other like things that properly haue a relation or dependance on the earth, and, if a man may ſo ſpeake it, are placed in the ranke of thoſe things that are moſt baſe. But in queſtioning what the ſituation of the earth is, in what part of the world it hath beene ſetled, how it is oppoſed againſt the heauen and the ſtarres, this queſtion exceedeth the precedent, and is more high.

CHAP. II.

Of the Elements or ſimple bodies, whereof one is the aire.

BEcauſe I haue made mention of thoſe parts, into which all the matter of things created is diuided, I muſt ſpeake ſomething in generall, and firſt of all preſuppoſe, that amongſt the bodies that are ſimple, whence proceed thoſe that are compoſed, ſome reckon the aire. Thou ſhalt vnderſtand what this is, and why I muſt ſpeake thereof, if I ayme my diſcourſe more higher, and if I ſay, that there is ſomething continued, and wholly one, and ſome thing contrariwiſe, conſiſting of diuers parts. Continuation is a continuall coniunction of parts amongſt themſelues. Vnitie is a continuation without intermiſſion, and a touch of two bodies vnited in themſelues. Is it to be doubted that amongſt theſe bodies which both we ſee and handle, which are either felt or feele, but that there are ſome compound? Theſe are ſuch by connexion or aceruation, as for example, a rope, corne, or a ſhip. Againe, ſome not compounded, as a tree or a ſtone. Therefore thou muſt needſly grant, that amongſt thoſe things likewiſe which are ſeparated from ſenſe, but are apprehended by reaſon, there is in ſome of them a vnitie of bodies. See how I ſpare thine eares, I could acquite my ſelfe, if I would vſe the Philoſophers termes, and ſay, vnite bodies; but ſince I forgiue thee this, ſee likewiſe that thou giue me thankes. Why ſo? If at any time I ſhall ſay one, remember thy ſelfe that I referre this not vnto number, but vnto the nature of the body, not compoſed by externall helpe, but by his owne vnitie: by this note, Ayre is one of the ſimple bodies.

CHAP. III.

Of the parts, and of the matter of the world.

THe world comprehendeth all thoſe things which can fall within our knowledge; of theſe ſome are parts, ſome are left in ſtead of matter: all nature wanteth matter, euen as euery art that is Manual. What this is, I will make it more plaine. The hands, the bones, the nerues, the eyes are a part of vs; the ſucke of that meat which we retaine, and ſuch as muſt be diſtributed into parts, the matter. Againe, bloud is as it were a part of vs, which notwithſtanding is a matter alſo: for it prepareth other things likewiſe; and notwithſtanding it is of the number of theſe, by whoſe meanes the whole bodie is made.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The aire is a neceſſarie part of the world.

AYre ſo is a part of the World, yea and a neceſſarie part, for this is it that vniteth both heauen and earth, that ſo ſeparateth the loweſt from the higheſt, that notwithſtanding they are ioyned by it. He ſeparateth them, becauſe he is in the middeſt of them; and vniteth them, becauſe both of them by his meanes are agreed together. Al that which is ſent him from the earth, he communicateth with the heauens. Againe, he imparteth to terreſtriall things, the efficacie of celeſtiall bodies, which I ſo call a part of the world, as I do beaſts and plants: for both theſe kindes of beaſts and plants are a part of the world, becauſe they haue been created as things neceſſarie to perfect the whole, and becauſe the whole cannot conſiſt without them, but one liuing creature and one plant is as it were a part; for although it ſhould die, yet that which is cut off, is of the whole: but aire, as I haue ſaid, cleaueth both to heauen and earth, it is borne both with the one and the other; but that hath vnitie, whatſoeuer is a natiue part of any thing, for nothing is borne without vnitie.

CHAP. V.

The earth is a part alſo, and the matter of the world.

SO, the earth is both a part of the world & the matter. I think thou wilt not aske me why it is a part, for as well maieſt thou aske me why the heauen is a part; for no more can the Vniuers be without this, then without that: but it is compoſed of theſe parts, by meanes whereof he maintaineth all their ſtars in their being and vigor, all liuing creatures and all plants. It is the heauen and earth that furniſheth all creatures and the world (that requireth ſo many things) with all their vigor, that maintaine ſo many celeſtiall bodies in their being, turning ſo ſwiftly continually, and ſo greedily both in their motion, and in their nouriſhment. In briefe, by the meanes of heauen and earth, all the nature of things receyueth that which is needfull for it, for his nouriſhment and conſeruation. From them likewiſe hath the world drawne all that which hee needeth, as long as he ſhall endure. I will propoſe vnto thee a little example to make thee comprehend ſo great a thing: Egges containe as much humour as is neceſſarie for the being of that creature which is to be hatched.

CHAP. VI.

Whereof the ayre is compoſed.

A refutation of the error of the Epicure, who compoſeth the ayre of Atomes.

THE ayre is ſo continuate with the earth, and ſo vnited with it, that as ſoone as ſhe departeth from her place, he ſupplyeth it; It is a part of the whole world, and yet the ſame, and receiueth whatſoeuer nutriment the world ſendeth him, in which reſpect we muſt take it for matter and not for a part. Hence is all inconſtancie and tumult; This doe ſome men compoſe of diſtant ſmall bodies, as of duſt, and depart very much from the truth; for neuer is there an accord of a bodie that is framed of parts, but by vnity when as the parts ought to conſent to the intention, and to adde ſtrength thereto. But the Ayre if it be diuided into A-

tomes, that is to say into ſmall parts, is ſcattered. And ſuch things as are ſcattered, may not be maintained. Theſe things that are ſwolne and yeeld not to the ſtroke, will ſhew thee the intention and force of the ayre. Thou ſhalt perceiue it in waighty things, which are caried away by the wind for a great ſpace. Thou ſhalt perceiue it by voices, which are either more feeble or ſtronger, according as the ayre is moued: for what is a voyce, but an intention of the ayre, to the end it may be heard, formed by the repercuſſion of the tongue? What is euery courſe and motion, are they not the workes of agitated ayre? This is it that giueth force to the nerues, and ſwiftneſſe to thoſe that run: This it is that when it is vehemently moued and troubled in it ſelfe, rendeth vp trees and forreſts, and beating vp whole houſes on hie, at laſt breaketh them in pieces. This it is that encreaſeth the Sea when it is calme and ſtill. Let vs come to leſſer matters; for what ſong is there without the intention of the ſpirit? Cornets and Trumpets, and thoſe that by ſome preſſure yeeld a greater ſound then may be deliuered by the voice, doe they not enlarge their ſounds by the intention of the aire? Let vs conſider the great efficacie of ſeedes ſo ſmall, as ſcarſly a man may diſcerne them; if theſe fall into the cleſts of ſtones, yet doe they puſh forth and waxe great in ſuch ſort, that they riue and cleaue huge ſtones in ſunder, and diſſolue them in a moment; and ſmall and tender rootes in their beginning in ſucceſſion of time, skorne and breake both ſtones and rocks: what elſe is this but an intention of ſpirit, without which there is nothing ſtrong, and againſt which nothing may reſiſt? And by this, if by nothing elſe we may conceiue that there is an vnitie in the ayre, becauſe our bodies are vnited in themſelues; for what elſe is it that containeth them but ſpirit? by what other thing is it that our minde is agitated? What is his motion but an intention? What is intention, but out of vnitie? What vnitie except it were in the aire? And what other thing produceth fruits and weake ſeedes, and raiſeth flouriſhing trees, and extendeth their branches, and ſtretcheth them out on high, then the intention and vnitie of the ſpirit?

The force of the ayre expreſſed by effects.

Diuers compariſons to confirm this refutation.

CHAP. VII.

That the ayre is a full body, and not void, neither in whole nor in part.

OThers teare and rend the ayre into ſmall peeces, ſo as they intermixe *voide* with it, and they thinke it to be an argument that the ayre is not a full bodie, but that it containeth much vacuity in it, becauſe birds haue ſo eaſie a motion therein, becauſe both ſmall and great may haue their paſſage thorow it: but they are deceiued; for the like facilitie likewiſe is in the waters, and yet may no man doubt of their vnity, which ſo entertaine bodies, that they alwaies ioyne themſelues to them. This doe the Latines call *Circumſtance*, and the Grecians *Periſtaſis*, which is as well within the ayre, as in the water: For it enuironeth euery body by which it is impelled. There is no need therefore of any *voide* to intermixe therewith. But of this in another place.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the agitation and power of the ayre.

BVt now it is to be gathered that there is a certaine vehemencie in Nature, and that of great force: for nothing is vehement but by intention, and yet vndoubtedly nothing can be intended by any other thing, except it be intended by it ſelfe; for we ſay after the ſame maner, that nothing can be moued by another, except ſomthing were moueable of it ſelfe. But what is it that may be thought to haue more intention of it ſelfe then ſpirit? And who is he that will denie that this is intended, when he ſeeth the earth, the mountains, houſes, and many wals, great Cities with the people, and all the Sea-ſhoares ſhaken? The ſwiftneſſe & great extent of the ayre ſheweth his intention. The eie preſently intendeth his ſight through many miles, one voice at one time reſoundeth through many Cities, the light creepeth not on by little and little, but in an inſtant ſpreadeth it ſelfe ouer all things.

CHAP. IX.

The efficacie of this agitation, and how the aire is mixed amidſt the earth and waters.

HOw can the water be intended except it be by the ayre? Doubteſt thou but that that ouerflow of water that riſeth and increaſeth from the foundation of the loweſt ſands and channell, & mounteth to the verie top of the Amphitheater, is without the intention of water? Truely there is no Crane or any other Engine that may more mount or driue the water then the ſpirit. She applyeth her ſelfe vnto it, ſhe is raiſed, and indeuoureth many things contrary to her nature, and being created to fleet, aſcendeth vpward when the ayre poſſeſſeth or impelleth her. Thoſe barks that are ouer-laden, ſhew they not that it is not the water but the winde that keepeth them from ſinking? For the water would giue place, neyther could it ſuſtaine any burthens, except ſhe her ſelfe were ſuſtained. A Trencher being caſt out from a higher place into an Fiſh-poole deſcendeth not, but leapeth backe; how, I pray you, except it were by the benefit of ſpirit? How doth the voice penetrate thick walls, but for this cauſe, becauſe there is ayre in ſolid & maſſiue things, which both receiueth and ſendeth back the ſound that came from without, not onely intending by the ſpirit thoſe things that are open, but thoſe things likewiſe which are hidden, and included? which he may eaſily doe, becauſe he is no waies diuided, but by thoſe verie meanes whereby he ſeemeth ſeparated, he gathereth vp himſelfe into himſelfe. Plant betwixt him and vs thicke wals, and mightie and high mountaines, this hindereth him from comming to vs, but not vnto himſelfe, for that is onely intercluded whereby we may feele him. He himſelfe paſſeth thorow that which is diuided, and not onely ſpreadeth himſelfe thorow the middeſt, but begirteth it on eeuerie ſide.

CHAP. X.

Of the situation and diuers quarters of the ayre.

THe ayre passeth and spreadeth it selfe from the etherial and cleere region, as farre as the earth, more swift, more subtile, and higher then the earth and waters, yet more thicke and waigh tie then that region, being of himselfe colde and obscure; his light and heate are borrowed from another place, yet in euerie place he is not like himselfe, for he is changed by his neighbours. The higher part thereof is driest, hottest, and for this cause also the most thinnest, by reason of the vicinitie of eternall fires, and those so many motions of starres, and the continual reuolution of the heauens. That lower part, which is neerest vnto the earth, is thicke and obscure, by reason that it entertaineth the exhalations of the earth. The middle part is more temperate if thou compare it with the higher and the lower, as much as concerneth drynesse and tenuitie, but colder then eyther part; for the higher parts thereof feele the heate of the neighbouring starres: the inferiour likewise are warmed, first by the exhalations of the earth, which bring with them very much heate; againe, by reuerberation of the beames of the Sunne, which redoubling their heate, as farre as they may reflect, doe warme him gently: againe, by the warme vapour of liuing creatures, hearbes and plants; for none of all these can liue without heate. Adde hereunto how, not only those fires that are made by hand, & are certaine, but such as are couered by the earth, wherof some haue broken forth innumerable, are alwaies burning in obscure and secret places. We may also well say, that being the cause of fertilitie in so many places, they haue some heate, for colde is barren, and heate is fit for generation. So then the middle Region of the ayre being farre distant from the higher & lower, remaines cold, because the nature of the aire is such.

CHAP. XI.

Why the ayre is moued and inconstant.

SEeing, whereas it is thus diuided, in the lower part thereof, it is for the most part variable, inconstant, and mutable. About the earth it doth very much, it suffereth very much, it agitateth and is agitated, yet all of it is not affected in the same sort, but diuersly in diuers places, and in his parts as both vnquiet and troubled. But the causes of this his inconstancie and change, are in some sort ministred by the earth (whose positions being diuersly changed, are of great moment in respect of the temperature of the ayre) in some sort by the course of the Planets; amongst which thou maiest impute the most to the Sunne. The yeare followeth him, according to his motions, the Winters and Summers are changed. The Moone hath the next power. The rest of the starres likewise no lesse affect the earth then that aire which hath inconstancie vpon the earth, & by their contrary and crooked risings and settings now moue colde, now showers, and are the causes of other iniuries of the earth. Hauing to speake of thunder, lightning, and fulgurations, it concerned me to make this Preface; for since such impressions are caused in the aire, it was necessary for me to discouer the nature thereof, to the end it might more easily appeare, what it might eyther doe or suffer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the ordinarie accidents in the Aire, that is, fulgurations, lightnings and thunder.

THere are three things therefore that happen, fulgurations, lightning, and thunder, which are made together, and are not ſo ſoone heard the one as the other. Fulgurations ſhew the fire that lightning ſendeth: the one is, if I may ſo ſpeak it, as it were a threatning and a thunder without noiſe. The other is the effect and ſtroke of the threat. There are ſome of theſe wherin all men conſent, ſome wherein mens opinions are different. They accord in this, that all theſe are made either in the Clouds or of the Clouds. They likewiſe confeſſe that they are of fire, or of a hot and drye exhalation. Let vs now deſcend to thoſe things that are in controuerſie. Some thinke that fire is in the Clouds, ſome hold that it is made for a time, and that it beginneth not to be, except then when it appeareth. Thoſe that are of this opinion, are not agreed as touching this, from whence this fire proceedeth. For ſome gather it from the light: other ſome ſay that the beames of the Sunne, by force of their reuerberation and frequent reflection, enkindle the fire. *Anaxagoras* maintayneth that it diſtilleth from the Etheriall Region, and that from this ſo great heate of the Heauens many of theſe do fall, which were long time kept and encloſed in the Clouds. *Ariſtotle* thinketh that this fire is not gathered long time before, but that it ſhooteth out at that verie inſtant that it is formed: whoſe opinion is thus. Two parts of the World, Earth and Water, lye below, and euery one of theſe contributeth to himſelfe ſome thing. The earthly vapour is drye and reſembleth ſmoke, whence ariſe the Winds, the Thunders, and Lightnings. That of the Waters is moyſt, and conuerteth it ſelfe into Raines and Snowes. But when this dry exhalation of the Earth that produceth the Winds, being thicke, commeth to ioyne it ſelfe with the Clouds, that are vehemently cloſed and locked one within another, it breaketh it ſelfe. And in this conflict the ſtroke yeeldeth a noiſe, ſuch as we heare in our Ouens, when the flame cracketh, if the fire be made of greene wood. And as the Wind hauing ſome moyſture intermixed with him, when as it is aſſembled and ſhut in one, burſteth out into a flame: in the ſame manner, that ſpirit which, as I ſaid a little before, was expreſſed by the colliſion of Clouds, and being impacted with others, neither can be broken nor preſſe forth in ſilence. And different the cracke is, by reaſon of the different daſhing together of the Clouds, whereof ſome yeeld a greater ſound, ſome a leſſer. But that force of the expreſſed ſpirit is fire, which hath the name of flaſhing or fulguration enkindled eaſily, without any force, and various; yet ſee we the fulguration before we heare the ſound. Becauſe the ſenſe of the eyè is more ſwifter, and exceedeth the eare by farre.

Diuers opinions as touching the nature of them.

The ſumme of Ariſtotles opinion. Lib. de Cœlo. cap. 3.

CHAP. XIII.

Whether there be fire reſerued in the Clouds, or whether it falleth from on high.

BVt that their opinion is falſe, that containe the fire in Cloudes, may bee gathered by diuers reaſons. If it falleth from the Heauens, why falleth it not daily, whereas ſo much thereof burneth continually there? Againe, they haue yeelded no reaſon why the fire which naturally mounteth vpward, ſhould flow downewards. For the condition of our fire is otherwiſe, whoſe ſparkles which haue ſome

ſome weight doe fall. So then the fire deſcendeth not, but is precipitated and drawne downwards. No ſuch matter befalleth the Elementary fire, which is moſt pure, and wherein there is nothing that may be depreſſed, or if any part thereof ſhould fall, the whole is in danger, beçauſe that that which is comprehenſible may wholly periſh. Moreouer, if that whoſe leuitie daily hindereth him from falling, hold any thing that is weighty ſecretly hidden in himſelfe, how can he ſubſiſt in a place, whence of neceſſitie he ought to fall? What then? Are not ſome fires wont to bee carryed into the inferiour parts, as theſe verie lightnings the which are now in queſtion? For they goe not, but they are carried by Fate. There is ſome power that depreſſeth them, which is not in the Etheriall Region. For nothing in this Region is compelled by force, nothing is broken, nothing falleth out extraordinarily. All is gouerned, there is a repured fire that enuironeth the World, lodged in the higheſt extremities of this round Machine, the which doth all that fittingly, which is requiſite for the entertainment of himſelfe: it cannot moue from thence, neither be abaſed by any other forren accident, becauſe in the Etheriall Region there is no place for any incertaine body. For thoſe things that are certain and gouerned ſtriue not.

CHAP. XIV.

If the Aire draw fire from the Etheriall Region, or if it be enflamed.

YOu ſay (I tell you) when as you yeeld a reaſon why certaine Stars flee from one place vnto another, that ſome parts of the Aire may draw vnto themſelues the fire that falleth from the Etheriall Region, and that by it they are enflamed aboue. But there is a great difference in this, whether we ſay that fire falleth from the Etheriall Region (which Nature permitteth not) or that by reaſon of the fiery force it enkindleth thoſe things that are beneath, or that it is enkindled heere. For the fire falleth not from thence (for that cannot be) but is bred heere. Wee ſee amongſt our ſelues, that when as fire ſcattereth it ſelfe abroad, that ſome Ilands that haue beene long times hot, conceiue flame, and take fire of themſelues. It is therefore likely to be true, that in the higher Region of the Aire, (the which hath this propertie to draw fire vnto it ſelfe:) that fire is enkindled ſometimes by the heate of the Etheriall Region, which couereth and embraceth it on euery ſide. For it muſt needs be, that both the lower part of the Etheriall Region hath ſomewhat in it that reſembleth the Aire, and that the higheſt Aire be not vnlike to the lower part of the Etheriall Region, becauſe that one thing cannot readily paſſe or ioyne it ſelfe with that which is directly contrary thereunto. For theſe by their Neighbourhood by little and little intermixe their force in ſuch ſort, that thou mayeſt doubt whether of them both it is.

CHAP. XV.

The opinions of the Stoicks, as touching the inflammations of the Aire, and the agitation of it ſelfe.

SOme of our Stoicks thinke that the Ayre (when as it is eaſily changed into fire and water) draweth not from other parts, new cauſes of inflammations, but that in agitating himſelfe, hee enkindleth himſelfe, and that then when he ſcattereth the thick and compact concauitie of the Cloudes, that neceſſarily in the entershocke of thoſe ſo vaſte bodies, there ſhould be formed a great noiſe. But this con-

conflict of Clouds (which hardly giue place the one vnto the other) is of no ſmall force to enkindle a flame, euen as in ſome ſort the Iron aſſiſteth the Iron to cut, although that cutting be a thing proper vnto Iron.

CHAP. XVI.

WHat difference then is there betweene fulguration and lightning? I will tell thee: Fulguration is a fire that is ſpread at large. Lightning is a fire that is gathered and darted with violence. Wee are wont in ioyning both our hands together to take vp water, and afterwards in ſhutting to force it out, as it were, out of a Pipe. Suppoſe ſuch like things to bee done there. The ſtreightneſſe of thoſe Cloudes that are compreſſed & ſhut together, yeeld forth the wind that is ſhut in them, and by this meanes are they inflamed, and then vomit out fire as it were the ſtroke of ſome Engine of Warre. For wee ſee Arbeleſtres and Scorpions puſh forth their Arrowes with ſome noiſe.

The difference betweene fulguration and lightning.

CHAP. XVII.

SOme thinke that the ſpirit paſſing through cold and moiſt maketh this noiſe. As the glowing Iron hiſſeth when it is thruſt into the water. But euen as if a burning red hot peece thereof be put into water, it is not extinguiſhed without much hiſſing: So (as *Anaximenes* ſaith,) when as the wind encountreth with the Cloudes he cauſeth thunders; and whileſt it ſtriueth and wandreth through the reſiſting and open Clouds, in his very flight he enkindleth fire.

How thunders are cauſed after Anaximenes *opinion.*

CHAP. XVIII.

ANAXIMANDER referred all things to winde. Thunders, ſaith he, are the noyſe of a Cloud that is ſtrooken: Why are they vnequal? Becauſe the ſhock it ſelfe is vnequall. Whence commeth it that it thundereth in faire weather? Becauſe at that time alſo the winde breaketh through the thicke and dry Ayre. But why ſometimes doth it not lighten and thunder? becauſe the winde that was ouer-feeble to make fire, was ſtrong enough to make a noyſe: What then is fulguration? It is an agitation of the Ayre, that ſeparating it ſelfe and falling out of the Clouds, diſcouereth a fire that is feebie and retayned. What is lightning? It is the courſe and out-breaking of a winde more violent and thicke.

The opinion of Anaximander *hereupon.*

And as touching thundering and lightning.

CHAP. XIX.

THe opinion of *Anaximander* is, that theſe impreſſions are made by ſome influence of the Etheriall Region into theſe of the Aire. So fire impacted in cold Clouds maketh a noiſe. But when it deuideth them, fulguration followeth, and the leſſer force of fires, cauſeth fulguration, the greater, lightning. CHAP.

Anaximanders *opinion.*

CHAP. XX.

The examination of Diogenes Apolloniate *his opinion.*

DIOGENES APOLLONIATES ſaith, that ſome thunders proceed from fire, ſome are cauſed by winde. The fire produceth thoſe which he foregoeth and foretelleth: the winde thoſe that yeeld a clap without lightning. I confeſſe that the one is cauſed, and is without the other ſometimes: not withſtanding in ſuch ſort, that their power is not ſeparated, but that the one may be produced by the other. For who would deny that the violent winde in ſtirring vp a vehement noiſe, could not likewiſe make a fire? And who likewiſe will not confeſſe this, that the fire may ſometimes breake the cloudes, and yet not enforce his paſſage, if after hee hath trauerſed ſome, hee is ſtayed and extinct by a more greater aſſembly of other cloudes. It followeth then that the fire conuerteth it ſelfe into wind, and that it loſeth his light and clearneſſe when it burneth and enflameth that vpon the Earth which it hath followed. Adde hereunto, now that it muſt needs be, that the violence of lightning puſheth forth the wind, and ſendeth it before him, and draweth it likewiſe after him when he cleaueth the ayre by ſo weightie a ſtroke. And therefore it is that all things before they feele the ſtroke of the thunder, tremble being ſhaken by the aſſault of the wind which the fire driueth before him.

CHAP. XXI.

Seneeaes opinion, as touching lightning & thunder.

DIſmiſſing our Maſters, for the preſent, let vs begin to ſpeake of our ſelues, and from thoſe things that are confeſſed, let vs paſſe ouer to thoſe things that are doubtfull: but what is that which is confeſſed? That lightning is a fire, and fulguration likewiſe, which is nought elſe but a flame, and ſhould bee lightning if it had more force. That it is fire, the heate thereof teſtifieth, and the effect maketh proofe enough: for lightning oftttimes is the cauſe of mightie fires: woods and parts of Cities are burned vp by it; yea, thoſe that are not ſtrucken, yet are they ſeene to be blaſted, and ſome are coloured as it were with ſoote. Furthermore, all things that are ſtrucken with lightning, ſmell of ſulphure. It followeth therefore that lightning and fulguration is fire, and that the one is intermixed with the other, in ſuch ſort, as that is fulguration which is not carryed as farre as the Earth; and againe lightning is a fulguration that is carryed as far as the Earth. It is not a deſire I haue to ſpeake much that lengtheneth this Diſcourſe; but to the end I may proue that theſe things are of the ſame ſemblance, marke and nature. Lightning is ſomewhat more then fulguration; Let vs turne this, Fulguration, is almoſt as much as Lightning.

CHAP. XXII.

A compariſon is taken from materiall fires, and that which is terreſtriall, that ſerueth to expreſſe how lightnings and tempeſts grow.

IT being manifeſt that both of them are fires, let vs examine how fire is made amongſt vs: for it is made in the ſame ſort, as it is aboue vs, & that in two ſorts; the one is when it is enforced out of a flint ſtone; the other is, if it be found out by attrition, as when as two woods are long times rubbed the one againſt the other: euery

uery matter will not yeeld thee fire, but onely that which is proper to produce it, as the leaues of Lawrell, Iuie, and which the Shepheards (perfectly exerciſed therein) well know. It may therefore bee that in the ſame ſort the Cloudes are ſtrucken, or beaten one againſt another, and thereby yeeld fire. Let vs conſider with what force ſtormes ruſh in vpon vs, with what violence whirlewinds are turned, whatſoeuer this ſtorme meeteth withall, is ſcattered, ſpred and rauiſhed, and caſt farre from the place where it was: what wonder is it therefore if ſo great a force driue forth the fire, either from another thing or from himſelfe? for thou ſeeſt what heate thoſe bodies may feele that are blaſted, burned and ſlaine by their paſſing by them, yet ought we not to eſteeme that theſe impreſſions haue as much heate as there is in the Stars, whoſe power is both marueilous and confeſſed.

CHAP. XXIII.

If lightning and thunder ariſe by meanes of the inter-ſhocke of Cloudes.

BVt haply thoſe Cloudes alſo that are enforced and driuen againſt other Cloudes by an agitation of a murmuring wind, and that is not ouer-ſtrong, will engender a fire that will ſhine without failing; for there needeth a leſſe fire in fulguration then in lightning. By thoſe things that are aboueſaid, we haue gathered to what heat they attaine which are rubbed one againſt another. Since then the Ayre which of his nature is eaſily changed into fire, by the violence of his forces being conuerted into fire is broken, it is both credible and likely that the fire which is fraile, and will ſodainly periſh, iſſueth from a matter that is not ſolid, wherein it may continue long time. It paſſeth therefore and ſtayeth no longer then his way endureth, for it is puſhed forth without any matter to maintaine and feed it.

CHAP. XXIV.

Why the lightning falleth downewards when as it is the propertie of it to mount vpwards.

HOw commeth it then to paſſe (ſayeſt thou) that where thou ſayeſt, that this is the nature of fire to mount vpwards, yet that the lightning falleth downewards; what, is that falſe which thou haſt ſpoken of fire? For he as well mounteth vpwards as he falleth downewards. Both of theſe may be true; for fire by nature mounteth like a Pyramis, and if nothing hindreth it, it aſcendeth: as water by nature is carryed downwards; but if ſome force be added thereunto to impell it to the contrarie, yet returneth ſhe to the place from whence ſhe fell by means of the ſhower; but the lightning falleth by the ſame neceſſity whereby it is driuen out. So fareth it with theſe fires as with trees, whoſe tops if they bee tender, may bee ſo drawne downe that they may touch the Earth, but when thou ſhalt let them goe, they will returne vnto their owne place. Thou art not therefore to reſpect the habit of euery thing as it is enforced. If thou wilt permit fire to goe whither it will, it will mount to Heauen, that is, to the place where euery light thing ſhould be: but when hee meeteth with any thing that may repulſe him, or alter his aſcent, this is not naturall vnto him, but inforced.

CHAP.

Chap. XXV.

How fire may issue from water that is to say, from the clouds.

YOu mainetaine (sayest thou) that Clouds encountring vehemently one with another engender fire; but if they be moist and wet, how then can they engender fire, which in all likelihoods is vnfit to haue his beginning from a Cloud, as from water?

Chap. XXVI.

An answere to this question.

THat fire that is bred, is not water at the first in the Cloudes, but thicke Aire, prepared to turne into water; and yet not changed into the same, but now readie and enclined to be changed. Thou art not to thinke that it is gathered then, but onely powed out. It is made and falleth at once: besides, if I should grant, that a cloud is moyst, and full of entertained waters, yet is there nothing that hindereth, but that fire may be drawne out of moysture, nay, (which thou wilt more wonder at) out of humour it selfe. Some haue denyed that any thing may bee changed into fire, before it were turned into water. A cloud therefore notwithstanding the water that it containeth, in some part may render fire, as oftentimes one part of the wood burneth, the other sweateth. Neither doe I say that these are not contrarie amongst themselues, and that the one destroyeth not the other, but where the fire is more forcible then the water is, it getteth the mastery. Againe, whereas the abundance of humour exceedeth, then is fire without any effect. And therefore greene wood burneth not. It importeth therefore how much water there is. For a little resisteth not, neither hindereth the fire. Why not? In the memory of our ancestors, as *Posidonius* testifieth, when as in the Ægean Sea there appeared an Island the Sea fomed by day, and from the depth thereof there arose a smoke. Afterwards there issued a fire not continuall, but shining and sparkling at certaine times, after the manner of lightnings, as often as the heate beneath was ouercome of the water that couered it. After this, certaine stones discouered themselues which were turned out of their places, and rockes partly whole which the wind had driuen forth before they were wholly burned, partly eaten and turned into the lightnesse of a Pumice stone. At last there appeared the top of a Mountaine, blacke and almost burned: afterwards there was somewhat added to the height thereof, and that Rocke grew to the bignesse of an Island. The same happened againe in our memorie, when *Valerius Asiaticus* was Consul. Why haue I related these things? To the end it might appeare, that neither the fire is extinguished when the Sea ouer-floweth it, nor the force thereof is prohibited to issue by the weight of mightie waues. *Asclepiodotus*, *Posidonius* scholer writeth, that the fire issued forth of the water to the height of two hundreth fadomes. And if the immeasurable force of waters ascending from the depth, could not restraine the force of the flames: how much lesse can it extinguish fire in the aire, where the humor is thin, and but like a dew? So that this reason hath no difficulty in it, that may hinder the causes of these fires, which we see neuer sparkle, except at such time as there is an inclination to raine, for in faire weather commonly we see no lightnings. A faire and cleere day feareth none of these, neither the night also, except it be obscured by darke clouds. What then? Doth it not

A notable example.

lighten

lighten ſometime when as the ſtarres are cleere, and the night is calme? Yet art thou to know that cloudsare there whence the brightneſſe appeareth,although the mountaines hide them from our ſight. Adde hereunto (which may bee) that the moiſt and low clouds yeeld fire, by beating one againſt another, which mounting into the higher parts, are ſeene in the cleereſt and pureſt part of heauen, although they are bred in a blacke and obſcure cloud.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the diuerſitie of thunders.

SOme haue ſo diſtinguiſhed Thunders, that they haue ſaid that there is one kinde of them that maketh a grieuous murmure,ſuch as is wont to fore-runne an earth-quake, when as the windes that are encloſed vnder the earth doe roare and make a noyſe. I will tell you how theſe men ſuppoſe that this may bee done. When as the clouds haue locked the winde within themſelues, the ayre that is toſſed in the hollow parts thereof, yeeldeth a ſound like vnto roaring,hoarſe, vnequall, and continuate; and therefore alſo where the Region of the ayre is moyſt, it ſhutteth vp the Thunder from iſſuing forth; and therefore theſe kind of thunders are the fore-tokeners of a ſhower that is at hand. There is another ſort that a man may rather call crackes then Thunder, ſuch as which we are wont to heare when as a bladder is broken ouer a mans head. Such thunders breake forth when as a cloud that is gathered together is diſſolued, and ſendeth forth that winde wherewith it is diſtended. This ſudden and vehement noyſe is properly called a cracke, which where it burſteth forth, cauſeth men to fall and ſound, and ſome liuing to wax ſtupid and aſtoniſhed, and wholly beſide themſelues, whom we call ſtrooken or *Apoplectique*, whoſe mindes that celeſtiall ſound hath driuen out of their place. This cracke likewiſe may bee cauſed by this meanes, that is, when as the ayre that is incloſed in a hollow cloud, and being extenuated by his motion is ſcattered abroade,and afterwards ſtriuing to haue a more larger place, and retained by the cloud that incloſeth him, he maketh a noyſe. What therefore? May it not be likewiſe, that as in ſtriking one hand vpon another,we make a loud ſound, ſo the clouds that are thicke by beating one againſt another, ſhould make a great noyſe, becauſe they are great things that concurre?

CHAP. XXVIII.

why the cloudes thicken aboue the mountaine tops, and yet no thunder followeth.

WEe ſee (ſaith he) clouds that hemme in the mountaine tops, and yet no ſound is made; firſt of all they thunder not at euery time they encounter,but then when they are fitly compoſed to yeeld a ſound: when the backes of our hands be beaten together they yeeld no clap,but one palme being ſtroken againſt another, there followeth a ſound; yea, and it appertaineth much to the matter whether the hands that are clapped one againſt another be hollow, or flat & extended. Furthermore, the clouds muſt not onely goe, but be driuen forward by a great and tempeſtuous force. The mountaine likewiſe doth not cut the cloude, but directeth it, and ſcattereth that which firſt commeth to meete with it. Neither doth a bladder likewiſe, howſoeuer it let out the winde, alwaies cracke: if it be

cut in two, it iſſueth forth without any ſenſe of the eare: if you will haue it ſound, it muſt be broken and not cut. The ſame ſay I of the clouds, except they ſhocke together with great violence, they cannot make a noyſe. Adde hereunto now that the clouds which are gathered together vpon a mountaine, break not, but are ſpread abroade into ſome parts of the mountaine, as on the boughes of trees, on buſhes, ſharpe ſtones, and eminent rocks. Behold how they are diſſolued, and if they haue any breath in them they let it out in diuers ſorts, which except it breake forth all at once, maketh no noyſe; whereupon note that the wind that whiſtleth aboue a tree, thundereth not, but ſingeth. To make thunder there needeth a great clap that may at one time diſperſe the whole globe of winde.

CHAP. XXIX.

How effectuall the ayre is in Thunders, and how.

MOreouer the ayre is apt of it ſelfe to entertaine voices: why not when as a voice is nought elſe but a repercuſſion of the aire? It is neceſſary therefore that the clouds, both thoſe that are hollow, and they that are extended, ſhould bee deuided and ſeuered on both ſides. For thou ſeeſt that empty veſſels ſound more then thoſe that are full, and thoſe ſtrings that are wound vp, more then they that are let ſlip; ſo Drummes and Cymballs yeeld a ſound, becauſe ſuch inſtruments repell the ayre that reſiſteth them outwardly, and could not ſound in the ayre, except they were hollow.

CHAP. XXX.

Aſclepiodotus *opinion confirmed by two rare examples.*

THere are ſome of the opinion, amongſt whom *Aſclepiodotus* is one, that lightning and thundring may breake forth, by reaſon of the encountrie of ſome bodies. Ætna in times paſt abounded with much fire, and poured forth a mighty multitude of burning ſand. The day was couered with duſt, and ſudden night terrified the people. At that time it is reported that there was much thunder and lightning, which were cauſed by the concourſe of drie bodies, and not of clouds; for it is very likely, that in ſo great an inflammation of the ayre there were none. *Cambyſes* in times paſt ſent an Armie to the Temple of *Ammon*, whom the ſand (being ſcattered by the Southerne winde) couered like flakes of ſnow, and at length buried and ouerwhelmed. And then alſo it is very likely that there were thunders and lightnings, by the attrition of ſands rubbing one againſt another. This opinion is not repugnant to our purpoſe; for we haue ſaid that the earth breatheth forth bodies of both natures, and that thorow all the Regions of the ayre there wandereth ſome drineſſe and humiditie: if therefore any ſuch thing happen, it maketh a cloud more ſolid and thicke, then if it had beene couered by a ſimple winde; and this cloud may be broken, and yeeld forth a ſound. As touching the aboue named accidents, whether it bee that the ayre hath beene filled by ſuch ſtreaming fires, or whether it be by the winds ouerturning the ſands, it muſt needes be that a cloud muſt be firſt formed, whence afterwards there may iſſue thunder. But drie things engender clouds as well as moiſt, and as we haue ſaid, a cloud is but the thickneſſe of groſſe and aſſembled ayre.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

IF thou wilt obſerue the ſame, thou ſhalt find that the effects of Thunder are maruailous; neither is it to bee doubted but that there is ſome extraordinary and diuine power intermixed with it. Siluer melteth in purſes, and yet are they neither rent nor ſpoyled. The ſword is moulten, and ſcabberd vntouched. The Iron runneth downe from the laueline top, and yet the ſteele vnſeared. The wine thickneth and remayneth three dayes as if it were Ice, when the Tunne is broken. This likewiſe mayeſt thou put amongſt thoſe things that are worthy note; That men and other creatures that are ſtroken with lightning, haue their heads turned towards that place from whence it parteth, and that all the tops of thoſe trees that are blaſted bend towards the lightning. Furthermore, Serpents and all other venemous beaſts loſe their venome if they be touched with lightning. Whence, ſaith he, know you this? In enuenomed bodies no worme breedeth; but thoſe bodies that are ſtrooken with lightning are filled with wormes within a few dayes.

Of the maruailous effects of lightnings.

CHAP. XXXII.

MOreouer I ſay that lightnings preſage things that are to come, not miniſtring only a ſigne of one or two things, but oftentimes they foretell the whole order of ſucceeding Fates, yea, and that by euident decrees, and farre more manifeſt then if they were written. But this is the difference betwixt vs and the Tuſcans, who exactly vnderſtand this diuination by lightning. We holde opinion, that becauſe the clouds entershock and ſcatter one annother, therefore the lightning burſteth forth. They thinke that the clouds are rudely driuen the one againſt the other, to this end, that lightning ſhould iſſue, and bee darted on the earth. For whereas they referre all things vnto God, they are of this opinion that they ſignifie not becauſe they are made, but that they are made, to the end they ſhould ſignifie; yet are they engendered by one and the ſame reaſon, be it that either they ought to ſignifie by a deliberate purpoſe, or by a conſequence: how then ſignifie they except they be ſent from God? How? In ſuch ſort as birds who take not their flight to meete vs, yet in flying eyther on the right or on the left hand they haue preſaged ſomewhat. And theſe, ſayeſt thou, God moueth. Thou makeſt him too idle, and a miniſter of ſmall matters, if in ſome men hee diſpoſe their dreames, in beaſts their entrailes, yet are theſe things ordered by diuine aſſiſtance. But the feathers of birds are not gouerned by God, neither, formeth he the entrailes of beaſts vnder the axe. The order of the Deſtinies is expreſſed vnto vs by other more certaine meanes, who euery where publiſheth ſignes of that which ſhall come to paſſe long before they happen, whereof ſome are familiar vnto vs, the reſt are vnknowne. All whatſoeuer is done is a ſigne of ſomething that is to come. Thoſe things that are caſuall, and incertaine without reaſon, admit not diuination. The thing that hath order hath prediction alſo. Why therefore is this honour giuen vnto the Eagle, that ſhe ſhould preſage the matters of greateſt importance, or to the Crow, or to a few other birds, and that the chattering of all others hath neyther ſignification or preſage? Be-

Lightnings are foretokeners of that which is to come.

whether euery thing that is ſeene and vnderſtood hath a ſignification.

cauſe there are many things that are not as yet reduced into Art, and other things which a man cannot reduce, becauſe they are too farre eſtranged from our acquaintance. But there is no liuing Creature that foretelleth not ſomewhat, either by his motion or encountrie. All things are not obſerued, but ſome things are noted. Diuination ſerueth him that will obſerue the ſame. It therefore appertayneth vnto him that hath addicted his minde thereunto. Thoſe things which a man reſpecteth not, may notwithſtanding containe ſome certitude. The Chaldeans in their obſeruations reſpected nothing elſe but the influence of fiue Planets. What thinkeſt thou? Iudgeſt thou that ſo many thouſand ſtarres ſhine to no purpoſe? And what is that which deceiueth theſe Calculators of Natiuities, but they ſubiect themſelues, I know not how, to ſome ſmall number of ſtarres, whereas all they that ſhine ouer our heads, haue ſome influence and power ouer vs? It may be that the more nearer Planets doe dart their beames more effectually vpon vs, and that they which haue a more ſwifter motion, touch vs in one ſort, and other liuing creatures in another. But the fixed ſtarres, and thoſe that for their ſwift courſe haue an anſwerable motion to that of the firſt Mouer, and ſeeme not to ſtirre, are yet without force and effect in our reſpects. To ſpeake of theſe things orderly, we muſt regard both the one and the other, and know that which is proper both to the one and to the other. But there is no leſſe difficultie to know that which they can, then to doubt whether they haue any power or no.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The knowledge of lightnings hath relation to three conſiderations.

LEt vs now returne vnto lightnings, the power whereof is diuided into three conſiderations, namely, into their Signification, their Interpretation, and their Remedie. The firſt part reſpecteth Forme; the ſecond, Diuination; the third, Expiation. For wee muſt appeaſe the gods, beſeeching them to giue vs goods, to auert all euils, to maintayne their promiſes, and to remit their threatnings.

CHAP. XXXIV.

What power the Tuſcans attribute to lightnings in reſpect of diuination.

THe Tuſcans thinke that lightnings haue a ſoueraigne power; for whatſoeuer other things doe portend, are taken away by the intercourſe of lightning. Whatſoeuer lightning preſageth, is fixed; neither is it changed by the ſignification of any other preſage. A flaſh of lightning that portendeth ſome good, aboliſheth all the ſiniſter predictions of the intrailes of Beaſts, and whatſoeuer the flight of Birds ſhall threaten. All that which lightning denounceth cannot bee croſſed by the preſages of the intrailes of beaſts or by birds: wherein me thinks they are much deceiued. Why? Becauſe there is nothing truer then Truth. If birds haue foretold that which ought to come to paſſe, this Augurie cannot bee diſanulled by lightning: If it may bee; the Birds haue foretold nothing that ſhall come to paſſe. I doe not now make a compariſon betwixt the bird and lightning, but of two true preſages. If both of them foretell that which is to come to paſſe, they are alike. If therefore the lightning that commeth after aboliſheth the iudgement of the intrailes, and of the augures, the intrailes were badly looked into,

and

and the motion and crie of birds worſe obſerued: for it importeth nothing to know whether of theſe two are more ſtrong and puiſſant in their nature, or whether of both hath propoſed more ſignes of truth, for the ſigne in this reſpect is equall, if thou ſay that the force of the flame is greater then that of the ſmoke, thou lyeſt not; but to expreſſe the fire, the flame and ſmoke are of the ſame value. Therefore if they ſay thus, that as often as the entrailes of beaſts ſhall preſage one thing, and the lightning another, the authoritie of the lightning ſhall be more great, haply I ſhall bee of their opinion: But if they maintaine that a flaſh of lightning diſanulleth the truth which thoſe other ſignes haue foretold, and that we ought not to build on any thing but on this flaſh of lightning: I ſay, they abuſe themſelues; and the reaſon is, becauſe it importeth not how many preſages there be; It is but one thing that ſhall come to paſſe, which if it hath beene well compriſed in the firſt prediction and diuination, the ſecond will be no preiudice vnto it. All comes to one: I therefore ſay, that it skilleth not, if one thing (by meanes whereof wee would informe our ſelues) bee the ſame, or another thing, becauſe that whereof wee enquire is one and the ſame.

CHAP. XXXV.

DEſtinie cannot be changed by lightning; Why not? becauſe that lightning is a part of Deſtinie: Whereto then ſerue ſo many expiations and ceremonies, to what purpoſe is all this, if the Deſtinies be immutable? Permit me to follow the auſtere opinion of thoſe who entreate of theſe things, and maintaine that Deſtinies are no other thing but the ſolace of a penſiue thought. The Deſtinies maintaine their right preciſely, there is neither prayer that moueth them, nor miſery or fauour that altereth them. They obſerue their irreuocable courſe, they paſſe onward in an aſſured and vnaltered order. Euen as the water of violent ſtreames neither turneth backe, nor ſtayeth, but euery waue is forcibly driuen on by another that beateth at his backe: ſo the order of Deſtinie is gouerned by an eternall ſucceſſion, the decree whereof is, not to change that which hath beene ordained and deſtinated.

CHAP. XXXVI.

What Deſtiny is according to the Stoikes.

BVt what meaneſt thou by this word Deſtiny? I thinke it to be an inuincible and immutable neceſſity of all things and actions: if thou thinkeſt that this neceſſitie may be pacified by ſacrifices or by oblations of the head of a white Lambe, thou knoweſt not what diuine things are: you likewiſe ſay that the reſolution of a wiſe man cannot bee changed: how much leſſe that of gods, conſidering that a wiſe man onely diſcouereth for the preſent that which is good, but all things are preſent to the diuine Eſſence; yet notwithſtanding in this place will I plead their cauſe, who are of the opinion that a man may remedy lightnings, and affirme that expiations are auaileable ſometimes to remoue dangers, and ſometimes to leſſen them, or at leaſt wiſe to differre them.

CHAP. XXXVII.

To what intent serue these meanes, if the doctrine of Destinie be rescinded.

I Will prosecute hereafter that which remayneth to bee intreated vpon as concerning this matter; meane while, we all of vs are agreed in this point, that wee suppose that vowes are profitable, (the force and power of the Fates alwayes reserued:) for some things are in such sort left in suspence by the immortall Gods, that they turne vnto good, if vowes and prayers bee made vnto them. This therefore repugneth not against Destinie, but is inclosed in the same. Thou wilt say vnto me, This thing shall happen, or shall not happen; if it must come to passe, if you vow and make your request, yet shall it take effect; if it shall not come to passe, vow and pray as much as you list, it shall not fall out: the consequence of this Argument is false, because you haue forgot the exception that I haue put betweene both, that is to say: This shall happen, prouided that a man make vowes and prayers. It must necessarily follow, that to vow, or not to vow, are comprehended within Destinie.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The meanes are inlosed in destinie, and are the meanes to attain vnto the end that Destinie ordayneth.

PResuppose thou that I confesse my selfe vanquished, and that I auow that this is comprehended also in Destinie, that a man should make vowes: and therefore, they shall be made; It is destinated that such an one shall be an eloquent man, but vnder this condition, it is destinated, that he be instructed in good letters: the same Destinie therefore that addicteth him to studie, will cause that he shall become wise. Another man shall be rich, but so as he traffique vpon the Seas: but in that order of Fate which promiseth him so great a patrimony, this Destinie likewise is inclosed, that he shall set saile to the wind, and that by reason thereof without any feare or exception, he shall embarque and saile. The same (say I) of expiations. Hee shall escape dangers; if he hath appeased the forethreatned wrath of the gods by sacrifice. And this likewise is in Destinie, that he must expiate, and therefore he shall doe it? These things haue beene oftentimes opposed against vs, to approue that nothing hath beene left in our will, but that all power hath beene committed to Destinie. When as this matter shall be handled, I will tell you how there remayneth somewhat in mans will, although the Destinie continueth. But now haue I explicated, that which was in question; how though the order of Fate bee certayne, the expiations and remedies of prodigies preuent the dangers, because these remedies impugne not destinies, but are comprehended in the Law of the same. What then, sayest thou, doth the South-sayer profit mee? for although hee counsell mee nothing, yet must I necessarily make this expiation. It sufficeth, because he is a Minister of Destinie. So when as health seemeth to proceed from Fate, yet ought wee to thanke the Physician, because the benefit of Fate, came vnto vs by his hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Diuers ſorts of lightnings in regard of their ſignifications, according to the Tuſcans and Stoikes.

ÆCinna ſaith, that there are three ſorts of lightnings, the one of counſell, the other of authoritie, the third of eſtate. The firſt precedeth the act, and commeth after the thought; that is, when the flaſh of lightning counſelleth or diſcouereth that which the thought deuiſeth: The ſecond, when as a lightning commeth after a thing is executed, to ſignifie that either good or euill fortune ſhall ſucceede. The third, when as lightning happeneth, when men are at reſt, without thinking or doing any thing. This ſort of lightning menaceth, or promiſeth, or admoniſheth, by reaſon whereof *Cæcinna* nameth it momentary: but I know not why it ſhould not bee the ſame with that of counſell. For hee that admoniſheth giueth counſell; yet hath it ſome diſtinction, and therefore is it ſeparated from that of counſell, becauſe this firſt perſwadeth and diſſwadeth, but the third containeth but a ſimple aduice, to flie an imminent perill; as when wee feare that our neighbours will deceiue vs, or ſet fire on our houſes, or that our ſlaues conſpire againſt vs. Beſides this I ſee another diſtinction: The firſt concerneth him that thinketh, the other, him that thinketh nothing. Euery thing hath his propertie, we counſell thoſe that deliberate, wee admoniſh thoſe that bethinke not themſelues.

CHAP. XL.

Diuers names of lightnings according to their diuers effects.

FIrſt of all the thee ſorts concerne not all lightnings, but are the ſignifications thereof. For the ſorts of lightning are that the one pierceth, the other ſcattereth, and the other burneth. The lightning that pierceth is ſubtile and flaming, taking his flight thorow narrow paſſages, by reaſon that his flame is ſo ſubtile and thin, as nothing more: That which diſſipateth is gathered together as it were into a ball, hauing intermixed in it ſelfe the force of a coacted and ſtormy winde, by meanes whereof this lightning entreth and iſſueth ordinarily by one and the ſame habite: his force that is ſpred at large pierceth not, but breaketh that which it toucheth: that which burneth hath very much terreſtriall vapour in it, and is more fierie then flaming: by meanes whereof it leaueth great marks of fire behinde him, that remaine on thoſe things it hath ſtrucken. No lightning falleth without fire, but wee properly call that a firie lightning, that leaueth manifeſt markes of fire behind it: but this lightning that burneth or blacketh, burneth in three ſorts; for either it attainteth and blaſteth ſleightly, or it burneth, or cauſeth the thing that is ſtrucken to fall on fire: the fire is in all this, but there is a difference in the ſort and in the meanes: for all that which is burned was blaſted or ſcorched likewiſe; but all that which is blaſted and ſcorched is not alwaies burned. It may be that the fire hath giuen but ſome light attaint; wee know that there are many things that are conſumed in the fire without making any flame: for nothing can burne except it be burned. I will adde this word more. One thing may bee burned, and yet not kindled, and ſomething kindled which is not burned.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

The effects of those lightnings that blacke those things which they touch. The Tuscans opinions as touching the falling of lightnings.

NOw passe I ouer to that kind of lightning that blacketh those things it beateth vpon, this either discoloureth or coloureth. I will discouer the difference of them both. That is discoloured, whose colour is vitiated, not changed: that thing is coloured, whose appearance is otherwise then it was at the first, as blew, or blacke, or pale: The Tuscans and Stoikes accord herein, but they differ in this, that the Tuscans say, that *Iupiter* darteth his lightnings, and they giue him three different handfuls to cast. The first, say they, admonisheth and is peaceable, and is darted by the goodwill of *Iupiter* himselfe. The second likewise is darted from his hand, but by the aduice of counsell, whereunto he calleth twelue other gods. This kind of lightning sometimes doth seeme good, but not without harming those vpon whom it is sent. The third also is darted by the same *Iupiter*, but after he hath consulted with the gods, whom they call superiours and infolded. This spoileth and includeth, and ouerturneth all that which it meeteth withall in publike, and in particular; for fire consumeth whatsoeuer it meeteth with.

CHAP. XLII.

The explication of the Tuscans opinions according to Senecaes mind.

IF you obserue this well, you shall perceiue at the first sight that antiquitie erreth herein. What a folly is it to beleeue that *Iupiter* darteth lightnings out of the clouds, that sometimes catch hold of statues, pillars and trees, blasting sheepe, and other innocent beasts, burning vp the altars, and yet sparing sacrilegious persons, and as if he had not sufficient counsell in himselfe, but that hee must call other gods to assist him? Likewise that these lightnings which hee of himselfe darteth, are presages of ioy and peace; and that these lightnings which are darted by the plurality of voyces of many of the gods, are dangerous: if you aske me my opinion, I thinke that the Tuscans are besotted to beleeue that *Iupiter* hath beene in suspence, or ill addressed to execute. For, I pray you, when he hath darted those fires which should fall on innocent beasts, and leaue the wicked vnpunished: shall we say that hee would not vse his greatest iustice, or that it hath not succeeded according to his mind? what was their intention when they said this? These wisemen pretending to bridle in the minds of the ignorant, made them beleeue, that there was an inuitable feare, to the end we should dread a Diuinity, that is aboue vs. It was necessary in so great intemperance and corruption of manners, that there should bee some power, against which no man should thinke himselfe able to preuaile. To the end therefore, that they who addict not themselues to doe well, but for feare of strokes, should be affrighted, they established a iust Iudge ouer their heads with conuenient instruments in his hand to chastice them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

BVt why is that lightning, which *Iupiter* himſelfe darteth, onely peaceable, and the other pernicious? Becauſe a Prince (which is ſignified by the name of *Iupiter*) ought of himſelfe to doe good vnto his ſubiects without euer harming them, except his counſell be of a contrary opinion. They that are mounted in authoritie aboue other men, learne here, that the lightning is not darted out of heauen vpon the earth but by counſell; let them therefore call vnto themſelues diuers, let them weigh their aduice, moderate their decrees, and haue this thought when they haue occaſion to ſmite any thing: *Iupiter* contents not himſelfe with his owne priuate counſaile.

The continuation of Senecaes *opinion, whereby he laboureth to excuſe the opinion of the Tuſcans, as touching lightning.*

CHAP. XLIV.

IN this place neither haue they beene ſo vnaduiſed, as to thinke that *Iupiter* changed his lightning. Theſe are the tricks of Poeticall libertie:

There is another lightning farre more ſlight,
Forg'd by the CYCLOPS *hands, wherein leſſe fright,*
Leſſe flame or wrath is put when they are framed,
And this the gods their ſecond lightning named.

Such an error entered not into the heads of ſo great learned men, as to thinke that *Iupiter* had ſometimes more ſlighter and trifling lightnings. But they intended this, to teach Princes that haue the charge to dart their lightnings againſt mens ſins, that all crimes deſerue not the ſame puniſhment, but that ſome are to be puniſhed with extreame rigour, others ſuppreſſed by more ſufferable chaſtiſements, others by cenſures and aduertiſements.

CHAP. XLV.

NEither beleeued they this likewiſe, that *Iupiter* is ſuch an one, as we ſee in the Capitoll, and in other Temples, darting lightnings out of his hand; but they imagine ſuch a *Iupiter* as the Stoickes doe, who is the keeper and protector of the world, a ſpirit and mind, which is the workmaſter and Lord of this world, to whom all names are agreeable. Wilt thou call him Deſtinie? Thou ſhalt not erre. On him depend all things, and all the cauſes of cauſes are of him. Wilt thou name him Prouidence? Thou ſayeſt well. For his wiſedome it is that prouideth for this world, to the end it might be firme and immutable for euer; and that hee ſhould continue his courſe and his effects. Wilt thou call him Nature? Thou ſhalt not ſinne; for all things haue had their beginning by him, and wee liue by his ſpirit. Wilt thou call him the World? Thou ſhalt not be deceiued, becauſe he is all that which thou ſeeſt, wholly infuſed into his parts, and ſuſtaining himſelfe by his vertue. The *Hetrurians* haue beene of the ſame opinion, and therefore

Why the ancients attributed to Iupiter *certaine lightnings of different effects, their opinion likewiſe as touching* Iupiter, *ſetting downe diuers names according to his different effects.*

fore said they that *Iupiter* darted his lightnings, by reason that nothing is done without him.

CHAP. XLVI.

Whether Iupiter *darteth his lightnings himselfe.*

WHy doth *Iupiter* ouerpasse some things that are to be stroken, and why striketh he those which he should not strike? Thou drawest me into an higher discourse, to which I will assigne a better place, and a fitter time. In the meane while I say this, that *Iupiter* sendeth not downe lightning: but that all things are so disposed, that euen those things which are not done by him, yet are not done without reason, which is onely his: Their force is his permission. For although now *Iupiter* doth them not, yet is he the cause that they were done. He assisteth not all things one after another, but he hath giuen all things their marke, their efficacie, and their cause.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Tuscans diuision as touchching lightnings, confuted.

NEither allow I their diuision, for they say that all lightnings are perpetuall, or finite, or prolonged. The perpetuall are those whose signification appertaineth to the whole life, comprehending not onely one thing, but a succession of all that should happen from the beginning of life vntill the end. Such are the lightnings which are made at such time as a man entereth into the possession of his patrimonie, or into some new condition of life; or when as a Citie changeth her gouernement. The finite haue a certaine day and terme assigned. The prolonged are those whose threats may be deferred, but not wholly preuented or extinguished.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The reason why this diuision is refuted.

I Will tell you the cause why I consent not to this distribution. For that lightning which they call perpetuall, is finite; for it hath a certaine day prefixed as well as the rest. Neither therefore is it finite, because it signifieth a long time. For that which is prolonged is limited also, for by their owne confession, such a menace is certaine vntill such time as a man hath obtained delay. For they auerre that priuate lightnings extend not aboue ten yeeres, and that publike cannot bee deferred aboue thirtie: and by this reckoning these likewise are finite, because there is a prefixed time, beyond which they may not be proroged. The terme then of all lightnings and their effects is certaine and determinate: for a man cannot comprehend in a certaine time a thing that is vncertaine. And as touching that which wee ought to consider more neerely in lightnings, they speake both generally and confusedly, and they will haue vs to distribute the effects in such sort, as after them the Philosopher *Attalus* and their schollers hath done, which is, that we should regard where, when, to whom, and in what thing the lightning hath falne, what, and how great it hath beene: if I would

distribute

diſtribute all theſe things by parts, what ſhould I doe but enter into an infinite number of diſtinctions?

CHAP. XLIX.

Diuers attributes of lightning, as ridiculous as their prophane Authors, exceeding the bounds of naturall Philoſophie.

I Will now ſet downe the names of lightnings, according as *Cæcina* hath deſcribed them, and will diſcouer what my opinion is in theſe. Some (ſaith he) are poſtulatorie, whereby thoſe ſacrifices that either are intermitted, or not rightly performed, are repeated. Some monitorie, whereby we are taught what we are to take heede of. Some peſtiferous, which portend death or baniſhment. Some fallacious, which vnder an appearance of good, doe vs harme. They giue an vnhappie Conſulate to thoſe that ſhall vndertake the charge, and an heritage, the purchaſe whereof will breede more loſſe then profit. Some threatning, that offer euill but in appearance onely. Some murthering, which aboliſh the threats of precedent lightnings. Some *Atteſtata* or witneſſed, that accord with the precedent. Some concealed, which are done in ſecret. Some confuſed, which beate vpon thoſe things which before time were attainted and left. Some royall, that ſhew their effects vpon a whole aſſemblie of people, or vpon the principall places of a free Citie, and whoſe ſignification threaten ſome tyrannicall inuaſions into a Common-weale. The lower, when the earth vomiteth flames of fire. The *Hoſpitals*, that by ſacrifices draw, or (as they ſpeake it in a more milder terme) inuite *Iupiter* vnto vs. But if he be then inuited when he is diſpleaſed, he commeth to the great hazard of thoſe that haue inuited him. The Auxiliarie which are likewiſe called *Summoned*; but that commeth for their good, that haue cauſed it to come.

CHAP. L.

A more moderate diſtinction of the Philoſopher Attalus.

HOw farre more ſimple was that diuiſion, which *Attalus* (a man of great note, and a Philoſopher of our ſort) vſed, who had intermixed the diſcipline of the Tuſcan with Grecian ſubtilties. Amongſt lightnings (ſaith he) ſome there are that concerne vs, other ſome that ſignifie nothing, or if they ſignifie any thing, we know not what it is. As touching thoſe that ſignifie, ſome of them are ioyfull, ſome are aduerſe, and ſome neither aduerſe nor ioyfull. Of thoſe that are aduerſe and contrary, theſe are the kinds: either they portend ſome vnauoideable euils, or ſuch as may be auoided, or ſuch as may be leſſened or prolonged. The ioyfull ſignifie either ſuch as are permanent, or ſuch as haue ſmall continuance. Thoſe that are mixed, either haue a part of good, or euill, or conuert the euill into good, or the good into euill. Thoſe are neither fatall nor ioyfull, which ſignifie vnto vs ſome action, whereat we ought neither to be terrified, nor reioyced: as for example, ſome long voyage, wherein there is neither feare nor any thing to be hoped for.

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

Of those lightnings which haue signification, and concerne vs.

I Will returne vnto those lightnings which haue some signification, which notwithstanding concerneth vs nothing; as if in the same yeare the same lightning that fell before falleth once more. There are lightnings likewise that haue no signification in our respect, as those whereof wee know nothing; witnesse the lightnings that fall in the spacious extent of the Ocean, or in the deserts: for they haue no signification, and if they haue, it commeth not to our knowledge.

CHAP. LII.

Of the diuers effects of lightning, according to the matter it meeteth with.

YEt there remayneth somewhat for me to declare as touching the force of lightnings, which effect not euery matter according to the same manner. He breaketh and dissipateth those things most vehemently which are hardest, and sometime passeth by those things that are yeelding, without any iniurie. He conflicteth more rudely with stones and iron, and those things that are hardest, because hee is constrayned to make his passage thorow them with violence. So then hee openeth the passage, sparing that which is tender and hollow, although it seeme to bee more proper to take fire, because that in finding a passage hee sheweth himselfe lesse violent. Therefore is it, as I haue said, that a man findeth silver melted in his purse, because that fire that is the purest and thinnest, passeth lightly thorow the pores of the leather: but whatsoeuer it findeth solid in substance he breaketh in pieces as rebellious and resisting against him. But, as I said, it rageth not after one manner, but by the kinde of euill that happeneth you may see what it is, and by the effects you shall know what lightning is. Oft-times in the same matter one and the same flash of lightning causeth different effects, as in falling vpon a tree it burneth that which is drie in it, pierceth and breaketh that which is hardest, dissipateth the barke, cleaueth the trunke, pulleth vp the rootes, smoldereth and partcheth the leaues. It congealeth wine, and melteth iron and brasse.

CHAP. LIII.

Of the particular efficacy of lightning in wine.

A Maruailous thing this is, that the wine which is congealed by lightning, and afterwards returneth into his former estate, killeth or maketh those men mad that drinke thereof. Bethinking my selfe of the cause hereof, I say that there is a mortall efficacy in this fire, wherof it is very likely that some spirit remaineth in the wine which hath bin congealed and frozen. For this liquid substance could not be congealed without some meanes. Moreouer, if lightning toucheth oile or any fat liquor, it stinketh euer afterwards; whereby it appeareth, that in this fire, so subtile and inforced against the order of nature, there is so powerfull an efficacy, that it not onely killeth that which it toucheth rudely, but also that which it attaineth with the breath thereof. Furthermore, in what place soeuer the lightning falleth men vndoubtedly smell a sent of brimstone, which being weighty

weightie by nature, aſtoniſheth thoſe that ſmell it often. But hereafter we will intreate of this at leiſure, and will haue (it may be) the meanes to ſhew how all things haue beene deriued from Philoſophie, the Mother of Arts, which hath firſt of all ſought out the cauſes of things, and hath obſerued the effects, conferring the ends with their beginnings, what principally wee ought to obſerue in the inſpection of Lightnings.

CHAP. LIV.

From the conſideration of lightnings, he returneth to theſe of thunder.

I Will now returne to *Poſsidonius* opinion: The moiſter part of the earth and terreſtriall things being on one ſide, the dryer & lighter part flyeth on the other. This ſerueth for a nutriment to Lightnings; that vnto raines. All hote and dry exhalations aſcending and attaining into the Ayre, cannot keepe themſelues incloſed in Clouds, but breake their Priſons; whence followeth that which we call Thunder. All that likewiſe which refineth it ſelfe in the Ayre, is dryed and warmed by the ſame meanes. And this likewiſe, if it be encloſed, ſeeketh nothing elſe, but how to eſcape and breake thorow with noyſe. Sometime it eſcapeth all at once, whence proceedeth a very great Thunder; ſometimes by parts, and by little and little. This ſpirit therefore expreſſeth theſe Thunders, whileſt either it breaketh the Clouds, or flyeth by it. But this violent tumbling which the exhalation maketh in a Cloud, is a moſt powerfull force to enkindle the ſame.

CHAP LV.

what thunder is, and how it is cauſed.

THunders are nothing elſe but a ſound of the dry Aire, which cannot be done, but when it is either broken, or breaketh. And if the Clouds, ſaith he, be beaten one againſt another, that noiſe is made which is now in queſtion, but not vniuerſally, becauſe there is no generall conflict, but in certaine places only. Soft things yeeld no ſound, except they bee ſtrucken againſt thoſe things that are hard. As a waue of the Sea maketh no noiſe, except it meet with ſome hard thing that ſtayeth it. The fire being caſt into the water maketh a noyſe in the quenching. Be it ſo: All this maketh for mee, for the fire at that time maketh not the noiſe, but the Aire that flyeth athwart, is that which extinguiſheth the fire: and if I ſhould grant thee that fire doth it, and is extinguiſhed in the cloud, I ſay that it groweth from the exhalation and the ſhock. What then (ſaith hee) may not one of theſe flitting ſtars fall into a cloud, and be extinguiſhed therein? Let vs preſuppoſe that it may, and that it happeneth ſometimes. For the preſent we ſeeke for a naturall and continual cauſe, not for a rare and caſuall euent. Put caſe that I acknowledge all that to be true which thou ſpeakeſt, that ſometimes fires doe ſhine after it hath thundered, reſembling ſhooting and falling Stars, yet is not this the cauſe of Thunder, but this hapneth, becauſe it hath thundred. What is Fulguration? *Clidemus* denieth that it is a fire, maintaining this, that it is a but an apparance: euen as by night, after the ſtroke of the Oare we ſee ſome brightneſſe. This example is not anſwerable, for this ſhining appeareth in the water, that which is made in the Aire cracketh and iſſueth forth.

CHAP. LVI.

The definition of thunder, and whence it is caused.

HERACLITVS thinketh that Fulguration is as it were but a ſparkling of thoſe fires which begin to take fire in our Fornaces, and a firſt flame as yet vncertaine, that now is extinguiſhed, and then lighted againe: theſe did the Ancients call *Fulgetra*, that is to ſay, Fulgurations, but we call them Thunders in the plurall number, and the Ancients called it Thunder, or a ſound. This haue I found in *Cicynna*, a man very eloquent, who had had ſome reputation for his Eloquence, except *Ciceroes* ſhadow had obſcured him. The Ancients haue vſed this word, making it ſhorter by a ſillable in the midſt, which now we make long. For as we ſay, *Splendere*, that is, to ſhine, wee ſay likewiſe *Fulgère*, that is to lighten: but they were accuſtomed to pronounce the ſecond ſillable ſhort, and to ſay, *Fulgere*, to ſignifie the ſudden breaking out of light from the clouds.

CHAP. LVII.

Senecaes *opinion in this point*

ASkeſt thou me what mine opinion is? for vntill this preſent I haue done nothing but diſcouer other mens opinions: I will tell it thee. Fulguration is made, when as a ſudden brightneſſe ſpreadeth it ſelfe at large, which happeneth at ſuch time as the Aire by ſubtiliation of the clouds is conuerted into fire, finding no fodder to rayſe it more higher. I thinke thou wilt not wonder, if either motion extenuateth the aire, or extenuation enkindle it. In this ſort a bullet of Lead violently ſhot out of a piece, mollifieth and melteth it ſelfe, and the ſhock of the aire ſeruеth it in ſtead of fire. And therefore it is for the moſt part that Lightnings are made during the Summer time, becauſe the ſeaſon is ordinarily hot, & fire is cauſed more eaſily by the attrition of hot things. Fulguration and Lightning are cauſed after the ſame manner, the one ſhineth, the other is darted. But that hath a lighter force, and leſſe nutriment. And to let you know mine opinion in a word, Lightning is but an intended Fulguration. When as therefore a hot and ſmokie vapour mounteth from the Earth into the Aire, and hath ſometimes whirled it ſelfe amongſt the Clouds, it finally iſſueth forth with violence; if it be feeble, then followeth Fulguration. But when as Fulgurations haue more matter, and burne more violently, they are conuerted into Lightnings, and fall vnto the Earth.

CHAP. LVIII.

Why the lightning appeareth at once, and is not extended from high to low in the forme of a Columne of fire.

SOme there are that thinke that the Lightning mounteth againe, ſome others ſay that it ſtayeth after it hath conſumed that which nouriſheth it, and that the ſtroke is enfeebled. But why doth Lightning appeare all at once, & extendeth not it ſelfe from high to low, in the forme of a Pillar of fire? Becauſe he is wonderfull light, & of a ſwift motion, ſo that at one time he breaketh thorow the clouds, enflameth the aire, & then when his motion ceaſſeth, the flame is extinguiſhed. For the courſe of the exhalation is not continuall, ſo as the fire may extend it ſelfe,

ſelfe, but when as by violence he is enkindled the more, he taketh his Career to eſcape. Being at liberty, and the combate finiſhed: for the ſame cauſe ſometimes it extendeth it ſelfe as farre as the earth: ſometimes it is diſſolued, if any the leaſt reſiſtance do preſſe it. Why falleth this fire obliquely? By reaſon that it is compoſed of the ayre, which is oblique and crooked, and becauſe that nature draweth the fire on high, and violence forceth it downward, it beginneth to be crooked. Sometimes nature and force encounter, as it were, equally, in ſo much as the fire mounteth and is drawne downwards. Why for the moſt part are the tops of Mountaines ſtricken? Becauſe they are oppoſed againſt the clouds, and the fire falling from the Heauens, muſt needs paſſe by them.

CHAP. LIX.

Of the true vſe of this part of naturall Philoſophie which intreateth of lightnings, conſiſting on the contempt of death, whereof he entreateth amply, and ſheweth that we ought as litle to feare lightning, as any other accidents that endanger life. Conſtancie maketh worldly caſualty nothing.

VNderſtand now what long ſince thou haſt deſired, and what thou demandeſt. I had rather (ſayeſt thou) not know lightnings, then feare them. Learne therefore, of whom thou wilt, how they are made. For mine own part, I take more pleaſure to know how I may not feare them, then how I may define them. I will follow thee whither thou calleſt me. For in all things, and in all ſpeeches, we ought to intermix ſomewhat that is wholeſome and profitable. When as we ſound into the ſecrets of Nature, when as we entreate of diuine things, the mind muſt be freed from all paſſions, and ſetled likewiſe in ſome ſort. Which the moſt learned of vs, (& they that are continually exerciſed in this ſtudie) haue great need to doo: not onely to ſaue our heads from thoſe ſtrokes which are on euery ſide aimed againſt vs, but to the end we may ſuffer them conſtantly and patiently. Inuincible we may be; vnaſſaulted we cannot be; although that in the mean while there is ſome hope that we may be vnſhaken. How, ſayeſt thou? Contemne thou death, and all thoſe things that leade vnto death, whether they be Wars, or ſhipwracks, or biting of wilde beaſts, or weight of raines, tumbling downe with a ſudden fall, are contemned: Can they do any more then diuide the body & ſoule? no diligence can preuaile againſt theſe things, no felicity tame them, no power auoid them. Fortune diſpoſeth diuers things diuerſly, but death adiourneth all perſons indifferently; whether the gods be either pleaſed or diſpleaſed, we muſt die. And ſince there is no hope to eſcape, let vs gather the greater courage. Thoſe creatures that are moſt cowardly, whom nature hath framed vnto flight, endeuour with their weak bodies to worke forth a paſſage, when as none appeareth. There is no enemy more dangerous then hee, who hemmed in on euery ſide, growes deſperate and reſolute: for neceſſitie maketh vs alwayes more violent then valour doth. He that deſpaireth of his life, performeth the nobleſt exploits, or at leaſt-wiſe ſuch as may equall the actions of the moſt reſolute. Thinke that we haue bin (for indeed ſo we are) betrayed & deliuered vnto death. This is true (my *Lucillius*) we are all of vs reſerued to death. For how long time, thinkeſt thou, ſhall all this people that thou ſeeſt, endure? Nature will adiorne and bury theſe within a little time: we need not to diſpute of the thing but of the day, onely we muſt come thither, either ſooner or later. What then? thinkeſt thou not that hee is more fearefull then feare, more fooliſh then folly it ſelfe, that maketh long purſuits, and entreateth ſome delay of his death? Wouldeſt thou not iudge him a recreant (that being cõdemned to loſe his head amongſt diuers other, and already within the Executioners hands,) that would

O that this Pagans thought were our noble Chriſtians meditation, they would not then ſo proudly ouerlooke the poore, who are one with them in the graue, and like to be greater then they in Heauen.

onely entreate this fauour, that he might be beheaded the laſt? Thus doe wee: we account it a great matter to dye lateſt. All of vs are condemned, and moſt iuſtly condemned to a capitall puniſhment. For (which is greateſt comfort to thoſe that are to ſuffer the moſt extremities) all mens cauſe is one. If the Magiſtrate had pronounced a ſentence againſt vs, euery one ſhould ſee vs march forward and ſubmit our ſelues vnto the Hang-man. What matter is it, whether by commandement, or of our owne accord we march vnto death? O how little ſenſe haſt thou, and how ſmall conſideration of thy frailty, if thou feareſt death when it thundereth? Doth thy life returne againe by thy feare? Shalt thou liue if the lightning touch thee not? The Sword will hit thee, the Stone will ſtrike thee, the Feuer will ſhake thee. Lightning is not the greateſt, but the faireſt of thy dangers. But truly thou ſhould be badly dealt withall, if that infinite celeritie ſhould preuent the ſence of thy death, if thy death ſhould afterwards be expiated with Sacrifice. If thou alſo at ſuch time as thou yeeldeſt vp the ghoſt, art a ſigne not of a vaine, but of ſome great thing. Truly it is a great iniurie for thee to be burned with lightning. But thou feareſt when the Heauen thundreth, thou quakeſt when the clouds break, and expireſt as often as lightning appeareth. What then? Thinkeſt thou it to be a matter more honeſt, to dye for feare, then vpon lighning? Lift vp thy head then, I pray thee, more boldly againſt the menaces of Heauen, and when the World ſhall be all on fire, thinke thou that thou haſt nothing to loſe in ſo generall and famous a death. If thou thinkeſt that this confuſion of cloudes, this diſcord of tempeſts, this conflict in the Aire is prepared againſt thee, and that this great collection of fires conſpireth thy ruine: comfort thy ſelfe likewiſe by this thought, that thy death is of ſome great importance. But thou ſhalt not haue time or place to bethinke thee of this, the verie caſualtie it ſelfe cauſeth feare. And amongſt the reſt, this is one commodity thereof, that it preuenteth thine expectation. For neuer did any man feare lightning, except he that hath eſcaped it.

The end of the ſecond Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

Dedicated to Lvcillivs.

The third Booke.

Which intreateth vpon the Waters.

The Preface.

I Am not ignorant, *Lucillius*, the beſt of men, how in my retyred yeares I lay the foundations of mighty matters, who haue reſolued with my ſelfe to circuit the Word, and to diſcouer the cauſes and ſecrets of the ſame, and afterwards to publiſh them, and to inſtruct others in them. When ſhall I attayne ſo much? When ſhall I gather together things ſo diſſeuered? When ſhall I cleerly conceiue thoſe things that are hidden? Olde age hangs vpon my backe, and reprocheth mee with my loſt time that was ſpent in vaine occupations; ſo much the more therefore let vs preſſe forward, and let labour recompence the loſſes of a life ſo ill imploued. Let vs ioyne night with day. Let vs cut off our occupations in worldly affaires, and let the Maſter take no more care of them; let the minde be wholly awakened in it ſelfe, and at leaſt-wiſe in this later time ſettle himſelfe in contemplation and knowledge of himſelfe: which he ſhall doe if he draw himſelfe to account, and meaſure euery day the ſhortneſſe of time, he ſhall recompence by diligent vſe of the remainder of life, all that which is loſt of former time. It is a great contentment to the mind, when as being diſpleaſed and aſhamed of the time that is paſt, he addicteth himſelfe

Seneca in this his Preface yeeldeth a noble reaſon why in theſe his retyred yeares hee addicteth himſelfe to the ſerious ſtudies, which is, his care he hath to inſtruct poſteritie.

to the exercises of vertue. It pleaseth mee to cry out, and publish this Verse of the famous Poet,

We lend our haughty minds, more prouder wings,
And in small time contriue most mighty things.

Thus would I say were I a child, and thus were I a young man: for there is no time that is not scant enough for so mightie things. But now we haue retyred our selues to a matter both serious, graue, and almost infinite, and wee debate thereon in the after-noones. Let vs therefore doe as they are wont, who set forward on long iournies, who recompence their late rising with speedie footing. Let vs make haste, and without excusing our selues by age, let vs manage this price of businesse, which though I know not whether I may compasse, yet I am assured that it is great: my minde increaseth as often as hee intendeth and thinkes on the greatnesse of my attempt, and busieth not himselfe about the time, but vpon his deliberation. Some men haue spent themselues in disgesting and setting downe the Acts of forreine Kings, and what the people either suffered or attempted together. How much better is it to reforme our owne infirmities, then to discouer other mens vnto posterity? How farre better is it, to celebrate the workes of the gods, then the Thefts of *Philip*, *Alexander*, and some others? who renowned for ouerthrowing diuers Nations, were no lesse plagues amongst mortall men, then inundations that drowne vp euery plaine, or fires which should confound and burne vp the greater part of men and beasts? They write how *Hannibal* passed the Alpes, in what manner he brought the Warre into Italie, how he was fortified by the Victories he had obtained in *Spaine*, how after the ruine of *Carthage* (his affairs and fortunes growing desperate) he obstinately solicited Kings, offering himselfe to make War against the *Romanes*, yea, though it were without an Army: how he ceassed not, being strooken with age, to seeke out War in euery angle of the World, so well could he be without his Countrey, and so little could he endure to be without an enemy. How farre better is it to enquire what is to bee done, then what is done, and to teach those that haue submitted themselues to Fortune, that she giueth nothing but incertainties, and that all, whatsoeuer she hath, fleeteth away like the wind? For she cannot stay in one place, shee taketh pleasure to substitute sorrow in stead of ioy, and to confound them together. Let no man therefore bee confident in prosperitie, nor diffident in aduersitie. The affaires of the World haue their changes; Why art thou proud? Thou knowest not where these things that lift thee thus aloft intend to leaue thee: they shall haue theirs, but not thine end; why lyest thou on the ground? thou art falne to the lowest, it is now time for thee to stand vpright: aduersities are changed to the best, desires to the worst. In thinking vpon the resolution of things, it is good to cast our eye, not onely on particular houses (which a little wind ouerthroweth) but also on publike Estates. There are Kingdomes that haue raysed themselues from very slight beginnings, aboue those that were their Commanders. The ancient Monarchies decayed when they were at their highest: innumerable haue those Gouernments bin that haue bin broken by others. At this day, as much as euer, God raiseth vp some Estates, and humbleth others: neither doth he it in a milder sort, but in such manner hee disperseth them, that there remayneth no appearance of their re-establishment. We beleeue these things to bee great, because we our selues are small. Many things haue their greatnesse, not according to their nature, but according to our hu-

For the one teacheth preuention, the other amongst good men remorse.

humilitie: what thinke we to be the principall thing in humane life? Is it not to haue couerd the back of the Ocean with our ſhips, nor to haue ſetled our confines on the ſhoares of the red ſea, neither for want of finding out land to haue ſought the vnknown Iſles, in forraging and ſpoyling the whole world: But it is to haue beheld all theſe things in thought, to haue conquered our vices (which is the greateſt victorie of all others.) Innumerable are thoſe men that haue had Cities and Nations vnder their gouernment, but few there are that haue beene Lords of themſelues: what is the principall matter? To raiſe a mans minde aboue the threats and promiſes of fortune; to thinke nothing worthie to be hoped for: for what is there that is worth the wiſhing for? As oftentimes as thou ſhalt giue ouer the contemplation of diuine things, and haue recourſe vnto humane, thou ſhalt ſee as little as they doe, who forſake the brightneſſe of a cleere Sun, and enter into a thicke ſhadow and darkeneſſe. What is the chiefeſt matter? To be able to endure aduerſities with a conſtant minde, to ſuffer whatſoeuer it be that happeneth, as if thou wert willing it ſhould happen. For thou ſhouldeſt doe no leſſe, if thou thoughteſt that all things were done by Gods ordinance. To weepe, to complaine, and lament, is a kinde of reuolt. What is the chiefeſt? A minde that is confirmed and confident againſt calamities, not onely an aduerſary, but a mortall enemy of diſſolution, a minde neyther greedie of anger, neither flying it, that knoweth how, not to expect but to make fortune, and to march forth againſt both of theſe, both dreadleſſe and vnconfuſed; a minde that is neither ſhaken by her tumult, nor blaſted with her brightneſſe. What is the chiefeſt? Not to entertaine euill counſailes into our mindes, to lift clean hands vnto heauen, to require no good that ſhould be deriued vnto thee, either by one mans gift, or another mans loſſe. To wiſh that which a man may do without any other mans preiudice, namely, for a good conſcience. And as touching thoſe other things (which the children of this world prize ſo much) to reſpect them (although ſome misfortune ſhould beare away both houſe and ſubſtance) as things that muſt iſſue by that place where they entered. What is the chiefeſt? To raiſe the minde farre aboue all caſualties, to remember that thou art a man, that whether thou be happy, thou muſt know that this will not continue long; or vnhappy, thou mayeſt know that thou art not ſo, except thou thinke thy ſelfe ſo. What is the chiefeſt? Aboue all things to haue a free minde: it is not the lawe of the Quirites, but the libertie of nature that giueth this. But that man is free, that hath diſcharged himſelfe from himſelfe. To be ſubiect to a mans paſſions is a continuall ſeruitude, from which it is impoſſible to eſcape, a ſlauerie that preſſeth with an equall weight, as well by day as by night, without intermiſſion, and without reliefe. To be ſlaue vnto a mans ſelfe, is the ſeruitude of ſeruitudes, which is eaſily diſmiſſed if thou deſiſt from importuning thy ſelfe in many things, if thou ceaſeſt to haue a wil to bribe thy ſelfe, if thou ſet before thy eyes thy weakeneſſe and age, and ſay vnto thy ſelfe, Why am I mad? Why puffe I? Why ſweat I? Why change I places? Why haunt I the courts and places of conference? I haue neyther neede of much nor of long time. Moreouer, it ſhall be good to conſider the nature of things: this will firſt of all cauſe vs to retire our ſelues from ſhamefull matters, and afterwards will ſeparate the bodie very far from the minde, which ſhould be great and ſublime. Furthermore, thoſe ſubtile diſcourſes which we haue made in our ſelues, ſhall not make vs worſe in open aſſemblies. But there is nothing more open then theſe wholſome counſailes, by which we may learne to bridle our vices and furies, which we daily belieue, but giue ouer neuer.

How true this is the greateſt wiſe men haue teſtified, the wiſeſt Philoſophers, the greateſt Kings haue confirmed to their diſgrace.

Worthy contemplation. O had the light of grace accompanied theſe lights of nature.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the originall of waters, and their causes.

NOw let vs enter into the consideration of Waters, and examine after what meanes they are made; either as *Ouid* saith,

Cleare was the fountaine bubling from the sand;
Baining with siluer streames the fruitfull land:

Or as *Virgil* saith,

Where by nine channels with a roaring noyse,
The wrathful sea breaks through the mountain hie
And drownes the fruitfull pastures that are nie.

Or as I finde in my deareſt *Iunior*;

And from Sicilian springs,
ELEVS *drawes his wings.*

How the sea furnisheth them.

If any reason can discouer their course; how so many huge flouds fleete along both day and night; why the one swell and waxe proud through Winter waters; other, when as the rest are at the lowest, are at the highest. In the meane space let vs separate *Nilus* from the rest, that hath a peculiar & singular nature: we will reserue a day for him, but now we will onely intreat of common waters both cold and hote. In which we are to enquire whether they spring so of their owne natures, or whether they haue other causes. Of the rest likewise we will discourse, which are either famous for their sauour, or for any other particular profite: for some helpe the eyes, some the nerues, some heale desperate and inueterate sicknesses that are giuen ouer by the Physitions. Some there are that heale vlcers; some being drunke, fortifie the internall parts, and remedie the infirmities of the lungs and other inward vessels. Some restraine and stop bloud: In briefe, they are no lesse different in their vse, then in their sauour.

Their diuers effects.

CHAP. II.

What their diuersity and taste is.

WAters in generall are either standing, or flow, or are collected, or haue diuers veines; some are sweet, some are various in taste, other some harsh or salt, or fit for medicin: of which, we say, some are of brimstone, some of yron, and some of allume. Their sauor sheweth what their property is. They haue besides these, many other differences; first, in respect of touch, being either colde or hote; then in regard of weight, being all either light or heauy. Againe, in respect of colour, some there are that are pure, some troubled, blew and shining. Likewise in regard of their effect and wholsomnesse, for some are healthsome and profitable, others are deadly, and some there are that conuert into stone. Some are subtill and thin; others, thicke, fat, and oyly; some nourish, some passe by without helping him any waies that drinketh of them; some being drunk, cause fecunditie.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

THe poſition of the place is the cauſe why eyther the water ſtandeth or floweth; it runneth when it paſſeth by ſteepe and bending places, in the plaine it is ſtill and ſtanding: ſometimes by a contrary wind it is driuen and cauſed to mount. Sometimes it is gathered together, and runneth not: It is engroſſed by the meanes of ſhowres, and is naturall in reſpect of her ſourſe; yet is there no cauſe to the contrarie, but that the Water may ſpring and bee multiplyed in one place. Which we obſerue in the lake Fucine, into which all thoſe waters are deriued that fall from the neighbouring mountains: Beſides this, great and many hidden Waters it containeth, which obſerue their colour, although the Winter-flouds flow into them.

Of their ſituation.

CHAP. IV.

FIrſt of all therefore let vs enquire if the earth be ſufficient to continue the courſe of Riuers, from whence there iſſueth ſo much water: we wonder that the ſeas receiue not any encreaſe, by reaſon of ſo many Riuers that diſcharge themſelues into it. And no leſſe wonderfull is it, that the earth feeleth no alteration and damage by thoſe ſo many waters that iſſue from it. What is it that hath ſo filled it, that ſhee can diſcharge ſo much out of her ſecrets, to furniſh at all times? What reaſon ſoeuer we haue deliuered of Riuers, the ſame will we propoſe as touching brookes and fountaines.

Whence iſſue ſo many waters as wee ſee.

CHAP. V.

DIuers thinke that the earth receiueth againe into her whatſoeuer waters ſhe hath ſent out, and that the ſeas encreaſe not hereby, becauſe they conuert not that which floweth into them to their vſe, but deliuer it out incontinently: for the Sea-water by an vnknowne way paſſeth thorow the earth, & diſcouereth it ſelfe againe, and then ſecretly returneth, and is ſtrayned, and depraued in his paſſages, and being beaten by the diuers ingates, and cauities of the earth, laies aſide its ſaltneſſe, and changeth the prauitie of his ſauor, by paſſage through ſo many different channels, and at laſt becommeth ſweet water.

If the earth giueth and receiueth the waters.

CHAP. VI.

SOme thinke that whatſoeuer Raine waters the earth entertaineth, doe afterwards fall againe into the riuers. And to ſtrengthen their opinion, they ſay, that there are verie few riuers in thoſe countries where it ſeldome rayneth. And therefore, ſay they, the deſerts of *Æthiopia* are dry, and that there are few fountaines to be found within the heart of *Africa*, becauſe the nature of the ayre is extremely hote, and for

If Raines be the efficient cauſe of waters.

for the moſt part it is alwaies Summer. Theſe places then that haue neyther hearbes nor trees, but are ſandie, are verie little or neuer watered with Raines, which if they fall, they ſodenly drinke vp. But contrariwiſe, it is well knowne, that *Germanie*, and *France*, and *Italie* their Neighbour, abound in Springs and Riuers, becauſe they haue a moiſt Aire, and a Summer that is not without Raine.

Chap. VII.

The refutation of the former opinion.

THou ſeeſt that many things may be vrged againſt this opinion: Firſt, I who am a very diligent digger of Vineyards, affirme this vnto thee, that there is no Raine ſo great that wetteth the earth aboue tenne foot deepe. All the humiditie conſumeth it ſelfe in the vpper cruſt thereof, and deſcendeth not to the lower parts: How then can the Raine furniſh the Riuers with water when as it doth but wet the vpper part of the earth? The greater part hereof is carried into the Sea by the channels of Riuers. The earth drinketh vp a verie little, and keepeth it not, for eyther ſhe is drie and conſumeth that which falleth vpon her, or is wet, refuſing that which the heauen too laviſhly powreth vpon her. And therefore Riuers increaſe not vpon the firſt Raines, by reaſon that the drie earth drinketh it all vp. Moreouer, are there not Riuers that iſſue out of rocks and mountaines? What increaſe ſhould the Raines giue them that ſtreame along the rocks, and find not any earth to ſtay vpon? Adde hereunto, that in drie places in thoſe pits which are digged two or three hundreth foote deepe, there are found ſources of liuing waters in a depth, whither the Raine cannot penetrate; ſo that you may know that there is no celeſtiall or reſerued humour there, but onely pure and ſpringing water. This very argument refuteth the opinion of thoſe that alledge that ſome Fountaines are ſeene to caſt out water on the tops of mountaines; whence it appeareth, that waters mount vp on high, or that they are produced there, conſidering that all raine-water falleth downewards.

Chap. VIII.

That the waters flow from ſome hidden places vnder the earth.

DIuers thinke that as in the exterior part of the earth many vaſt mariſhes extend themſelues, beſides great and nauigable lakes; and as the ſeas are ſtretched out thorow the huge ſpaces of earth, and are infuſed into the vallies, ſo the interior parts of the earth abound in ſweet waters, and that they flow no leſſe then the Ocean, and the armes thereof doth with vs, nay rather ſo much the larger, the more the earth ſtretcheth out on high: and therefore from that deepe abundance the Riuers proceed, and are deriued; which why wondreſt thou that the earth feeleth them not when they are taken from her, when as the Ocean hath no ſenſe of them when they are added to him?

Chap.

Chap. IX.

Many like of this cauſe: They ſay that the earth hath ſome ſecret cauities in her, and much ſpirit, which neceſſarily waxing colde, and being oppreſſed with a weightie obſcuritie, at length becommeth ſlow and without motion; and finally, changeth it ſelfe into water. Euen as the change of Ayre is the cauſe of ſhadow amongſt vs, ſo in the earth, the ayre produceth the water. It cannot long time continue aboue vs, becauſe it is weightie and ſtill. Sometimes it is attenuated by the Sunne, ſometimes it is diſſipated by the windes, by meanes whereof we ſee, that there are great ſpaces betweene Raines. But all that which is vnder earth, to make the aire turne into water is alwaies the ſame, perpetuall obſcuritie, continuall cold, vnexerciſed thickneſſe; alwaies therefore will theſe yeeld cauſes to fountaines and flouds: if wee agree that the earth is mutable, yet all that ſhe ſhall thruſt forth is thickned, becauſe it is not conceiued by a pure and free aire, and conſequently is ſuddenly conuerted into water.

If aire being conuerted to water vnder earth be the efficient cauſe of waters.

Chap. X.

You ſee now the firſt cauſes, how waters are bred vnder the earth: Adde hereunto alſo if thou wilt, That all is made of all, aire of water, water of aire, fire of aire, aire of fire. Why therefore ſhould not earth be made of water, and water of earth? which if it be changeable into any thing, may be changed into water, nay moſt of all into it. Both of them reſemble one another, both of them are heauie and thick, and are lodged together in the Center of the world. Earth is made of water, and why ſhould not water be made of earth? But there are great Riuers: But when thou ſeeſt how great they are, conſider againe from how great a thing they come. Againe, thou wondreſt that although ſome float inceſſantly, and others flie with a maruailous ſwiftneſſe, yet neuer haue they want of new water. And what wilt thou ſay, that whereas the windes impell the ayre, yet notwithſtanding it faileth in no part, being not carried in a certaine channell as Riuers, but turneth by a ſodaine and ſpacious motion through this vaſt extent of the heauens? Art thou not amazed to ſee that there is not one drop of water left, after ſo many billows that haue beaten againſt the rocks, and ſhores. There is nothing deficient that returneth into it ſelfe. The elements doe nothing elſe but turne and returne. That which the one loſeth, the other getteth: And nature examineth her parts as it were in a ballance, for feare leſt if there were too little on the one ſide, and too much on the other, the world ſhould fall into ruine. All things are in all things, not only the aire paſſeth into the element of fire, but is neuer without fire. Take away heat from it, it will freeze, it will grow thicke, and hard: The aire is changed into water, yet in ſuch ſort that before that time it was not without humour. Both aire and water are made by earth, yet is ſhee neuer leſſe without water then without aire. And therefore the paſſage through both the one and the other is more eaſie, becauſe he is alreadie intermixed with thoſe elements through which ſhe muſt paſſe. The earth then hath humiditie, and this ſhe expreſſeth. She hath the aire likewiſe, which is thickned by the ſhadow of Winters cold, to the intent to produce humiditie: She is changeable into humour, and vſeth her owne nature.

Whether water proceede from the earth.

Of the tranſmutation of one element into an other.

Chap.

CHAP. XI.

Why Riuers and fountaines are dried vp sometimes.

WHat therefore, saiest thou, if the causes be perpetuall whereby Riuers and fountaines rise, why are they somtimes dried and sometimes issue from those places where they were not? Ofttimes their passages are intercepted by the trembling and motion of the earth; and ruines cut off their issues, and by restrayning the waters, enforce them to seeke new passages, yea and to inforce their way, or else to breake forth their way in another place by reason of some earthquake. It falleth out almost ordinarily amongst vs, that the Riuers that haue lost their head, first spread themselues, & afterwards hauing lost their way, do that which *Theophrastus* saith, hapned in the Mountaine called Corycus, in which, after an earthquake, there brake forth diuers fountaines that were not discouered before. But some think that by diuers other interuenient accidents, the waters are deriued and drawne from their accustomed courses. The time hath been when there was no water to be found in the Mountaine Hemus, but when as the French men beeing besieged by *Cassander*, had retyred themselues into those parts, and had cut downe the woods, there appeared a great quantitie of water which the trees had retayned for their aliment: which being cut downe, that humour that was wont to bee consumed in nourishing them, began to spread it selfe. The like (saith he) hapned also about Magnesia. But if I may speake without any offence to *Theophrastus*, this matter is vnlikely. For the most part those places that are shadowed, are fulleſt of water, which would not come to passe if the trees dryed vp the moisture, that haue their nourishment so neere: but the force of Riuers springeth from beneath, and hath farre more extent and humour then the rootes can containe. Furthermore, the trees that are lopped deserue more humour, not only to maintaine their being, but also for their increase. The same man saith, that about Arcadia, which was a Citie in Creete, the Fountaines and Lakes dried vp, because the Citie was ruined, and the land ceassed to bee manured: but after it began to be husbanded, the waters returned againe. By reason of this dryenesse, they thinke that the earth is hardened, and that remayning vnmanured, it could not yeeld forth water. Whence commeth it therefore that we see many fountaines in the Deserts and those places that are no waies put in vse? In briefe, wee finde that there are many places in diuers countries which haue been tilled vp by reason of those waters that haue beene found in them; and that othersome haue not begunne to make shew of sources, because they haue not beene husbanded. For by this shalt thou vnderstand that it is not raine-water that presently deriueth from a fountaine those vast flouds, that are fit to beare great ships of burden, because that both in winter and sommer these flouds haue their equall course from the beginning vnto the ending. Raine may make a torrent, but not a Riuer, that streameth and floteth with an equall tide betwixt his brincks and bankes. The raines make not the water, but excite the same.

Chap. XII.

Let vs (if it ſeeme good vnto thee) examine this matter more neerely, and thou ſhalt ſee that thou art far from thy reckoning, if thou conſider the true originall of riuers: vndoubtedly it is the abundance of perpetuall water, and ſuch as neuer drieth vp, that is the cauſe of a Riuer. If therefore you aske mee how water is made, I will intreat you alſo to anſwer me how aire or earth is made? if there be foure elements, a man cannot aske of thee whence water is, for it is the fourth part of nature: why therefore wondreſt thou that ſo great a portion of Nature may alwaies ſpread ſomething out of it ſelfe? Euen as the aire which is the fourth part of the world moueth the winds, ſo the water moueth brookes and riuers: if the winde be a flowing aire, euery riuer is a flowing water. I haue giuen him ſufficient force, ſince I haue giuen him the name of an element: for thou knoweſt that that which proceedeth from it cannot faile.

What is the true cauſe of Riuers.

Chap. XIII.

Water, as *Thales* ſaith, is the ſtrongeſt of all the Elements, and in his opinion it is the firſt, becauſe that all things haue been created of water. For we likewiſe are either of the ſame opinion, or iumpe in the concluſion. For we ſay that it is the fire that occupieth the world, and conuerteth all things into himſelfe; which vaniſhing and being gathered into it ſelfe, and afterwards being extinct, there remaineth nothing in the nature of things but water, and that in fire the hope of the future world is incloſed: ſo the fire is the beginning of the world, and water the ending. Doeſt thou wonder that Riuers may alwaies iſſue from this Element, which was in ſtead of all, and out of which all things were? This humour in the diſpoſition of all things was reduced to the fourth, and ſo placed, that it migh ſuffice both to produce flouds, riuers, and fountaines. That which followeth is a fooliſh opinion of *Thales*, for he ſaith that the Globe of the earth is ſuſtained by water, and carried after the manner of a boat, and fluctuateth in his mobilitie, at ſuch time as it is ſaid to tremble; it is not therefore to be wondred at, that there is ſufficient water to make Riuers, conſidering that all the world is in water. But hiſſe away, and contemne this olde opinion. For thou art not to thinke that water entereth by certaine creuiſes into this World, and worketh out a pompe.

The opinion of Thales as touching water.

Chap. XIV.

The Ægyptians made foure Elements, and then of euery one of them two, male and female. They ſuppoſe the ayre to bee the male becauſe it is winde, female becauſe it is obſcure and ſtill. They call fire maſculine, becauſe it burneth with a flame; feminine, becauſe it ſhineth without hurting by touching. The ſtronger earth they cal male, as for example, ſtones, and rocks: they aſſigne the name of female, to that which is manuable and fit to be employed.

The opinion of the Egyptians as touching the number of the Elements.

Chap. XV.

How and from whence the waters proceed.

WHence is the Sea? From the beginning it was ſo made, hee hath vaines whereby he is impelled, and floweth. As the way of the ſea is vaſt and hidden, ſo is that of the milder waters, which no courſe of any riuer whatſoeuer may drie vp. The reaſon of the forces of the ſame is hidden. There iſſueth no more from it then there is ſuperfluitie; we approue ſome of theſe opinions, but conſider beſides theſe, that which enſueth. I conſent that the earth is gouerned by Nature, and that it hath ſome reſemblance with our bodies, wherein there are vaines and arteries, the one to containe the bloud, the other the ſpirit. In the earth likewiſe there are ſuch waies, whereby the water runneth, and others, whereby the winde whirleth, which Nature hath ſo formed according to the reſemblance of our bodies, that our Anceſtors haue called them vaines, which are the ſources of waters. But as in vs, beſides the vaines, there are diuers ſorts of humours, either neceſſarie, or ſuperfluous and ſtincking; the braines for the head, the marrow for the bones, the muſkles, the excrements of the eyes, the nerues in the ioynts to procure a more eaſie motion: ſo are there diuers ſorts of humiditie found in the earth. Some being ripened, are hardened as mettals, amongſt which auarice hath digged vp gold and ſiluer. There are others likewiſe which are changed into ſtone. In ſome places the earth and water melt themſelues, as we ſee in *Bitumen*, a clammie, limie, and pitchie ſubſtance, and in others. This is the cauſe of waters that are bred according to the ordinance of Nature. But as in our bodies, ſo oftentimes in the earth the humours are corrupted, either a ſtroake, or ſome ſhaking, or the age of the place, or cold, or heate offend Nature: ſo a ſulphurous earth will draw a certaine humour, which ſometimes wil continue long, ſometimes little. Euen as therefore in our bodies when a vaine is opened, the bloud floweth ſo long, vntill there be no more, or vntill the orifice of the prick be ſhut, and hath a cicatriſe; or in any other ſort the bloud be ſtopped: in ſuch ſort in the earth, when the vaines of the ſame are open, the brooks or riuers ſpred themſelues. That only is to be conſidered how great the orifice is, and how the water is conſumed: ſomtimes it is dried vp by ſome impediment, ſometimes it vniteth it ſelfe, as it were, in a cicatriſe, and followeth that way which ſhe hath made: ſometimes this maſſe of earth, which, as wee ſaid, is immutable, ceaſeth to conuert the humiditie into nutriment: ſometimes the conduits that are dried are filled againe, eyther in aſſembling their owne force, or gathering it from others. For oft-times thoſe things that are void, being ſet neere vnto thoſe things that are full, draw the humor from them, which paſſeth eaſily into another thing. Oftentimes the earth drieth it ſelfe, and afterwards becommeth moiſt. The ſame falleth out vnder earth, which happeneth in the clouds, that the earth thickeneth her ſelfe, and engendereth an humiditie ſo waightie, that ſhe can no longer containe it. Oftentimes ſhe gathereth a thin and diſperſed liquor like vnto dew, which is gathered from diuers places into one. Thoſe Maſters that make fountaines, call it the ſweat of the earth, becauſe that certaine droppes are expreſſed thorow the ſtraitneſſe of the place, or are drawne by cunning. In this place there needeth much humiditie for a little ſource. But as touching the greater riuers, they proceed from verie great cauſes and conceptions, ſometimes they flow mildely, if the water hath onely carried her ſelfe by her owne waight: ſometimes with vehemencie and great noyſe, if the ayre be intermixed, and puſh it forth.

Diuers humidities in the earth, as in our bodies.

Chap.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the flux and reflux of ſome fountaines, and the encreaſe and decreaſe of ſome riuers at certain ſeaſons.

BVt why are ſome fountaines for ſixe houres ſpace full, and ſixe houres drie? It were but labor loſt to name all thoſe riuers which ſwell for diuers months, and are ſmall for certaine other. It is not now needfull to ſeeke out a reaſon for euery one in particular, ſince I may yeeld the ſame reaſon for all riuers in generall. Euen as the quartan ague commeth at an houre, the gowt hath a certaine terme; and purgation, if nothing hinder it, keepeth his critique day, and the female produceth her fruit in a prefixed time: ſo the waters haue their pauſes both to ebbe and flow. But ſome ſpaces are leſſe, and therefore more notable, ſome greater and no leſſe certaine. Why ſhould a man wonder hereat, when as thou ſeeſt the order of things diſpoſed by degrees, according to aſſignations. The Winter hath alwaies kept his courſe. The Summer is warmed in due time. The changes of Autumne and Spring obſerue their vſuall cuſtomes: both the Solſtice and Æquinoctials haue reference to their daies. Vnder earth the Laws of Nature are leſſe knowne vnto vs, yet are they not leſſe certaine. Belieue that thou ſeeſt as much vnder earth as aboue. For there are, moſt ſpacious dennes, infinite and great retreats, and large ſpaces betweene the mountaines that are hanged here and there. There are a number of hollowes and bottomleſſe pits that haue ſwallowed vp whole Cities, and haue hidden ſtrange ruins in their depths. Theſe caues are full of aire, (for there is nothing void in the Vniuers) and in ſpacious and obſcure pooles, likewiſe, there breed certaine creatures (although confuſed and deformed) as if ingendred in a blind and fat aire, and in waters ouergrowne with mud, diuers of which are blinde, as Moales and Rats that are bred vnder ground, who want light, becauſe they haue no need thereof. From thence likewiſe, as *Theophraſtus* thinketh, fiſhes are drawn forth in ſome places.

CHAP. XVII.

After ſome digreſſion he taunteth the vnbridled vanitie of diſſolute men of his time, in reſpect of their fiſh.

THere are many things in this place will come vnto thy minde, which a man may terme after a merry ſort, both incredulous and fabulous; that a man ſhould go & fiſh with his pick-axe, and not with nets and hookes. I expect that ſome one ſhould go a fiſhing in the ſea. But why may not fiſhes as well haunt vpon the earth, as we trauerſe the Seas? In the end we will change our abode. Doeſt thou wonder at that which I haue ſpoken? How farre more incredible are the workes of exceſſe and diſſolution, as often as ſhe liſt to falſifie and ſurmount Nature? Fiſhes ſwim in the chamber, & vnder the verie table the fiſh is taken, that is dreſſed and ſerued in preſently to the talbe. A Barbel newly taken is not delicate enough, if it dieth not in their hands that are inuited to dinner. They are ſhut vp, ſerued in, and ſhewed in pots of glaſſe, at which time men take pleaſure in their colour, when they are readie to die, which is changed diuerſly, when as the fiſh beginneth to wax weak, and beateth her ſelfe to death by little and little. Some they kill in *Garum*, or pickle, and dreſſe them liuing. Where are they then that thinke it impoſſible that a fiſh ſhould liue vnder the earth, and be digged out, and not taken? How incredible would this ſeeme vnto them, that a fiſh ſwims in pickle, and that it was not killed for ſupper, but in the middeſt of ſupper, and made much ſport, and fed the eyes before it ſatisfied the belly?

Chap. XVIII.

He continueth his reproofe against mens excesse.

Let vs giue ouer this dispute, and suffer me to censure this excesse. There is nothing more faire, saiest thou, then to see a Barbel die. At such time as she strugleth for life, first there appeareth a rednesse, and afterwards she is couered all with paleness, which are equally varied, and the face of the colour is vncertaine betwixt life and death. O long idleness of sleepie and sluggish dissolution: too late hath she beene awakened, too late hath she knowne, that she was depriued and defrauded of so great a good. Yet fisher-men enioyed this so great and goodly spectacle, hauing the meanes to see such a fish dead and sodden for their table. We wondered to see them so dainty, that they would not touch the fish, except it were taken the same day, which, as they said, should taste of the sea it selfe. Therefore were they carried in poste, and in euerie streete whole companies made way for rippiers, that puffed and cryed out as they ranne, to make way. But to what height is excesse grown? That fish that is caught and killed to day is reputed rotten. I will not trust thee with a matter of so great importance, I will haue it brought me aliue, and I will see it die. The stomackes of the belly-gods are seazed with this loathing, that they cannot taste a fish, except they haue seen it swimming, and dying at their banquets. The more that excesse and furious desires of superfluities made them ingenious, the more also did their furie, contemning all vsuall matters, inuent daily some new subtiltie and magnificence. We haue heard it spoken, that in times past the Barbel that was taken amongst rockes, and in stony places, was a daintie dish. But now we heare them say, that there is nothing more pleasing, then to see a Barbell die. Giue me the glasse-bodie into my hands, that I may see it leape and quiuer. When it hath beene much and long time praised, it is suddenly taken out of that cleere fish-poole, then euery one as he is cunninger shewes his opinion. See how this rednesse appeareth more tinctured then Vermilion. Behold what veines he discouereth on his sides, you would say his belly were of bloud? What cleare and blew colour hath he discouered at one time? Now he stretched out himselfe, and becommeth pale and of one color. But amongst all these deuisers, you shall finde none of them that will sit by his friend that lies a dying, no man will haue the hart to see his father yeeld vp the ghost, although he hath wished his death heartily. Who is he amongst all these gourmands, that followeth a dead man of his family to the fire? He wil abandon his parents & friends at the last houre, yet notwithstanding they assemble themselues together to see a dying fish? For in their opinion there is nothing more faire. I cannot chuse but gird at them somtimes, and vse some tart and rude termes in respect of these men, who when there is any question of kitchin-worke, are not content with their teeth, throats, and bellies to feed their excesse, except they surfet with their eyes.

Chap. XIX.

The difference of waters vnder the earth.

But to returne vnto my purpose, take this for a certaine argument, that in the hollow places of the earth, there are a great abundance of hidden waters that breed much corrupt and muddy fish, which if at any time they breake forth, bring with them an immeasurable troupe of fishes horrible to sight, and filthy and vnwhole-

vnwholeſome in taſte; truely at ſuch time as a great quantitie of this water iſſued out of the earth in the country of *Caria*, neere to the City of *Lorina*: All they died whoſoeuer did eate of thoſe fiſhes that were drawne out of that Riuer which before time was vnknowne. Neither is this to be wondred at; for ſuch fiſhes as theſe, becauſe they had beene long time ſhut vp, were become great, fat, and long, but ſlymie, and fatned in the darkneſſe, and had neuer ſeen the light, whence commeth the wholeſomenes of all victuals. That fiſhes may breede in the hollow of the earth, it appeareth, becauſe that Eeles are taken in hidden places, in troubled waters and pits; which yeeld a meat of hard diſgeſtion, by reaſon of their ſluggiſhneſſe, eſpecially when they are taken in thoſe places where there is ſo much mud, as they may wholly bury themſelues therin: ſo then the earth hath not only veines of water, which by their current may make riuers, but alſo flouds of great extent, whereof ſome runne alwaies vnderneath the earth, vntill ſuch time as they diſcharge themſelues in ſome gulfe, ſome appeare vnder ſome lake. And who knoweth not that there are certaine pooles which appeare without bottome? Whereto tendeth this? to ſhew that the great riuers haue a continuall matter to maintain them, whoſe extremities are not to be touched as they may be in ſprings and fountaines.

Peſtilent fiſhes, and why.

CHAP. XX.

WHy then haue waters diuers taſtes? for foure cauſes. The firſt is of the earth thorow which the waters are carried. The ſecond, by reaſon of the agreement and conueniency of the ſame. The third of ayre, which is transformed into water. The fourth of corruption, which hapneth vpon diuers occaſions. Theſe cauſes giue diuers ſauours and properties vnto waters. Theſe giue the vertue to heale infirmities, theſe yeeld a ſtinking dampe, and a peſtilent vapour; theſe lightnes or heauineſſe, or too much heate or colde. It importeth alſo to know whether they paſſe by the veines of ſulphure, nitre or bitume. If they be corrupted by ſome dangerous minerals, a man cannot drinke of them without the hazard of his life. Therefore it is that *Ouid* ſaith:

The Cicones haue ſuch a floud, that being drunke, doth change
Their bowels that doe drinke to ſtone, or elſe to marble ſtrange.

The cauſes of the diuers ſauours of waters.

This is a medicin, and hath a mud of that nature, that it both agglutinateth and hardneth that wherupon it is applied. Euen as the duſt of the territory of *Pruzzel*, if it toucheth this water is turned into ſtone; ſo contrariwiſe, this water if it toucheth any thing that is ſolid, it cleaueth, and is affixed thereunto. Thence is it that ſuch things as are caſt into this lake, are forthwith drawne out as hard as ſtone. The like whereof falleth out in ſome places of *Italie*, where if a man ſhall caſt a reed, or the leaues of trees into the water, thou ſhalt draw them out in few daies in the forme of ſtone: for the wiſde incloſeth the body on euery ſide, and by little and little taketh hold and hardneth it. This will ſeeme leſſe wonderfull and ſtrange vnto thee, if thou obſerue how theſe white and ſulphurous waters are hardned and congealed about their channels and pipes. Some ſuch cauſe haue theſe lakes whereof whoſoeuer drinketh, as the Poet ſaith,

Examples of marueilous waters.

Growes furious, or elſe fals to Lethargie.

It hath the like force that Wine hath, but more vehement: for euen as drunkenneſſe vntill it be dryed is madneſſe, and by the weight thereof driueth him that is drunke into ſleepe: ſo the ſulphurous vertue of this water hath ſome more powerfull venome in it by meanes of the corrupted Ayre, whence followeth eyther furie or lethargie, the like euill hath the riuer *Lynceſtius*.

Which who ſo drinkes, although his draught be ſmall,
Stumbles as if pure Wine had made him fall.

Chap. XXI.

Whence proceedeth theſe diuers effects in waters.

They that haue lookt downe into ſome deepe gulfes, doe dye; ſo ſodaine is the venome which killeth thoſe Birdes that doe but flie ouer it; ſuch is the ayre, and ſuch the place from whence this deadly water diſtilleth. But if the venome of that ayre and place be leſſe vehement, the euill alſo is in ſome ſort lenified, it onely debilitateth the nerues, and ſtupifieth them, as it were with drunkenneſſe. Neither doe I wonder, that the place and ayre doe infect the Waters, and maketh them like vnto thoſe regions, by which, and from which they come. The ſauor of the paſture appeareth in the milke, and the force of the wine is extant in the vineger; there is nothing that hath not ſome taſte of that from whence it was taken and bred.

Chap. XXII.

Of the Ocean created in the beginning of the world.

Another kind there is of water alſo, that as wee thinke had his beginning with the world, which if it be eternall, ſo is this likewiſe, and if it hath any beginning, it likewiſe hath a beginning with him. Aske you me what this is? It is the Ocean with all thoſe other ſeas that eyther flow from it, or waſh the borders of it. Some are of opinion that certaine Riuers, (whoſe nature cannot be expreſſed) haue had their beginnings with the world, as *Iſter* and *Nilus*, and other ſpacious flouds, and ſuch as a man cannot reckon in the ranke of others, nor deriue them from the ſame ſource.

Chap. XXIII.

Diuerſity of terreſtriall waters.

This is therefore the diuiſion of waters, according to ſome mens opinions. After theſe, there are celeſtiall waters, which the clouds powre downe from aboue. Amongſt the terreſtriall Waters, there are ſome (if I may ſo ſpeake it) that ſwim and flow aboue the earth, otherſome there bee that are hidden, whereof we haue yeelded a reaſon.

Chap.

CHAP. XIV.

Why theſe are hote waters.

SOme there are that yeeld diuers reaſons why certaine waters are hote, and others ſo boyling, that they can be of no vſe, except they be cooled by the Ayre, or tempered by the mixture of cold water. *Empedocles* thinketh that the water is hote by thoſe fires which the earth couereth and concealeth in diuers places, eſpecially if they runne vnder that ſoyle by which they take their paſſage. Wee are wont to make certaine Dragons and Serpentines, and diuers other faſhions of veſſels, in which we faſten diuers litle Pipes of thin braſſe bending downwards, to the end that the water diſtilling and turning oftentimes before the fire, may get iſſue in ſuch ſpace of time wherein it may take heate. It therefore entreth cold, and floweth out hote. *Empedocles* is of this opinion, that the ſame is done vnder the earth, to whoſe opinion they condeſcend whoſe Bathes are warmed without fire. A warme Ayre is infuſed thereunto, which ſerueth in ſteade of fire. This running through the Pipes warmeth the walles and veſſells of the Bath, as if fire had beene ſet neere vnto it. In briefe, the colde water is by this meanes changed into hote, neither doth the euaporation draw any ſauour, becauſe it paſſeth thorow cloſed and couered places. Some thinke that theſe waters that either paſſe by or enter theſe places that are full of ſulphure, draw their heate by the benefit of the matter thorow which they paſſe, which appeareth by their ſmell and taſte; for they yeeld the quality of the matter which hath warmed them; and leſt thou ſhouldeſt wonder at this accident, powre me but water vpon quick-lime, and it will burne.

CHAP. XXV.

Of venemous and deadly waters.

Notable Examples.

DIuers waters are deadly which neither offend in odour nor in taſte. About *Nonacris* in *Arcadia* there is a Riuer which the Inhabitants of the place call *Styx*, which deceiueth ſtrangers, becauſe both in ſight, and in ſmell, it reſembleth others, ſuch a-are the Poyſons of moſt cunning Poyſoners, which cannot be diſcouered but by death: but this water whereof I haue ſpoken a little before corrupteth with incredible ſwiftnes, neither is there any remedy for it, becauſe that as ſoone as it is drunken, it thickneth and hardneth as plaſter doth in the water, and cloſeth vp the bowels. There is likewiſe a certaine venemous water in *Theſſaly* about *Tempe*, which both wilde beaſts and all kind of cattell doe flye from, which pierceth both Iron and Braſſe, ſuch force it hath to mollifie thoſe things that are hard. There are no Trees that grow about it, nor any hearbes but it killeth them. In ſome Riuers there is a wonderfull propertie. For ſome of theſe there are, which being drunke do tincture and dye the flocks of ſheepe, and within a very ſhort ſpace thoſe that were blacke carrie white Wooll; and thoſe that came with white fleeces returne with blacke. The like effects likewiſe haue two Riuers in *Bætia*, whereof the one is called *Melas*, that is to ſay, black, by reaſon of his operation; yet both of theſe iſſue from the ſame Lake, though they haue different effects. In *Macedonia* likewiſe, as *Theophraſtus* ſaith, there is a floud, whitherto they that deſire to haue white ſheepe driue their flocks, which the longer they haue drunk, the more deeply are they dyed and

Pliny *calleth it* Ceron *in his ſecond Booke.*

and turned into white: but if they haue need of a browne colour, they haue a ready and free Dyer, for they driue the same flocke to the floud *Cerona*. I haue modern Authors that write, that there is a Riuer in *Galatia* that blacketh all that which is steeped in it; that in *Capadocia* there is another that changeth the colour of Horses onely (& not other beasts) causing their haires to be spotted with white. It is well knowne that there are some lakes that beare them vp, who cannot swim. There was in *Sicily*, and at this day there is in *Syria* a pond, on the top whereof whole Bricks doe swim, and although heauy things be cast into the same, yet cannot they sinke vnto the bottome. And the cause hereof is very manifest. Weigh me a thing whatsoeuer it be, and counterpoyse it with water, if the water bee more weighty it will beare vp the thing that is lighter then it selfe, and will raise the same aboue her the more lighter it is, and that which is more weighty will descend. But if the weight of the water, and the thing thou counterpoisest with it be equall, she shall not draw it to the bottom, neither shall it wholly swim aboue the water, but it shall bee carryed on euen with the water, yet shall swim as it were halfe drowned, and eminent in no part. Thence commeth it that some peeces of timber sometimes float wholly aboue the water, other some are halfe within the water, & others sinke to the bottom. For when as the weight of the wood and water are equall, and that the one thing yeeldeth in no sort to the other, that which is more weightie descendeth, and that which is lighter is carryed on the top of the water. But we esteeme the heauie and light, not according to our owne estimate, but in comparison of the thing that should carry and beare vp the same. When as therefore the water is heauier then the body of a man or a stone, she suffreth not that which is more lighter to sinke vnto the bottome. Whence it commeth to passe that the stones themselues float vpon the water, yea, euen those that are hardest & most solid. For there are many Pumice stones & such as are light, whereof certaine Islands in *Lydia* are composed, the which for this cause swimme in the Sea, if a man will beleeue *Theophrastus*. For mine owne part I my selfe haue seene an Island in the Lake of *Cutilias* that floated, another in the Lake of *Vadimona*, another in the Lake of *Station*, swimming vpon the water. The Island of *Cutilias* hath Trees and Herbes, growing on it, although the water beareth it vp, and is driuen hither and thither, not onely by a strong winde, but by euerie gentle gale whatsoeuer. Neither remaineth it eyther by day or night in one place, so moueable is it vpon euery breath of wind. There are two causes hereof: the weight of the medicinable water, and consequently more heauie; and the matter of the Isle which is apt to bee carryed, which hath no solid bodie, although it nourish Trees. For haply the fat humour taketh hold of, and bindeth together the lighter trunkes, and those leaues that are scattered in the Lake. Therefore although there be some stones in the same, yet shalt thou finde them spongie and hollow, such as those are which a thicke water collecteth and breedeth about the brinks of some medicinable Fountains, which are engendered of the soame that is made by the excrements of the water, that gather themselues together. That thing of necessitie must bee light, which is made of another thing that is windie and void. There are some secrets whereof a man can yeeld no reason; as why the water of *Nilus* maketh women fruitfull, in such sort that it hath opened and disposed to conception the Matrice of some women, that hath beene closed by long sterilitie; why likewise some waters in *Lycia* retaine the seed conceiued by women, who had their Matrice euer open. For mine own part, I number these things amongst those that are vndiscretly

The cause of such effects.

Of stones and other solid things that float aboue the water.

The reason of the marueilous Isle of Cutilias.

There are infinite secrets in Nature, whereof a man cannot giue a reason.

diſcreetly and raſhly publiſhed. Some beleeue that there are certaine waters that breed the ſcab in mens bodies, or that powred on the skin or drunken, the leproſie, and other white and deformed ſpots; which vice they aſcribe to that water that is gathered of dew. Who would not thinke that thoſe waters that are turned into Cryſtall are moſt weightie? yet is it farre otherwiſe; for this falleth out in the lighteſt waters, which the cold very eaſily congealeth, by reaſon that they are no waies thicke. But whence this ſtone is made, it appeareth very plainly by the name which the *Gracians* giue the ſame, for they call it κρύσταλλον, as well the tranſparent ſtone as the Ice, whereof it is ſuppoſed that the Cryſtall is made. For the celeſtiall water hauing very little earthly ſubſtance in it, when it is growne hard by the continuance and vehemencie of the longer cold, is thickened more and more, vntill ſuch time as (all ayre being excluded) it ſhutteth in it ſelfe, and that humour which was is made a ſtone.

How Cryſtall is made.

CHAP. XXVI.

IN Summer ſome flouds are increaſed, as *Nilus* (whereof wee will render another reaſon, in a more conuenient place.) *Theophraſtus* writeth, that in *Pontus* there are certaine Riuers that increaſe in the Summer time, whereof hee iudgeth that there are three cauſes; firſt, becauſe at that time moſt of all the Earth is apt to bee changed into Winter; next, becauſe there are ſome huge ſhowers that fall in a more remote place, whoſe waters ſtreaming along by ſecret paſſages, are ſilently diſcharged into the ſame; thirdly, if the entry be beaten with continuall windes, and the floud bee beaten, the water remounteth backe againe, and ſeemeth to increaſe becauſe it is not powred forth; the fourth reaſon is from the Planets, for theſe in ſome moneths vrge more then in other ſome, and dry vp the flouds; in other places being farther off, they draw and conſume leſſe, in ſuch ſort, that that which is leſſened in one ſeaſon is increaſed in another. There are ſome flouds that manifeſtly fall into ſome bottomleſſe pit, and ſo are ſwallowed vp from our ſight: ſome are conſumed by little and little, and after ſome intermiſſion returne againe and re-aſſume both their name and courſe: the cauſe is manifeſt, there is ſome vacuitie vnder the Earth. But all water by nature deſcendeth downeward, and is carryed into a void place. The Riuers therefore that are receiued thither make their ſecret courſe, but as ſoone as any thing that is ſolid meeteth with them, and ſtayeth them, by working a paſſage in that place where they finde the leaſt reſiſtance, they renue and purſue their former courſe.

Why ſome Riuers increaſe in Summer.

Other diuers accidents in Riuers and Fountaines.

So when as Licus is drunke vp and drayned
By yawning Earth, at laſt he mounts againe
Farre from the place where firſt it was contained,
And ſprings and floats within another maine:
And now drunke vp, ſtraight with a ſilent courſe
Sliding along, he ſpends his flouds vntamed
Amidſt the Greekiſh Ocean, and his ſource
Is in that place proude Eraſinus named.

The

The floud *Tygris* doth the like in the East; it is ſwallowed vp, and after hauing made a long iourney vnderneath the Earth, at laſt in a farre remote place it riſeth againe vndoubtedly the ſame. Some Fountaines at a certaine time caſt out their excrement, as Arethuſa in Sicilia doth from fiue to fiue yeares, in Summer during the Olympian games: from thence ſprings that common report, that the Riuer Alphæus paſſeth from Achaia thither, and runneth vnder the Sea, without diſcouering her ſelfe, or breaking forth vntill ſuch time as ſhe hath attained the Sicilian ſhore. Therefore in thoſe dayes when the Olympique Games are ſolemnized, the excrements of thoſe beaſts that are ſacrificed, being caſt downe the ſtreame, found their iſſe and appeare there. This, my deareſt *Lucillius*, haſt thou expreſſed in thy Poeme: the like hath *Virgil* done, ſpeaking to the Fountaine Arethuſa;

So grant the gods, that whilſt thy milder waue
The ſwift Sicanian ſtreame doth vndermine,
That bitter taſted Doris neuer haue
The meanes to intermix his waue with thine.

There is a Fountaine in Cheroneſe of Rhodes, that after a great ſpace of time powreth out from her bottome certaine ordures, vntil ſuch time as it is wholly and intirely purified. The like to this doe diuers other Fountaines in other places, which vomit out not onely their mud and the leaues of Trees, but alſo all other things that are caſt thereinto. The like doth the Sea in euery place, whoſe nature is this; to diſcharge whatſoeuer carkaſſes or vncleaneneſſe it hath in it vpon the ſhores. Some parts of the Sea doe the like in ſome ſeaſons of the yere, as about Meſſina and Mylas, at which time he caſteth vp vpon the ſands, I know not what excrement, like vnto doung, & boyleth and ripleth, exhaling a ſtinking odor; whence the fable riſeth, That the Horſes of the Sun are ſtabled there. But there are ſome things whereof it is a hard matter to yeeld a reaſon: and as touching this, which is now in queſtion, although ſome haue diligently obſerued when this purgation is made, yet is there no certainty thereof; ſo that the neereſt cauſe can hardly be found out, but onely the generall, which is, that all ſtill and incloſed waters purge themſelues ordinarily, for excrements cannot ſtay in thoſe which haue a current, that carryeth and raviſheth all things with it. Thoſe that puſh not to their ſhores that which is falne into them, haue a ſtreame that is leſſe or more violent. But the Sea draweth from her bottome, and caſteth vpon her ſhores the bodies of the dead, the wrecks of Ships, and thoſe ſmall things that ſhe receiueth, purging her ſelfe as well in faire weather as in ſtormie.

The cauſes of the purgation of theſe Riuers.

CHAP. XXVII.

The deſcription of a Deluge that ſurmounteth the whole World.

BVt this place moueth me to demand, when the deſtinated day for the Deluge ſhall come, how the greater part of the Earth ſhall be couered with waters? Whether it ſhall be done by the vertue of the Ocean? Whether the water that appeareth ſhal raiſe her ſelfe againſt vs? Whether the violent raines ſhall fall without intermiſſion, or if the Winter hauing driuen away the Summer ſhal breake the clouds, and powre downe abundant waters; or if the Earth ſhall more largely extend all

all her waters,and ſhall diſcouer new Fountaines, or whether there ſhall be diuers concurrent cauſes to one ſo great a deſolation, ſo as the raines ſhall fall in great abundance,the Riuers ſhall exceed their bounds,the Seas forſaking their ordinary limits ſhall couer the earth;and all waters gathered together, ſhall run in one company, with a deliberation to extinguiſh Mankinde. Thus it is; nothing is difficult vnto nature,eſpecially when ſhe haſteth to her end:in the creation and beginning of things ſhe vſeth her forces ſparingly, and diſpenſeth her ſelfe by fallacious increaſes, but when ſhe entendeth ruine, ſhee ſuddenly employeth all her forces. How long time is there required from the day of the Conception of a Childe,vntill the time he forſaketh his Mothers wombe? with how great labours is he brought vp from his Cradle? And what care muſt there be had in breeding and bringing vp this little bodie? But how ſuddenly and without labour is he brought to nothing? An age buildeth Cities, but an hower deſtroyeth them. The wood that hath flouriſhed long is made aſhes in a moment. All things ſtand and flouriſh vnder a prouident care,and are diſſolued quickly and ſuddenly. All that which nature would alter in the eſtate of things that are created,ſufficeth to ruinate Mankind. When as therefore this neceſſity of time ſhall come, the Deſtinies moue many cauſes at once, and without a great concuſſion of the world ſo great a change cannot be made as ſome think, amongſt whom is *Fabianus*. Firſt of all the immeaſurable raines fall, & the Heauen is wholly couered,without any appearance of the Sunne: a thicke, moyſt, darke and continuall fogge inuironeth the Earth,and ceaſſeth not to diſtill;neither Vines or Corne attaine vnto their maturitie: all ſeeds are loſt in the Earth, the fields are couered with ſuch Hearbes as grow in Mariſhes and Plaſhes, expecting as yet ſome greater deſolation; for the rootes are looſened, the Trees fall,the Vine and euery other plant hath no more hold of the Earth that is ſoft and fluid. It ſuſtayneth no more by the meanes of the waters, either Herbe or Graſſe: Famine preſſeth all men, and they enforced to ſeeke their ſuſtenance after the manner of the Ancients beate downe and ſhake downe the Burgens and Acornes of the Holme and Oke,and all ſuch that in ſuch neceſſities a Tree may furniſh, being ſhaken or beaten with ſtones. The rotten houſes fall vnto the ground,the foundations ſinke being mouldred and looſened by moyſture, the whole Earth is glutted with water, and in vaine doe men labour to vnderprop that which falleth to ruine. For euery foundation is in a ſlippery place, and in a muddy ground there is nothing ſtable. After that the ſhowers increaſe more and more,and thoſe ſnowes that were gathered in ages begin to melt. A headlong torrent, falling from the higheſt Mountaines, carrieth and hurleth away whole woods that haue no ſetled root, and tumbleth theſe ſtones that are waſhed away from the Earth with the reſt. It drowneth Villages,carryeth away troops of beaſts, and thoſe little Cabbans that it meeteth withall, and then aſſaulteth the greater houſes. Afterwards it ouer-turneth Cities and draweth away with it the inhabitants,incloſed in their own wals,who know not whether they ſhall ſinke vnder their houſes,or periſh in the water; ſo ſudden is the accident that either ſhould oppreſſe or drowne them. Afterwards, being increaſed by ſome other torrents that ioyne themſelues with her, they ouer-flow all the Champaine. Finally, being ſwolne and ouer-charged by the ruine of diuers Nations, it layeth hold on all things. As touching the Riuers that are ſpacious in themſelues,and are rauiſhed by the torrents,they forſake their channels; what think you will become of Danubius,the Rhine & Rhoſne,which in their channels haue a torrent that runneth maruellous ſwiftly? What can they doe,

when

when after they haue ouerflowed their bounds they are made new Riuers, and hauing broken the Earth haue got themselues a new passage? With what violence floweth the Riuer of Rhine when it falleth into the Champaine countries, & finding an extent sufficient to weaken his waues, filleth himselfe euery way with water, as if he were inclosed in some streight channell? And Danubius likewise at such time as he not onely beateth the foot, but also the midst of the Mountaines, yea, approcheth the very tops of the same, bearing with it not onely the moistened sides of the Mountaines, but the Rockes that are hurried downe, and the Promontories of great Regions, which by reason of the weakenesse of their foundation are separated from the Continent. At length, finding no passage, or bound wherein to containe it selfe, it swelleth on euery side, and swalloweth vp at once a whole extent of Countries & Cities. Meane while the Raines continue, the Heauen thickneth more and more; and thus by course of time the euill is augmented. The precedent obscurity becommeth black, fearefull and terrible, and night is incessantly beaten with dreadful lightnings, which the Heauen darteth one after another: the Sea seemeth to be enraged being increased by the accesse of so many flouds, and too much restrained at such time as she was within her bounds. The shores stand no longer, they exceed their limits, the torrents permit them not to enlarge themselues, and push backe the flouds, wherof the most part as it were arrested by a barre that is not sufficiently large, get passage from the one side vnto the other, and make a new Sea, and make the Champains resemble a standing poole. At that time as farre as the eye may aime there is nothing that can be discouered but water. All the noise commeth from the bottome, and the waters are the highest aboue all things; onely in the tops of Mountaines there are certaine shallow places, where men saue themselues, with their wiues and children, driuing their cattell before them. all traffique and entercourse betweene Nations ceasseth, because the water hath filled all the Vallies. In some the highest place the remainder of Mankind maintayne themselues, who being reduced to this extremitie had this solace, that their feare was translated into stupidity, being so astonished that feare could not hurt them. In briefe they were touched with no sense of griefe (which loseth his force in him that is miserable, aboue the sense of euill.) So then the Mountaines resemble Ilses, and increase the number of the Cyclades, as the most ingenious Poet most wittily specifieth, saying, as the greatnes of the thing required him,

All things were Sea, nor had the Sea a shore.

Except he had reduced so much vigour of wit and plentie of matter to triuiall toyes, saying,

The Wolfe his head amongst the sheepe did reare,
And waltering waues did furious Lions beare.

This is to exceed measure, to ieast and wanton it in the ruine of the World. Hee spake mighty things, and began to set downe the Image of so great a confusion, when he said,

Th' vnbridled flouds run through the Champaine Plaines,
And mighty Towers lye buried vnder flouds.

It was magnificently spoken if he had taken no care what Sheepe and Wolues did. But can any one swim in such a Deluge and ouerflow? And were not the beasts drowned as soone as the Waters hade layd hold of them, and carryed them

them away? Thou haſt conceiued the Image and deſcription of this diſorder, as great as it ſhould be: if the Heauen it ſelfe fall, endure it. Thou ſhalt know that which becommeth thee, if thou ſet before thine eyes the whole World floting in water. Let vs now returne vnto our purpoſe.

CHAP. XXVIII.

If the earth may be drowned with waters.

THere are ſome that think that the Earth may well be beaten with exceſſiue raines, but not drowned. Thoſe things that are the greateſt muſt bee violently ſtrooken: the raine will ſpoyle the Corne, the haile will beate downe the Fruit, the Riuers will ouer-flow their bounds, and yet will not forſake their Channels. Some there are that attribute this ruine to the ouer-flow of the Sea. It cannot be that a Deluge ſhould proceed from the violence of Torrents, or Raines, or Riuers. When the end of the Earth is neere, and that it pleaſeth Nature that all Mankind ſhould periſh, I grant that continuall and immeaſurable raines fall from the Heauens: that the Northerly winds are ſuppreſſed, that the Southerly blow: that the Clouds, the Tempeſts, and Riuers increaſe.

Whence proceedeth a Deluge, according to Senecaes and the Stoicks opinion.

Yet harmes doe more increaſe,
The Corne is waſht away vpon the Plaine;
The Plough-man ſpends his Vowes, and toyles in vaine;
All what the yeare could yeeld for paine or coſt,
Is drown'd in Water and the labour loſt.

It was not neceſſary that the Earth ſhould be offended, but only hidden. After theſe beginnings the Seas increaſe, but beyond meaſure, they ſpread their waues more largely then euer the greateſt Tempeſt did. The winds themſelues that raiſe them at their backes, entangle themſelues with the waues of the Sea, which breake themſelues vpon the ſhores that are farre eſtranged from ſight. Afterwards when they had enlarged themſelues, made a new Sea, from the depth of the greateſt Sea there ariſeth a new floud, which bringeth with it a miſchiefe farre greater then the former; for euen as the matter of the Aire and the Etheriall Region is very ample, ſo is that of the water, which aboundeth maruellouſly in her ſecret places; ſhee being ſufficiently mooued (for the flouds are the Miniſters of Deſtinie) makes the waues ſwell wonderouſly, and animateth her ſelfe violently. Then riſeth ſhee to an incredible highneſſe, and mounteth aboue the higheſt and moſt aſſured retreates of men. It is no difficult matter for the Element of water to raiſe it ſelfe aboue the higheſt tops and Promontories of the Earth. For if a man meaſure by the eye the creſt of the higheſt Mountaines, he ſhall finde that the Sea equalleth them in heighth; for the Globe of the Earth is equally round. Theſe cauities and plaines are ſuch, that on euery part they make an Orbe, wherein are comprehended the ſeas which make a part thereof, and fulfill the round. But euen as hee that caſteth his eyes a long way, deceiueth himſelfe and cannot deprehend the places which by little and little bow downward, ſo can wee not comprehend the bowings of the Seas; and all that which we ſee ſeemeth to be a plaine, yet is it round and like vnto the Land. Therefore alſo is it that the Sea ſwelleth not much, but incontinently ſlideth away, becauſe it is enough for her to riſe a lit-

tle eyther to equall or ſurmount the reſt; neither ſlippeth ſhee away from the bankes where ſhe is loweſt, but from the middeſt, where the great aſſembly of Water is. But euen as the fluxe and refluxe of the Sea is accuſtomed to bee the greateſt, during the Equinoctiall, in the time of the coniunction of the Sunne and Moone; ſo the Deluge that is ſent to couer all the Earth, and which ſhall be the greateſt and moſt violent that men are accuſtomed to ſee, draweth a more infinite abundance of water with it, and neuer abateth vntill it hath ſurpaſſed and couered the tops of the higheſt Mountaines. The fluxe and refluxe of the Sea increaſeth and decreaſeth in ſome place more then a hundreth miles, and neuer faileth but keepeth alwaies the ſame order; for it increaſeth and decreaſeth by meaſure. But in the time of Deluge, it neither keepeth meaſure nor rule. How, commeth this to paſſe, ſayeſt thou? In ſuch ſort as the end of the World ſhall be by an vniuerſall fire. Both the one and the other ſhall come to paſſe at ſuch time as it ſhall pleaſe God to giue a beginning to better things, and giue an end to the old. Fire and Water haue the Dominion ouer terreſtriall things. From them proceed the beginning and end of all things. As oft then, as it pleaſeth the Heauens that things ſhall be renued, the Sea ſhall ouerflow vs, in ſuch ſort as the fire from aboue ſhall lay hold on all things, when by another end he would bring all things to nothing.

In what ſeaſon the flux and reflux of the Sea is greateſt.

God ſpeaketh oftentimes by Pagans mouthes that which is aſſured in Chriſtian Beliefe.

Chap. XXIX.

SOme thinke that the Earth is ſhaken alſo, and that the ground being broken open, there appeare new heads of Riuers, which caſt forth more abundance of Waters, as from a place that is as yet full. *Beroſus* that hath interpreted *Belus*, ſaith, that this is cauſed by the motion of the ſtarres, and maintaineth it ſo aſſuredly, that he ſticketh not to ſet downe the time of the end of the World, as well by fire as by water; affirming that the Earth ſhall be burned at ſuch time as all the ſtars which now hold diuers courſes ſhall meete in the ſigne of *Cancer*, ſo ſetled and placed in the ſame point, that a man may draw a direct Line thorow all their Centres & Circles; that the Deluge ſhal couer the Earth, when as the ſame ſtars ſhall aſſemble and meete together in *Capricorne*. Vnder the one is the longeſt day in Summer, and the ſhorteſt day of Winter vnder the other. Theſe ſignes are of great efficacy and power, which vpon the changes of the yeare cauſe ſuch moments: for mine owne part I reiect not any of the cauſes (for one alone cannot cauſe ſo much miſchiefe) annexing vnto them that which the Stoickes thinke. Whether it be that the World be a ſpirit or body, by the diſpoſition of Nature, it contayneth in it Trees, Plants, and all that which it ought to doe and ſuffer, from the beginning of the World vnto the end thereof, no otherwiſe then in the ſeed are incloſed all the parts of the body of a man which ſhould be formed. The Infant that is borne in his Mothers Wombe, hath the rootes of the Beard and Haire he ſhall weare one day. In this little Maſſe likewiſe are all the Lineaments of the body, and all that which Poſterity ſhall diſcouer in him. So the originall of the World hath no leſſe contayned the Sunne, the Moone, the reuolutions of the Starres, the birth of liuing Creatures, as the cauſes of the change of terreſtriall things. In them hath beene the Deluge which commeth by the order of Heauen, euen as Winter and Summer doe. It ſhall not therefore be done by raine, neither by inundation of the Sea, neither by quaking

He continueth to ſpeake of the cauſes of Deluge in his ſenſe, and according to other mens opinions, but by the light of Nature the tranſcendent knowledge is lying in the boſome of true Chriſtians.

king of the Earth, but with all theſe accidents which ſhall aſſiſt Nature, to the end that her determinations ſhould be accompliſhed and executed: yet as touching the principall cauſe, it ſhall proceed from the Earth it ſelfe, which as we haue ſaid is changeable, and muſt reſolue her ſelue into water. When as therefore the end of all things ſhall be come at ſuch time as the parts of the World muſt periſh and be diſanulled, in ſuch ſort as they may be moulded anew, and made better then before, there ſhall more water be made then euer there was: for now the aliments are diſtributed to euery one according as it is behouefull. There muſt ſometing at that time ioyne it ſelfe with another, to the end that ſuch things that ſubſiſt in counter-weight ſhould be troubled and confuſed by the inequalitie that ſhould happen. The moſt ſhall be found in the water, that hath nothing more for the preſent, then that which is neceſſarie to enuiron the Earth, and not to drowne it: if you will adde any thing thereunto, it muſt needſly diſcharge the ſame in another place. How ſhall it then be, that the Earth as being leaſt powerfull, ſhall ſinke vnder that which is more ſtrong? Shee ſhall beginne at that time to rot her ſelfe, and afterwards being moiſtned to melt her ſelfe into humour, and to fall to mud. At that time the Riuers ſhall mount aboue the Mountains, and ſhall ſhake them with a mightie force, and afterwards ſhall ſwallow them without noyſe. All the Earth ſhall vomit out waters, the tops of the Mountaines ſhall breake forth in Fountaines. Euen as the wholeſomeſt parts of the body become ſick, and thoſe that are neereſt to an vlcer wax vlcerated: ſo the mightieſt Regions of the Earth conuerted into water ſhall melt themſelues likewiſe, and ſhall diſtill from all parts. The Rocks ſhall cleaue in ſunder to giue paſſage to the waters that ſhal aſſemble themſelues to make a Sea. The Streights of the Venetian & Sicilian Seas ſhall be no more, Charybdis and Scylla ſhall not be ſpoken of. The new Sea ſhall ſwallow vp all theſe Fictions, and the Ocean that at this day beguirteth the remoteſt parts of the Earth, ſhall then be in the midſt of the Waters. What ſhall then bee? The Winter ſhall domineere ouer all other ſeaſons, the Summer ſhall be no more, and euery Starre that before time dryed vp the Earth ſhall haue no more heate or effect. All the names of particular Seas, as that of Caſpium, Erithrea the red, the Mediteranean, the greater Seas, and others ſhall periſh, being all of them intermixed together, & all that which naturne had diſpoſed in parts, confuſed in one: neither Rampiers nor high Towers ſhall warrant any man. The Temples ſhall no wayes profit the Suppliants, nor the high places of Cities, becauſe the water ſhall ouertake thoſe that flie, and beare them away out of their ſtrongeſt Towers. It ſhall flow from Eaſt to Weſt, and one day ſhall bury all Mankind, ouerturning all that which Fortunes fauour hath cheriſhed ſo long time, all that which is ſo much raiſed aboue the common, the great Palaces, Riches, Magnificence, and mightie Monarchies.

The Paradox of the Stoicks as touching the vniuerſal Deluge, and the end of the World, refuted by the celeſtiall verity contained in Moſes where a promiſe was made to the Patriarch Noe, that there ſhould bee no more any vniuerſall Deluge.

This prediction is wholly falſe.

Chap. XXX.

ALl things as I haue ſaid are eaſie vnto Nature, ſpecially thoſe things which ſhee hath reſolued to doe from the beginning, whereunto ſhe commeth not ſuddenly but determinately. But from the firſt day of the World, as from his informed vnitie, ſhee came to take this habitude which wee ſee ſhee hath, ſhee prefixed the day wherein the Earth ſhould bee drowned, and to the end it might not bee an enter-

Another errour that the earth is made to bee drowned, becauſe of an vniuerſall Deluge, whereas God by Moſes ſpeaketh expreſly to the contrarie.

terprise of difficult execution as if it were a new Worke: the Seas long since haue exercised and fashioned themselues thereunto. Seest thou not how the floudes of the Ocean runne towardes their bankes, as if they sought libertie? Hast thou not obserued how the floud hath aduanced it selfe, and put the Sea in possession of the Earth? Doest thou not perceiue how the Sea doth nothing but fome and tempest against the bounds which restraine it? What danger is there in that part where thou heares such a tumult, and from whence issue so many Riuers with so great noyse, where Nature hath lodged so much Water to assaile vs on euery side, when shee thinkest fit? Is it not true, that in digging the Earth wee find water, and when as either vndermined by auarice, or pushed forward by another cause, wee haue digged and searched a little deeper, sometimes a bloudie death ensueth? Furthermore, there are certaine Lakes vnder the Earth that are maruellous great, and much hidden Sea; besides a great number of Riuers that streame thorow certaine passages vnder Earth. There shall bee therefore on euery side certaine courses of this Deluge, some part of the waters floting thorow the Earth, others about the same; these being long times brideled and restrained shall finally get the vpper hand, and shall ioyne their flouds with the Riuers, and the Pooles with the Marishes. The Seas shall fill the brims and mouthes of all Fountaines, and shall enlarge them. Euen as the belly in emptying it selfe wasteth our bodies, as the forces are dissipated by sweat; in like sort, the Earth shall melt it selfe, and other causes ceassing, shall find a meanes to plunge and drowne it selfe in it selfe: so thinke I that so many great things shall confound themselues together, neither shall there be any long delay in the ruine. When as once the World shall remit any thing of his course and diligence, and the accord which is betwixt the parts thereof shall be shaken, incontinently the clouds shall breake forth, the waters beneath shall issue from their bottomlesse Caues to couer the Earth. There is nothing more violent, more hard to be stayed, more rebellious, or more pernicious to those that would restraine the same, then a violent water. Shee shall vse the liberty which was granted her, and by the commandement of Nature she shall fill all that which shee trauerseth and enuironeth. Euen as the fire issuing from diuers places suddenly setteth all on fire, the flames conspiring and assembling together to make one body; so in a moment the Seas that are vented and powred forth, shall come and ioyne in one; but the waues shall not rage alwaies thus: but after that Mankind shall be ruined, and beasts likewise bee brought to confusion, whose natures men had taken vpon them; the Earth shall suck vp the waters and constraine the Sea to returne within his bounds, and to tempest in his channell. The Ocean being driuen farre from our limits, shall be chased into his caues, and the ancient order shall be re-established. Euery liuing creature shall be engendred anew, and the earth shall bee inhabited with innocent men, and borne to better hap. But Mankind shall not perseuer long in this integrity; it shall onely be for as long time, as men shall be new; wickednesse shall incontinently flie into the middest of them. Vertue is hard to be found, she requireth a Guide and Gouernour: but as touching Vices, men learne them without a Master.

Vnderstanding this of time to come, it is a meer fable, it was once in Noahs time, and shall bee no more.

The end of the third Booke of the Naturall Questions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

Dedicated to Lvcillivs.

The fourth Booke.

The Preface.

What contentment a vertuous man receiueth by him.

THou art much delighted (my *Lucillius*, the beſt of men) in Sicily and in the gouernment of the ſame: becauſe as thou writeſt vnto me, it is full of repoſe, and without trouble. But it will pleaſe thee farre more, if thou wilt containe thy ſelfe within thy limits, and makeſt not that an Empire, which is but a Procuration and Gouernment. I doubt not but thou wilt carry thy ſelfe in this ſort; I know how farre thou art eſtranged from ambition, and how familiarly thou art addicted and delighted in honeſt retyrement and ſtudie of good Letters. They that cannot ſupport and containe themſelues, haue need of the conuerſation of men, and multiplicity of affaires. But thou accordeſt very well with thy ſelfe: neither wonder I that few men are partakers of this ſo great good: wee are all of vs too imperious and troubleſome to our ſelues. Sometimes wee cheriſh our ſelues too much, otherwhiles too little. To day our hearts are puffed vp with pride, to morrow Couetouſneſſe tormenteth vs: now are wee proſtituted by vaine pleaſures, anon after burned with cares and trauaile, and that which is worſt of all, wee are neuer alone and retyred to our ſelues. Wee muſt needes therefore bee in continuall debate, being accompanied by ſo many enormous vices. Doe therefore, my *Lucillius*, that which thou wert accuſtomed to doe: ſeparate thy ſelfe as much as thou

The Poyſon of flatterie a taſte for great men.

canſt from the communitie, neither permit thy ſelfe to bee accoſted by Flatterers, for theſe are their Crafts-maſters in bewitching the greater and richer ſort. Thou ſhalt hardly eſcape them, although thou take heed of them. Beleeue mee, they will entrap thee, if thou betray thy ſelfe to their Treaſons. Flatteries haue naturally this force, that they are pleaſing, although they bee reiected; and being oftentimes excluded, at laſt they are entertayned. Repulſe maketh them encreaſe, neither is there any diſgrace or out-rage that can tame them. That which I ſhall ſpeake is incredible, and yet very true. A man is hit moſt of all in that place where he is moſt open, and haply he is therefore hit becauſe he lyeth open. Diſpoſe thy ſelfe therefore in ſuch ſort, that thou mayeſt be aſſured that thou canſt not be touched, that thou mayeſt be impenitrable: when thou haſt carryed the charyeſt eye, he will ſtrike thee thorow thoſe armes that thou reputeſt the moſt aſſured. Some one will vſe his flattery ſecretly and ſparingly, another openly, counterfeiting the Foole in all mens ſight, as if that his ſimplicitie were not cunning. *Plancus*, who had bin one of the cunningeſt Sycophants before *Velleius* time, ſaid that we ought not to flatter ſecretly, nor with diſſimulation. In vaine, ſaith he, is flattery, if it be obſcured. The Flatterer getteth very much when he is diſcouered, and more likewiſe if he bluſh after he hath beene taunted. Thinke that thou ſhalt meete with a great number of ſuch as *Plancus* was, and that it is not a ſufficient remedie againſt flatterie, to refuſe to be prayſed. *Criſpus Paſſienus* (whoſe equall I neuer knew in ſubtill diſcouery of all things; eſpecially in diſtinguiſhing and curing vices,) oftentimes ſaid that we onely put to the doore againſt flatteries, but ſhut them not out, in ſuch ſort as we are wont to put it to againſt our ſhe-friend, which if ſhe thruſt it back it contenteth vs, and more gratefull is it, if ſhee breake it open. I remember that I haue heard the great Philoſopher *Demetrius* ſay to a certaine Slaue that was enfranchiſed, and was become veey rich, that the ſhorteſt way for him to heape vp great wealth, was that day wherein he had repented himſelfe that he had a good conſcience. I will neuer, ſaith he, enuie your practiſes, but will teach them that haue need, the meanes how to eſcape ſhipwrack, how to flye from thoſe contentions that happen betweene buyers and ſellers, not to truſt to the incertainty of a countrey life, to retire themſelues from the exerciſe of leſſe certaine pleading; *Item*, in what manner likewiſe they may not only eaſily, but ioyfully enrich themſelues, and impoueriſh thoſe that are at their eaſe and quiet. I will ſweare (ſaith he) that thou art higher then *Fidus Annæus*, & *Apollonius Picta*, although thou haſt but a mean & crooked ſtature, as the imcõpoſed *Thracas* had. If I ſay that thou art the moſt liberall man amongſt all others, I ſhal not lie: when as it may ſeem that thou haſt giuen all men that which thou haſt left. So is it, my *Lucilius*, the more that flattery diſcouereth it ſelfe, the more wicked, impudent, and outragious it is, and the ſooner it deceiueth. For we are now growne vnto that madneſſe, that he that flattereth vs little, ſeemeth to be a man of no honeſty. I was wont to tell thee that my Brother *Gallio* (whom no man loued but hartily, neither loued he any man but entirely) knew not other vices, and likewiſe hated this. Thou haſt tried him euery waies. Thou haſt begun to admire his great & excellent ſpirit aboue all others, who rather wiſhed to be curſed, then to do any thing worthy ſhame. But he ſuddenly retired his foot. Thou beganſt to praiſe his frugality, hee cut thee off in the beginning. Thou beganſt to admire his humanity, & vnaffected affability which rauiſheth thoſe that heard them in paſſing by, & greatly obliged thoſe to whõ they were addreſſed. For there is no man liuing more agreeable vnto another man, then

A goodly touch again. a fooliſh rich man, and a Comedie againſt auarice.

then this man vnto all men, whilſt in the mean ſpace the power of his naturall goodnes is ſuch, that it ſauoreth no waies of art or ſimulation. There is no man but wil ſuffer that a publike good ſhould be imputed to him. And in this place likewiſe hee reſiſted thy flatteries, in ſuch ſort as thou exclaimedſt that thou hadſt found a man that was armed againſt al attempts, whom euery man would entertain into his boſom. Thou didſt confeſſe that thou didſt ſo much the more admire his prudence and pertinacie in auoiding ineuitable euils, becauſe thou wert in hope that thy words ſhould be entertained with an open eare, although thou flatteredſt, becauſe thou ſpakeſt the truth. But ſo much the rather learned he to reſiſt them the more. For the truth is alwaies aſſailed by thoſe things that haue a reſemblance of truth. Yet will I not haue thee diſpleaſed with thy ſelfe, as if thou haddeſt done amiſſe, or as if my Brother preſumed that thou pretendedſt to ieſt with him, or to circumuent him. Hee diſcouered thee not, but repulſed thee. Conforme thy ſelfe to this example: when as any Flatterer commeth vnto thee; ſay vnto him, Goe I pray thee, and carry theſe flattering ſpeeches (which are accuſtomed to leape from one Magiſtrate to another, that haue theſe Apes and Sergeants marching before them) to ſome one that will pay thee with the like, and taketh pleaſure to heare all that which thou wouldeſt ſpeake vnto him. I will deceiue no man, neither can I be deceiued. I would be praiſed by you, if you were not accuſtomed to praiſe the wicked. But what needeſt thou to bring thy ſelfe into that ſtrait, that Flatterers ſhould touch thee ſo neerly? Let them be farre eſtranged from thee, when thou deſireſt to be praiſed well. Why ſhouldeſt thou be indebted to any for it? Praiſe thy ſelfe, and ſay: I haue addicted my ſelfe to the ſtudie of the Liberall Sciences, although pouertie perſwaded me to the contrary, and withdrew my thoughts thither, where my ſtudie might returne me preſent gaine. I aymed my thoughts at little profit-breeding Poeſie, & addicted my ſelfe to the holeſome ſtudie of Philoſophy. I haue ſhewed that euery man is capable of vertue, and ſtrugling thorow the obſcuritie of my birth, and meaſuring my ſelfe not by my condition, but my minde; I haue equalled my ſelfe with the greateſt. The enmitie of barbarous *Caius*, could not driue me from my ſincere intentions. *Meſſalus* & *Narciſſus* (vnhappy Conſpirators againſt euery man, enemies a long time of the publike weale, before they were foes to their priuate fortune,) could not croſſe my reſolution. I haue hazarded my neck to maintaine mine honour, I haue not ſpoken that word, that was againſt my conſcience. The care I alwayes had, was for my friends and not for my ſelfe, and my feare, that I was not ſo true a friend as I ſhould be. I neuer wept womaniſh teares, neither after the manner of a ſuppliant haue I liſted vp my hands to any man. I haue done nothing that either was vnworthy a man, or a good man. Being greater then mine owne perils, and ready to encounter with thoſe that threatned me, I gaue thanks vnto Fortune that would ſound me, how highly I priſed faith. So great a thing ſhould not coſt me ſo little. She kept me not long in ſuſpence, for the things that were in ballance were not equall, that is, whether it were better that faith ſhould periſh for me, or I ſhould periſh for it. I haue not violently thruſt my ſelfe into a deſperate reſolution of death, whereby I might diſcharge my ſelfe from the fury of mighty men. I ſaw with *Caius* torments, I ſaw fires. I knew in times paſt, vnder him, that humane affaires were brought to that eſtate, that it was recounted amongſt the workes of mercie to be ſimply ſlaine. Yet thruſt I not my ſelfe thorow with my Sword, neither caſt I my ſelfe head-long into the Sea, to the end that the World might ſee that I would not dye, except it were to remain faithfull. Conſider

The praiſe of Gallio, Senecaes Brother.

How we ought to entertaine a Flatterer.

How a man ought to priſe himſelfe.

The meanes to reproue hypocrisie, and to fortifie vertue.

sider moreouer my courage, that could not be corrupted with bribes, and that in this rude conflict of Auarice, I haue neuer soyled my hands with foule lucre: Moreouer, my sobrietie, my modestie in words, my affability towards my inferiours, the reuerence I haue borne my Superiors. Hauing said all this, aske counsell of thy selfe if thou hast spoken truth, or told a lye: if truth, then art thou praysed before a great witnesse: if a lie, without witnesse thou hast exposed thy selfe to laughter. But some one might thinke, that either I would surprise thee or proue thee: beleeue which thou wilt, & begin by me to feare all others. Cast by that Verse in *Virgil*,

Faith is secur'd in no place.——

And that which *Ouid* saith,

Throughout the World ERYNNIS *changeth round,*
As if addrest and sworne with fellon rage,
To leaue no sinne vnsought for in this age.

Or that of *Menanders* (for who hath not whetted the greatnesse of his wit against this, detesting the consent of Mankind that tendeth vnto vice?) All, saith he, liue otherwise then they should, and the Poet hath leaped into the Sceane as if hee were a Clowne: he excepteth neither old nor young, nor woman, nor man, and addeth that euery one without exception doth euil, and that wickednesse is growne to the full. We ought therefore to flye, and to returne into our selues, nay more, we are to depart from our selues. Although the Sea separateth vs, I will assay to make thee partner of this good, that is, in lending thee my hand at such time as thou knowest not what way to take, and making thee to attaine to a place more secured: and lest thou shouldest haue a sense of thy solitude, I will deuise with thee from this place as often as I may. Wee will be one in that part wherein we are best: we will counsaile one another, not depending vpon the presence of him that heareth. I will leade thee farre from Sicily, to the end thou shalt not yeeld too much credit to Historie, beginning to please thy selfe as often as thou shalt say in thy selfe, I haue this Prouince vnder my gouernment, which hath sustayned and broken the Armies of the mightiest Cõmon-weales of the World, when the honour of a long Warre hath remayned for many yeares in suspence, at such time as shee saw the forces of foure Princes gathered together in one place, namely, of all the Empire, hauing taken away the prosperity of *Pompey*, wearied that of *Cæsars*, translated that of *Lepidus*, and surprised all the rest, that were present at the strangest spectacle that may possibly be thought; whereby all mortall men may learne how sudden the fall is from high to low, and by how many diuers wayes Fortune causeth the power of this World to decline. For at one time shee hath seene *Pompey* and *Lepidus* cast from their high degree to a lower, but by different meanes, considering that *Pompey* fled before *Cæsars* Armie, and *Lepidus* his owne.

The sincere loue betwixt Seneca *and* Lucillius.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

BVt to the end I may wholly draw thee from thy ſelfe, although Sicily hath in it and about it many wonders, yet will I not for the preſent entermeddle with any queſtions concerning thy Prouince, but will draw thy thoughts another way. For wee will now deuiſe together vpon that which wee haue touched in the former Booke, whence it is that Nilus floweth and encreaſeth in the Summer Monethes. The Philoſophers haue lefe in Writing, that Nilus and Danubius reſemble one another, alleaging that the ſource of Danubius is vnknowne, and that it is more great in Summer then in Winter. Both the one and the other haue appeared to bee falſe: for wee finde that the head-ſpring thereof is in Germany, and it beginneth likewiſe to increaſe in Summer, (yet Nilus alwayes remayneth in his accuſtomed meaſure) that is to ſay, about the firſt heates, at ſuch time as the Sunne growing more hote about the end of the Spring-time, cauſeth the Snowes to melt; which Danubius hath conſumed, before that Nilus beginneth to increaſe: Danubius decreaſeth during the reſt of the Summer, and returneth to his greatneſſe in Winter, according to which it is meaſured.

He entereth into diſcourſe of the increaſe of Nylus in Summer.

CHAP. II.

BVt Nilus increaſeth in the heart of the Summer time after the Equinoctiall, before the riſing of the Dog-ſtarre. Nature hath ſet this famous floud before the eyes of all Mankind, and hath diſpoſed it in ſuch ſort that it ſhould ouer-flow Egypt, eſpecially at ſuch time as the Earth, being parched by the moſt burning heats, ſhould draine out the water from the depth, and ſhould draw as much as the drineſſe of the whole yeare required. For in that part which inclineth towards Ethiopia, it raineth not, or if ſometimes certaine raines doe fall, yet recomfort they not the Earth which is vnaccuſtomed to raine water. Thou knoweſt that Egypt hath no other hope but in the water of Nilus, by meanes, whereof the yeare is either fruitfull or barren, according as Nilus hath exceeded his bounds either more or leſſe. There is no Labourer in that Countrey that lifteth vp his eyes vnto Heauen; wherfore then may I not ſport my ſelfe with my Poet, and and alleage vnto him his *Ouid*, ſaying,

In what time of the Summer this increaſe is made.

The Herbes to IVPITER *make no requeſt*
To ſend them raine from Heauen to wet their Creſt?

Jf a man could comprehend from whence Nilus beginneth to increaſe, hee ſhould finde likewiſe the cauſes of the increaſe thereof: but hauing run thorow the great Deſerts, it ſpreadeth it ſelfe into Mariſhes, whence comming to diſgorge himſelfe into diuers Currents that run here and there; firſt he beginneth to

The paſſages and courſes of Nylus.

to assemble them all together about Philus, which is a stony Iland ful of Moũtaines and hard to be landed at in any part, begirt with two Riuers, which mixe themselues in one, and fall into Nilus, whence they take their name. Nilus more large then violent, round about this place being discharged from Ethiopia and running thorow the sands, that make a way vnto those which traffique in the Indian Seas, is receiued into Cataractes a famous place, by reason of the maruailes that are seene therein. In this place Nilus raiseth it selfe amidst high Rocks and such as are hollowed and diuided in diuers parts, employing in this place all his forces. For the stones he meeteth withall breake him, in such sort as he attempteth to escape by the streights. In euery place where it findeth any breach or resistance, it floteth and gathereth together his waters which hee had carryed along without any noise, and passeth with violence and vehement ouer-flow thorow the most difficult passages, being no more like vnto himselfe, because in these streights it rouleth wholly troubled and muddy. But comming to beate vpon the Rockes, it fometh, and at that time the iniurie of the place, and not his nature, maketh him change colour. Afterwards, hauing surmounted all that which hindereth him, hee falleth suddenly and plainly into a maruellous depth, with such a noise as astonisheth the Inhabitants of the countrey round about, who hauing bin planted in those places by the Persians, and being vnable to endure the continuall thunder that deafened their eares, went and encamped themselues in places more remote, and better for their rest. Amongst the wonders of this Riuer, I haue heard a great report of the incredible boldnesse of those who abide in those quarters. Two men ship themselues in a little Boat, which the one of them guideth, and the other emptieth. Hauing long times balanced amidst the troubled waues of violent Nilus, they goe and retyre themselues into some narrow Channels, by which they escape the dangerous passages of the Rockes, where leaping into the middest of the streame, they gouerne the Boate that is turned ouer them with their hand, and diuing their heads downward (to the great amaze of all the Inhabitants that behold and bewaile them with bitter teares, thinking that they are swallowed vp in this gulfe of waters,) they shew themselues againe, and appeare very farre off from the place where they diuided so swiftly, as if they had beene pushed forward by some Engines; receiuing no other harme by the violent fall of this furious streame, but that it bringeth them to still water. The first increase of Nilus is obserued about the Isle aboue mentioned. A little further off it is separated by the meanes of a Rocke, which the Grecians call *Abatos*, on which no men set foot except it be the Priests of that place. These stones first of all feele the increase of Nilus. Farre off from this there appeare two Rockes, which those of the Countrey name the veines of Nilus, from whence their issueth a great abundance of water, but not sufficient to couer Egypt. When any festiuall day commeth, the Priests cast in their money, and the Gouernours their Iewels of Gold in that part of Nilus. The which becomming more mightie in all mens sight, runneth by a deepe and large channell, yet not so great as hee might well haue, if it were not restrained by the Mountaines that hem it in on euery side. Finally, he getteth liberty about Memphis, and hauing the Champion at his command, hee maketh diuers Riuers, and entreth into channels made by hand running thorow all Egypt, in such measure as they could wish, who diuert the streame. From the beginning hee deuideth himselfe into two armes, and then reioyning his waters, hee issueth forth after the manner of a Lake or troubled Sea. His violent course relenteth by reason of the extent of the

The Cataracts of Nilus.

A rocke whence the first increase of Nilus is perceiued.

In what place he getteth his freedome.

the Prouinces, ouer which he is ſpred, embracing both on the right and the left hand all Egypt. As much as Nilus increaſeth, ſo much is there hope of fertilitie; neither doth the computation deceiue the Huſbandman, it is ſo anſwerable to the meaſure of the floud, which ſeemeth to fatten the ſandy and thirſty earth, vpon which he powreth his ſtreame, and diſchargeth his mud all at once: for hauing his waters troubled, he leaueth the thickeſt in dry places, and ſuch as are expoſed to heate; afterwards he manureth all the deſert field with all the fat which he hath brought with him, aiding the Territory by his inundation & by his glewing and clammie fatneſſe, in ſuch ſort as all that which is not watered, remayneth barren and deſert. Encreaſing beyond meaſure he hurteth. By this reckoning behold a maruellous floud, which whereas many other ſmall Riuers doe but waſh and waſte the Lands, this diminiſheth them nothing, but contrariwiſe fortifieth them: for by the meanes of his mud he fatneth and bindeth the ſands: ſo that Egypt aſcribeth not oneiy his fertilitie, but his good territorie alſo to the ſame. It is a goodly thing to behold Nilus when it hath couered the Champion. The fields are hidden, the Vallies are couered, or appeare not but in forme of Iſles. There is no traffique in the Midland places, except by Boats, & the leſſe the people ſee of theſe fields, the more reioice they. But when as Nilus containeth himſelfe within his bounds, he floweth by ſeuen mouthes or channels into the Mediterranean Seas, and which ſoeuer of theſe mouthes thou wilt conſider, it is but a Sea. True it is, that it ſpreadeth ſome other little armes in other ſhores which haue no name. Beſides there are found in this riuer diuers Monſters as huge & cruel as thoſe in the Sea, which may ſuffice to make it known what Nilus is, conſidering that he containeth ſuch creatures, and feedeth thē abundantly, & hath place large enough to containe them. *Babillus* an excellent man, & one of the learnedſt in this world, writeth, that at ſuch time as he gouerned Egypt, with the greateſt mouth of Nilus, called Hereacleotica, hee had this paſtime to behold a great troope of Dolphins comming from the Sea, & another troop of Crocodiles comming out of Nilus, as if arranged in battell to encounter one another, and that the Crocodiles were ouercome by the Dolphins, which are peaceable fiſh and bite not. The Crocodiles haue a maruellous hard and impenetrable backe, ſo that other creatures that are more great and dreadfull cannot hurt them, but their bellies are ſoft and tender. It was in this place that the Dolphins pierced them with the fins and briſtles they had on their backes, in ſuch ſort as they cut out their bowels, and made them ſinke: many were diſpatched in this ſort, the reſt as being put to flight, returned thēſelues ſwiftly againſt the ſtreame of Nilus. The Crocodile hath this propertie, that he flieth before thoſe that run after him, & rūneth after thoſe that fly him. Neither do the Tentyrites get the better of them, for any priuiledge of generoſitie they haue aboue the other Egyptians, but for their contempt and temeritie. For they willingly hunt the Crocodiles, and caſt a ſnare ouer them as they flie, by means whereof they draw them to them: but diuers of theſe Tentyrites that haue not ſufficient courage to purſue the Crocodile reſolutely, are deuoured by them. *Theophraſtus* ſaith, that the water of Nilus was ſomewhat ſalt for the ſpace of two yeares vnder the Reigne of *Cleopatra*, that is to ſay, in the tenth and the eleuenth yeare Nilus flowed not; which ſignified according to the report of the Diuines, the change of the State vnder the Gouernment of two, which were *Anthonie* and *Cleopatra*, vnder whom the Kingdome was reduced into the forme of a Prouince. *Callimachus* is the Authour that in times paſt the Nile was nine yeares without watering Egypt. But now

The mouthes or chanels of Nilus.

The maruels contayned in the ſame.

A combate betweene the Dolphins of the Sea, and Crocodiles of Nilus.

The properties of the Crocodiles.

The cauſes of the increaſe of Nilus in Summer according to the opinion of the Ancients, which is falſe.

now let vs conſider the cauſes of the increaſe of Nilus in Summer, and let vs beginne with the moſt ancient. *Anaxagoras* ſaith, That the ſnowes that are moulten vpon the Mountaines of Æthiopia, run and diſcharge themſelues in Nilus. All antiquity followeth the ſame opinion. *Æſchilus, Sophocles* and *Euripides* haue taught no leſſe. But that this is falſe it appeareth by many Arguments. Firſt of all, That Æthiopia is a Countrey extremely hote, it appeareth by the tawny colour of the Inhabitants, and by the teſtimony of the Troglodites, who haue their houſes vnder Earth: the Rockes and ſtones are as they were on fire, not only at mid-day, but alſo in the euening: the ſand is ſo hot, that a man cannot walke vpon it, the Siluer waxeth Lead, the ſoder or ioyning of the Images diſſolues, there is no couerture of any enriched matter that can endure. The Southerly wind that cõmeth from that Countrey is extremely hot. Thoſe beaſts that hide themſelues in the winter, liue continually abroad. In the time of leaſt heat, the Serpents creepe abroad. In Alexandria likewiſe, farre diſtant from theſe exceſſiue heats, it ſnoweth not, neither falleth there any raine on the higheſt places. How can it then be, that in a Country that is expoſed to ſo great heats of the Sunne, there ſhould any Snowes fall all the Winter time? Truely there ſhould ſome other Mountaines be couered therewith, and namely thoſe of Thrace and Caucaſus. But thoſe Riuers that ſtreame along from the Mountaines, ſwell about the Spring time, and vpon the beginning of Summer, and afterwards decreaſe in Winter. For in the Spring time the Snowes are melted, & about the firſt daies of the Summer the Sunne diſſipateth the reſt. The Rhine, the Rhoſne, Danubius and Cayſtre, are ſmall in Winter, but great in Summer: The Northerne Mountaines are charged with very much Snow. The Riuer Phaſis that runneth in thoſe quarters ſhould increaſe then, if towards the Summer time the Snowes could make the Riuers ſwell. Furthermore, if ſuch were the cauſe of the increaſe of Nile, it ſhould be very great in the beginning of Summer, becauſe the Snowes are at that time entire in great heapes. But Nilus floweth proudly for foure moneths ſpace, and is alwayes in the ſame eſtate. If thou wilt beleeue *Thales*, the Eteſian windes reſiſt Nilus in his deſcent, and bridle his courſes, thruſting the Sea againſt the entrances of his chanels, by meanes of which repulſe hee floweth backe againe and encreaſeth not, but becauſe hee cannot haue further paſſage, he ſwelleth and ouer-floweth in euery place where he may make his way. *Euthymenes* of *Marſelles* accordeth hereunto, ſaying, I haue ſailed in the Atlantique Sea, thence floweth Nilus more greater, as long as the Eteſians blow, for then the Sea being preſſed by theſe winds repulſeth them againſt their ſtreame. When ſuch windes ceaſſe the Sea waxeth calme, and Nilus that returneth backe hath leſſe force. Then is the Sea-water ſweete, and the Monſters in the ſame reſemble thoſe of Nilus. Why therefore? If the Eteſians make Nilus to ſwell, why doth the encreaſe thereof begin, before theſe winds riſe, and continue after they are laid? Whence likewiſe commeth it to paſſe, that it is not more great at ſuch time as they blow more rudely? For hee neither riſeth nor falleth, whether they blow more or leſſe, which would come to paſſe if he increaſed by their forces. Furthermore, the Eteſian winds beat vpon the ſhores of Egypt, and Nilus ſtreameth againſt them; contrariwiſe he would iſſue from the places whence they came, if he tooke his originall from them. Beſides, he would flow from the Sea pure and blue, not troubled and dirtie, as he doth at that preſent. Beſides infinite teſtimonies ſpeake wholly to the contrarie of this opinion. Then was there place for falſhood to preuaile, when the Coaſts were vnknowne. It was lawfull for them that ſpake to publiſh their fables. But

The opinion of Thales, *touching the increaſe of Nilus.*

Euthymenes *opinion.*

The examination of theſe opinions.

at

at this day all the coaſt of the Sea is frequented by their ſhips who traffique; none of which ſay, that the water of Nilus is blew, or that the ſea hath any other taſte then it hath vſually; which likewiſe Nature forbiddeth to be beleeued. For the Sunne draweth that which is moſt light, and ſweet. Beſides, why encreaſeth it not in winter? Since at that time the windes being more violent then they were accuſtomed, might moue the Sea? For the Etelians are moderate. Furthermore, if he were deriued from the Atlantique Sea, he would at one time fill all Egypt. But he encreaſeth by degrees. The Philoſopher *Oenopides* of Chios ſaith, that in winter the heat is hidden vnder earth, by meanes whereof the dens are hot, and the fountain water is warme, by reaſon whereof the veines of the earth are dried by internall heate. But in other Countries the flouds encreaſe by the meanes of raine. But the Nile, becauſe he is not aſſiſted by any other raine he waxeth the leſſe, and then encreaſeth in ſummer, at ſuch time as the inward parts of the earth are cold, and the fountaines are freſh and coole. But if this were true, the riuers ſhould encreaſe, and all the fountaines ſhould be full in ſummer. I ſay, likewiſe that in Summer time the heat is not greater vnder earth. The water, the lower caues, and the fountaines are warme, becauſe they receyue not the ayre that is cold without; ſo then they haue no heate, but they driue out cold. From the ſame cauſe proceedeth this, that they are freſh in ſummer, becauſe the aire being remote and ſeuered from the ſame, and afterwards warmed, attaineth not ſo farre. *Diogenes Apollinaris* is of this opinion, that the Sunne draweth humiditie vnto him, which is ſucked vp from the ſea, and other waters by the drie land, ſo that that it cannot be that one earth ſhould be drie, and another moiſt, becauſe all is perforated and full of paſſages. Thoſe things that are drier doe ſometimes borrow from the moyſter, and if the earth receiued not from other parts, long ſince had it fallen to duſt. So then the Sunne draweth the waues, but the meridian regions are thoſe that haue moſt need: when the earth is dried, ſhe draweth more humiditie vnto her. Euen as in lampes, the oyle runneth thither where it conſumeth, ſo the water runneth into that part, whither the vehemencie of heat and of the parched earth calleth it. Whence then is ſhe drawne? From thoſe parts that are alwaies cold, that is, from the Northern parts whence ſhe floweth. For this cauſe the Pontique ſea powreth her ſtreame continually into that which is the lower, not by ebbes and flouds after the manner of other ſeas, but tending and running alwaies violently towards that part. If this were not, if that which euery one wanteth were not ſupplied, and that which were exceſſiue were not ſent backe againe by the ſame waies, the earth ſhould peece-meale be brought to duſt, or drowned in the water. I would willingly demand of *Diogenes*, ſince that this ſea and the riuers ioyne themſelues together, why the riuers in all countries are not more bigge in Summer time? The Sunne ſcorcheth Egypt more then all other Regions, and therefore Nilus encreaſeth the more: But in other Countries likewiſe there is ſome encreaſe of Riuers. Furthermore, how commeth it to paſſe that ſome places are wholly drie, ſince that all the earth draweth vnto her the humiditie of other Countries, and ſo the more, by how much the drie earth ſhall be expoſed to the Sunne? Finally, whence commeth it that Nilus is ſweet, if his water floweth from the ſea? For there is no Riuer more ſweet in taſte then Nilus is.

An anſwer to Oenopides *opinion.*

The examination of Diogines Apollonates *his opinion.*

An inſtance that wrappeth Diogenes *in new abſurdities.*

Chap. III.

How the Haile is made.

IF I ſhould maintaine that haile is made as Ice is, (the whole cloud being frozen) I ſhould vndertake a thing that were ouer-headie. Therefore number me amongſt thoſe witneſſes of the ſecond note, who deny that they haue ſeene, but auow that they haue heard it. Or at leaſtwiſe I will doe that which the Hiſtorians doe. For they when they haue fayned many things according to their owne fancie, will not maintaine any one thing of conſequence, but adde theſe words, I referre my ſelfe to the credit of the Authors. *Poſſidonius* will anſwer for me, as well in that which I haue alreadie entreated of, as in that which followeth. For he will affirme that the haile is made of a rainy cloud conuerted into water, as boldly as if he had bin preſent at the making. But why haile is round, thou thy ſelfe maiſt know without a maſter, when as thou ſhalt obſerue, that euery thing that droppeth gathereth it ſelfe into a round, which likewiſe appeareth in glaſſes, which gather a kind of dew from our breath, and in pots that are powred out, and in euery other light thing, as in the leaues of herbes and trees, if any drops cleaue vnto them, they are alwaies round.

Poſſidonius *opinion.*

What is more hard then ſtone? more ſoft then water?
Yet hardeſt ſtones by ſofteſt drops are pierced.

Or as another Poet ſaith:

The drops that fall doe pierce the ſtone.

And this hollowneſſe is round alſo, whence it appeareth that the water hath ſome reſemblance with the ſtone that it holloweth, for it maketh a hole in the ſame, that is anſwerable to her form and habitude. Furthermore, although the haile were not ſuch, yet in falling it might grow round, and tumbling ſo long thorow a thicke aire, take an equal forme on euery ſide, which the ſnow cannot do; becauſe it is not ſo ſolide, but is rather ſpread abroad, and falleth not from any great height, but taketh his originall from the lower region of the ayre, ſo that it commeth not from an aire farre diſtant, but falleth from a place neere at hand. Why may not I giue my ſelfe as much libertie as *Anaxagoras* did, whereas free libertie ſhould be amongſt no men more then amongſt Philoſophers? Haile is nought elſe but ſuſpended Ice. The ſnow is a ſort of congelation hanging in the froſt. There is ſuch a difference betwixt Froſt and Ice, and ſnow and Ice, as betweene water and dew.

The difference betweene ſnow and haile.

Chap. IV.

Why it ſnoweth, but haileth not in Winter.

HAuing reſolued this queſtion, I might repoſe my ſelfe, but I will giue thee full meaſure, ſince I haue begun to be troubleſome vnto thee, I will relate whatſoeuer it be, that may grow in queſtion vpon this matter. The queſtion is then why it ſnoweth in Winter, and hayleth not, and after that the colde hath beene broken by a milder weather, the haile falleth? Although thou thinkeſt that

that I am deceiued, yet account I it for true, which I apprehend in my minde, which permitteth it ſelf to beleeue theſe trifling tales, wherein men are accuſtomed to nip our tongues, and not to pull out our eyes. In winter the Aire freeſeth, by meanes whereof it reſolueth not himſelfe into water, but into Snow, to which the Ayre is more neerer. In the beginning of the Spring there followeth a great change of weather, and the Aire being become more warme, there ſucceed more greater raines. Vpon which occaſion our Poet *Virgil* ſaith,

When as a ſhowre-bearing Spring

Diſcouereth it ſelfe, the change of the Ayre being opened, and reſolued euery wayes by the aſſiſtance of the ſeaſon, is farre more vehement. For this cauſe the Raines fall more weightie and thicke, but they continue not. The Winter hath lent, and thick ſhowers, which we ſee oftentimes happen when the ſnow falleth amidſt a rare and thinne Raine. Wee ſay that it is a ſnowie day when it is cold and the Heauen is couered: contrariwiſe, when the Northeaſt wind bloweth and gouerneth the Aire, the Raines are more ſmall; but when the Southern wind raineth, the raine is more ſtrong, and the drops greater.

CHAP. V.

THat which is reſolued by our Stoiques, neither dare I ſpeake, becauſe it is but weakly grounded, neither muſt I let it paſſe. For what euill is it to write any thing that is preſented vnto vs? For if we will exactly examine, and make a diligent ſcrutiny of all things, it were better to be ſilent, ſince there is ſcarſly any thing that is maintayned by the one, that is not impugned by the other. For there are very few things without contradiction. They ſay therefore that all that which is frozen about Scythia and Pontus, and to the Northward, diſſolueth in the Spring-time: that at that time the Riuers thaw, and that the Snowes wherewith the Mountaines are couered, melt; by means whereof it is verie like, that the colder winds engender ſuch a change, and intermixe themſelues with the Aire of the Spring-time. They further adde that which I haue not yet tryed, nor haue the will to doe the ſame; and I counſell thee that if thou wilt know the truth thereof, not to make triall in this ſort if the ſnow be cold. Marke what they ſay, that they that tread vpon the firme and hard Snow haue not ſo much cold in their feet, as thoſe that tread vpon the Snow that is newly falne. If they ſpeake true, all that which commeth from the Northerly places (when as the Snow is diſtributed, and the Ice is broken) tyeth and conſtrayneth the warme and moiſt Aire of the Southerne parts: and therefore when it ſhould raine the vehemencie of the cold will make it fall into haile.

The opinion of the Stoicks vpon this point.

CHAP. VI.

Of those that foretell when it shall haile.

I Cannot temper my selfe, but that I must needes discouer all the follies of our Stoickes, who affirme that there are some men so well experienced in the obseruations of Cloudes, that they can foretell when it shall haile, hauing the means to comprehend the same, by long vse, by obseruing the colour of the Clouds, after which haile hath followed so many times. It is an incredible matter that in the Citie of Cleone there were certaine men chosen to this end vpon the common purse, which were named χαλαζοφύλακες, that is to say, obseruers of the haile. When these had giuen the signe that haile would suddenly follow, what expectest thou, that men should run to their Clokes, or their Leatherne Peltches? Nay rather, euery one sacrificed for himselfe a Lambe or a Pullet; and forthwith those Clouds declined another way, after they had tasted some litle of the bloud. Dost thou laugh at this? Behold cause of more laughter; if there were any that had neither Lambe nor Pullet, hee drew his owne bloud, wherein hee neither hurt himselfe nor any other man. And to the end that thou shouldest not thinke that the Clouds are cruell and desirous of bloud, one of them with a sharpe Pen-knife pricked one of his fingers, and offred his bloud: hereupon the haile fled away as well from his field that had sacrificed thus, as from those Pastures whose Master had the meanes by more greater offerings to preuent the eminent euill.

CHAP. VII.

Whether there bee any reason in this prediction.

SOme seek a reason hereof. Othersome that are more wise say, that it is impossible to couenant with the haile, and to redeeme the tempests by their diminutiue presents, although the gods are pacified by such meanes. Some there are that hold, that they of Cleones thought, that there was some secret vertue in bloud, to turne away and repulse the Cloud. But how may so great power be inclosed in so little bloud as to mount so high, & to cause a resentment in the Cloudes. The shortest way was to say, that all that was no other thing but a fable, & a lie: yet they of Cleones punished those that had not the care to foresee and prouide against tẽpests, because by their negligence their Vineyards were beaten, or their Corne laied. And amongst vs, in the Law of the twelue Table it was forbidden, that no man should enchant another mans fruit. The ancient Idiots and those of little iudgement, beleeued that the Inchanters caused the Raines either to faile or fall; but it is a thing most euident, that they cannot do it, yea, and so manifest, that the cause hereof is not to be examined in any Philosophers Schoole.

CHAP. VIII.

In what Region of the Aire the Snow is made.

YEt one thing wil I adde more, and if thou wilt be content to fauour and applaude it. They say that Snow is made in that Region of the Aire that is neereſt vnto the earth, and that hath most heat, for three causes: the first is, that euery exhalation of the earth, wheras it hath much heat and drie within, it is so much the more hotter the

the newer it is: the ſecond, that the beames of the Sun reflect vpon the earth, and reuerberate backe to themſelues; the which redoubling warmes all that which is neereſt to the earth, the which hath more warmth, becauſe it feeleth the Sun twice: the third cauſe is, that the higher parts are more beaten by the windes, but whatſoeuer are loweſt are leſſe beaten by the windes.

CHAP. XVIII.

TO theſe may a man adde the reaſon of *Democritus*: the more ſolid a body is, the more ſuddenly receiueth it heate, and keepeth it the longer. Therefore if you ſee a Veſſel of Braſſe, or Glaſſe, or Siluer, in the Sunne, that of Braſſe is warmed ſooneſt, and keepeth the heate longeſt. Hee expreſſeth the reaſon in this ſort: It muſt needs be that the pores and paſſages of thoſe bodies that are cloſed, ſolid and thicke, ſhould be more leſſe then the reſt, and that the Aire that entreth ſhould be farre more ſubtile. It followeth then, that as the Stoues that are leſſe ſpacious, and the ſmalleſt Ouens are ſooneſt hote; ſo the pores and paſſages that are hidden, and cannot be obſerued by the eye, doe more ſpeedily entertaine the heate, and becauſe they are ſo narrow, deliuer ouer this heate more ſlowly then they haue receiued it.

Democritus reaſon annexed to the precedent.

CHAP. X.

THeſe long Prefaces bring vs to the point that now is in queſtion. All Aire is more thicke, according as it is more neere vnto the Earth. As in the water, and in all humiditie, the Lees are found in the bottome; ſo in the Aire, thoſe things that are moſt thicke are alwaies loweſt. But wee haue already proued that all things, the more their matter is thicke and ſolid, the more long time and more effectually keepe they the heate they haue receiued: but the more the Aire is raiſed and eſtranged from the ordures of the Earth, the more pure and neat it is; by meanes whereof it retayneth not the Sunne, but letteth it paſſe as thorow a void place, and therefore is it that it warmeth leſſe.

The loweſt Region of the aire is more darkeſome and leſſe pure.

CHAP. XIV.

COntrariwiſe, ſome ſay that the tops of the Mountaines, being neere vnto the Sunne, ſhould be alſo more hote. But in my opinion they deceiue themſelues in this, that they thinke that the Appennine, the Alpes, & other renowned Mountaines, by reaſon of their height haue their heads ſo high, that their tops may feele the neighbourhood of the Sunne: vndoubtedly theſe Mountaines are high, if a man compare them with vs that are men; but when thou ſhalt conſider the whole Vniuerſe, euery one may perceiue that both Mountaines and men are things very baſe. The one compared with the other haue the vpper hand, and together they are nothing. Neither is there any thing, how high ſoeuer it bee raiſed, that in compariſon with the whole ſhould be eſteemed any thing; & if it

Why the tops of the higheſt Mountaines haue leſſe ſenſe of the heate of the Sun then the Vallies.

were otherwiſe, we would not ſay, that al this circuit of the earth is but a boule. The properties of a boule is to be round in all equality. Conſider this equality in a Ball; the ſtitches, the corners and little holes that appeare therein, hinder not a man from ſaying that all the parts are round. But as theſe ſpaces hinder not this Bal to haue a round figure, ſo in al the globe of the earth & in the higheſt Mountaines (whoſe tops are nothing if they bee compared with the whole round) the ſame ought to be conſidered. He that ſaith that the higheſt Mountaine, becauſe it is neereſt to the Sunne, ſhould be more warmed, may ſay alſo that a great man ſhould haue more heate then a little man, and that heat ought to be rather in the head then in the feete But whoſoeuer hath conſidered the World according to his meaſure, and remembreth himſelf that the earth is the center or point of this great Circumference, ſhall know that nothing may be ſo high in the ſame, that by that meanes it may haue more ſenſe of the effect of the Sunne, and of thoſe other Celeſtiall fires, as if hee were more neerer vnto them. Theſe Mountaines that we behold, and theſe high Tenariſes that are couered with perpetuall ſnow, are notwithſtanding in the bottome. True it is, that a Mount which is raiſed high is neerer the Sunne then a Valley, but in ſuch ſort is it, as one haire is greater then another: for after this manner one Tree is ſaid to bee neereſt Heauen then another; which is falſe, becauſe betweene thoſe things that are little there cannot be any great difference, but whilſt they are compared one with another. When we come to the compariſon of a mighty body, it skils not how much the one is greater then the other, becauſe although it be with a great difference, yet are they called ſmall.

CHAP. XII.

W'y the Snow is ſoft.

BVt to returne to our purpoſe, by reaſon of the reaſons aboue mẽtioned, diuers haue bin of the opinion, that Snow is made in the loweſt Region of the aire, by meanes whereof it is ſoft, becauſe it is gathered of a cold that is leſſe rigorous then that of other regiõs. The neighbouring aire hath too much cold to conuert it ſelfe into water & raine, & ouer little to be hardned into haile. Of this moderate cold, (& not too much intended) are the ſnowes made by the means of thick waters.

CHAP. XIII.

After the reſolution of this queſtion: hee entreth into cenſure againſt the Epicures of this World, who abuſe Snow.

WHy, ſaieſt thou, doſt thou proſecute theſe follies ſo earneſtly, whereby thou ſhalt neither become more learned, nor more better? Thou telleſt me how ſnowes are made, where it concerneth thee farre more to let vs vnderſtand why ſnowes are not to be bought. Thou willeſt me to plead againſt diſſolution: this is a daily and a fruitleſſe brawle; yet let vs chide at it: although ſhee be like to get the vpper hand, yet let her ouercome vs fighting and ſtriuing againſt her. What then? Thinkeſt thou that this inſpection of nature auaileth nothing to that which thou intendeſt? When we aske how ſnow is made, and ſay that by nature it is like vnto froſt, that it containeth in it ſelfe more aire then water; thinkeſt thou not that they are reproched hereby, becauſe they buy not true water, but a farre more baſer thing? But let vs rather inquire how Snowes are made, then how they

they are kept, becauſe not contenting our ſelues to poure out our olde Wines, and to diſpoſe them according to their ſauours and age, we haue found out the inuention how to keepe ſnow, to the end it might ouercome Summer, and defence it ſelfe againſt the heat of the yeare, by the coldneſſe of the place: what haue we attained by this diligence? Forſooth this, to buy water that coſteth vs nothing. It grieueth vs that we cannot buy the wind and the Sun; or for that the aire commeth ſo eaſily to preſent himſelfe to the rich & more delrcate ſort, who could be contented to buy the ſame. O how impatiently endure we that Nature, the mother of all, hath left a thing which might be endeered to be common to all! This which ſhe would haue flow and lie open to all men; this which ſhe hath made publique, to the end that all men might drinke thereof to entertaine life; that which ſhe hath largely and happily diſpenſed for all, to ſerue the common vſe of men, of ſauage beaſts, of birds and all other liuing creatures: that haue the moſt idle, that hath diſſolution (ingenious in her own miſchief) drawn vnto a price; ſo is nothing pleaſing vnto her except it coſt deere. This was the onely thing that equalled the rich with the common ſort, in which onely they could not exceede the pooreſt. For him was this deuiſed, (whoſe riches are troubleſome to himſelfe) to feed his diſſolution euen in water. I will tell you whence it came to paſſe that no running water ſeemed cold enough for vs. As long as the ſtomack is ſound, and capable of conuenient nouriſhment, & is filled but not ouerpreſſed, it is content with naturall ſupplies, it feeleth not the heate of the time, but his inward diſtemper; when as continuall drunkenneſſe encampeth in his bowels, and the noble parts are inflamed by a cholerick humor that ſeizeth the ſtomacke, men ſeeke neceſſarily for ſomewhat that may temper that heat which waxeth more violently by thoſe waters that are powred on it, and the remedie increaſeth the ſickneſſe. And therefore not in Summer onely, but in the depth of winter, they drinke water for this cauſe. What is the cauſe hereof, but an euill inteſtine, the intrailes rotted and ſpoiled by exceſſe, to which no intermiſſion hath bin granted, to concoct & digeſt that which they had thruſt into thē; but ſome haue heaped on their dinners thoſe nightly banquets, which haue laſted till the next day morning, gormandize and drunkenneſſe plunging as it were into a gulf, mens ſtomacks charged with abundance and diuerſities of wines and meates. Beſides this, intemperance that hath no intermiſſion, hauing greedily deuoured all that which was preſented vnto him, becomes mad, and inflameth it ſelfe alwaies in a new deſire to follow his traine. Although therfore they garniſh their Chambers with Tapeſtrie and other Ornaments, and with huge fires conquer the vehemencie of the colde, yet notwithſtanding their ſtomackes cloyed and weakened by their proper heate, ſeeke ſome ſolace to refreſh themſelues. For euen as we caſt cold water vpon their faces that faint and are in a ſwound, to the end we may reuiue them; ſo the entrailes of theſe diſſolute men, wholly ſtupified with ſo much exceſſe, feele nothing, except you awake them with theſe extreame colde drinkes. Hence commeth it that they content not themſelues with ſnow, but ſteep their Ice in ſtore of freſh water, as if the thickeneſſe thereof gaue them ſome more certaine refreſhing. And this yce is not taken from that which groweth aboue, but to the end it may haue more force, and a more vehement colde, they draw it and digge it out of the deeper places. Therefore is it, that theſe delicacies haue more priſes then one, and there is traffique both of water and Ice, according to the diuerſities of the ſeaſons of the yeare, to the great diſhonor of the buyers and the ſellers. The Lacedemonians baniſhed Perfumers out of their Citie, and commanded them ſud-

A pleaſant and fit compariſon, to ſhew the miſeries of the diſſolute.

A liuely description of belly-gods, and how great was Senecaes admired hatred against all excesse.

ſuddenly to depart out of their confines, becauſe they waſted their Oile. What would they haue done if they had ſeene the ſhops and ſtore-houſes for Snow, and ſo many Horſes appointed to carry this Snow, whoſe color and ſauor they alter by the meanes of the ſtraw wherein they keepe it? But good gods, how eaſie a thing is it to extinguiſh wholſome thirſt? But what can dull and dead iawes, ſtupified with burning meats, feele? Euen as nothing is cold enough for them, ſo nothing is hote enough: but they thruſt downe the ſcalding morſels, ſpeedily drowned in their ſawce, halfe ſmoking, into their ſtomacks, to the end they may extinguiſh them with ſnowie Potions. Thou ſhalt ſee certaine leane fellowes, armed againſt the cold vp to the chinne, pale and ill diſpoſed, that not onely ſwallow downe, but alſo eate Snow, caſting great morſels of the ſame into their cups, fearing leſt in forbearing their drinke a little, it ſhould waxe warme. Thinkeſt thou that this is thirſt? It is a Feuer, yea, ſo malignant that it is neither diſcouered in touching the repulſe, nor by the colour that appeareth in the face. But intemperance an inuincible euill, of ſoft and fluid becomming hard and ſtupid, burneth the heart it ſelfe. Knoweſt thou not that all things loſe their force by cuſtome? Therefore this Snow, in which at this day you that are delicate, are as it were plunged, by vſe and continuall ſeruitude of the ſtomacke hath gotten this priuiledge, that it obtayneth the place of water. Seeke out now ſome other thing that is more cold, for an ordinary and accuſtomed freſhneſſe and cooleneſſe is as much to you as nothing.

The end of the fourth Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The fifth Booke.

Wherein

Is intreated of the matter and motion of the VVindes and Ayre.

CHAP. I.

THe Wind is fluent Ayre. Some haue defined it thus: The Wind is an Ayre which is fluent in one part. This definition seemeth to be more exact, because the Ayre is neuer so immoueable, but that in some sort it is agitated. So say wee that the Sea is calme, when it is but gently moued, and inclineth not ouer-much to one part. When therefore thou readest,

When as the Sea was calme vnbeat by Winds:

Know that it is neuer so stil, but that it hath some slight ripling, and is said to be calme, because it forceth not a streame neither this way, nor that way. The same may a man iudge of the Aire, that it is neuer immoueable although it be quiet and calme. Which thou mayest conceiue by this: When the Sun penetrateth into any closed place, we see certaine little bodies

Hippocrat. lib. de Flatib. Read Valeriola vpon this, and Aristotles opinion in 2. Meteorolog. wherein he highly taxeth the definition: but Seneca in this place first defineth what winde is.

dies carryed now athwart, some vpward, some downeward, and diuersly encountring together. He shall therefore scarce diligently enough comprehend that he would, that saith: The floud is the agitation of the Sea, because when it is calmest it is stirred likewise. But beyond exception shall he be that shall define it thus: The floud is the agitation of the Sea into one part. So in this thing also, whereof we most of all now debate, he shall not be excepted against, that carryeth himselfe so as he saith: The wind is a fluent Aire into one part, or the winde is fluent Aire with violence; or the force of the Aire that fleeteth into one part, or a course of the Aire a little more vehement then ordinarie. I know what may be answered for that other definition, what needest thou to adde this, Aire flowing into one part? For whatsoeuer floteth, fleeteth into some part. No man will say that the water floweth, if it be only moued in it selfe, but if it tendeth toward some part. There may bee therefore somewhat that may moue and not flow, but contrariwise it cannot flow except it be into one part. But if this breuitie be sufficient to defend vs from reproofe, let vs vse this. But if any man be more circumspect, let him not spare his word, by whose adiection he may exclude all cauill. Let vs now come to the matter it selfe, because we haue sufficiently disputed of the forme.

CHAP. II.

Whereof wind is composed.

DEMOCRITVS saith, that when there are many of these small bodies which he calleth *Atomi*, in some void streight, there followeth winde: contrariwise that the estate of the Aire is calme and peaceable, when in much void there are *Atomes*. For euen as in the Market-place or street, as long as there is but little company, a man may walk without tumult: but when as companie meeteth in a streight, their groweth quarrell, because they throng and iustle one another: so in this space wherein we are inuironed, when many bodies haue filled a small place, it must needs be that in incountring one with another, the one should bee pushed by the other, which push them backe againe, and that they should bee confused together, and compresse one another. From thence commeth wind, when as those two bodies that were at debate are fallen downe, and after they haue long time floted and remayned in suspence, incline themselues. But where there are few bodies in a great extent, neither can they iustle one another, nor be impelled the one by the other.

CHAP. III.

Refutation of Democritus *Argument in the former chapter.*

HOw false this opinion is thou mayst gather hereby, because that when the Skie is cloudie and the Aire is thicke, there is no winde stirring. But at that time diuers bodies are assembled together, whence proceedeth also the thicknesse of the Clouds. Adde hereunto that about Riuers & Lakes fogs fall very oftentimes, & consequently many bodies pressed & conioined together, & yet there is no wind. And sometimes so great a myst is spred abroad, that scarce one man can see another, though they stand neere together, which should not come to passe except many bodies had enclosed themselues in a little space. But no time wanteth

teth wind more then that which is foggie. Adde hereunto now that which falleth out on the contrarie ſide, that the riſing Sunne ordinarily attenuateth the thicke and moiſt Aire vpon his riſe. And then doth the winde riſe when as the bodies are ſet at libertie, and that their preſſe and multitude is reſolued.

CHAP. IV.

Wind is made in diuers ſorts.

NOw therefore how ſayeſt thou, are the winds made, ſince thou confeſſeſt that they are made? Not after one manner: for ſometimes the Earth puſheth out of her Caues a great abundance of Aire, ofttimes when a great and continuall exhalation driueth vp on high, that which ſhe had depreſſed, this change of intermixed Aire is turned into wind: for this neither can I be perſwaded to beleeue, nor to conceale, which ſome men doe hold, that as by the meanes of our meat, wind is cauſed in our bodies, which cannot burſt forth, except it be by violent ſneeſing, or likewiſe ſometimes by diſcharge of the belly with ſome noyſe, or making an eſcape which is not heard: ſo this ſpacious nature that maintaneth all things, in changing nature produceth winds. It is good for vs that ſhe diſgeſteth alwayes, otherwiſe we might feare ſome ſtinke or more vncleanneſſe. Is it not therefore more truly ſaid, that from all the parts of the Earth, there neceſſarily arriue a great number of theſe *Atomes*, which being heaped together, and afterwards attenuated by the Sunne, it hapneth that the winde is made, becauſe that all that which enlargeth it ſelfe in a narrow place, doth require a greater ſpace?

CHAP. V.

The Aire hath in it ſelfe a naturall faculty of motiõ.

WHat then? thinkeſt thou that the euaporations of the Waters and Earth are the onely cauſes of the Wind? That the grauitie of the Ayre is cauſed by theſe, and afterwards is reſolued by violence, when thoſe things that ſtood thicke, (as it is needfull) by being extenuated, ſtriue to get a greater ſpace? For mine owne part I iudge the cauſe to bee ſo. But that which is the more truer and firmer cauſe, is, that the Aire hath a naturall force of moouing it ſelfe, which it hath of it ſelfe, as other things haue, without hauing any need of conceiuing ought from another. Thinkeſt thou that the force of motion hath beene giuen vs, and that the Ayre hath beene condemned to remaine idle, and without agitation? conſidering that the water ceaſeth not to haue her motion, although the winds be calme, for otherwiſe ſhe could not breed fiſhes. We ſee likewiſe that Moſſe and other herbes grow in the waters, and float aboue them.

CHAP.

Chap. VI.

It hath ſomthing vitall in it ſelfe.

THere is ſomewhat therefore vitall in the water. Speake I it onely of the water. The fire that conſumeth all things, createth likewiſe ſomethings, and (that which cannot ſeeme to be true, and yet is very true) there are certaine liuing creatures that are engendered in the fire. The Ayre likewiſe hath ſome ſuch like Vertue, and therefore ſometimes it thickneth, ſometimes it ſpreadeth and purgeth it ſelfe, ſometimes it cloſeth, it openeth, and reſtrayneth it ſelfe. There is therefore ſuch difference betwixt the Aire and the Winde, as there is betwixt a Lake and a Riuer. Sometimes the Sunne it ſelfe is the cauſe of Winde, either by melting the cold Ayre, which he findeth thicke and cloſed in it ſelfe, or by purifying and dilating it.

Chap. VII.

When and from when e the winds proceed.

WE haue ſpoken of the Windes in generall, now let vs beginne to entreat of them ſeuerally. It will haply appeare how they are made, if it ſhall appeare when and whence they proceed. Firſt therefore let vs examine thoſe Winds that riſe before day, which either are raiſed from ſome Riuers, or Vallies, or Gulfes. There is none of them continueth, but falleth when the Sunne is mounted ſomewhat high, or is not carried aboue the ſight of the Earth. This kind of wind beginneth in the Springtime, & paſſeth not the Summer. And from thence moſt of all commeth it, where there are many Waters and Mountaines. The Champians although they abound with waters, yet ſay I, that they want this breath which ſtandeth in ſtead of Winde.

Chap. VIII.

Whence ſtrong winds are cauſed.

HOw then is that Wind bred which the Grecians call ἐγχελωιας? what ſoeuer the Riuers & Mariſhes caſt out of themſelues, (the which is much and continuall) is in the day time the nutriment of the Sunne, and by night is not exhauſted, but being incloſed in the Mountaines, is gathered into one Region; and when as it hath filled the ſame, and is vnable to contayne it ſelfe in it ſelfe, it breaketh forth, and goeth into another part, and hence commeth the Winde. It inclineth therefore towards that part, which inuiteth it with more free paſſage, and thorow the ſpaciouſneſſe of the place, into which being gathered together it may runne. The proofe hereof is, that it riſeth not before midnight: for this collection beginneth to be made a little before day, and being as it were accompliſhed at ſuch time as the light appeareth, it ſeeketh to diſcharge it ſelfe of the weight, and thither eſpecially tendeth, where there is moſt Ayre, and a great and ſpacious extent. The Sunne likewiſe at his riſe reflecting vpon the cold Ayre, in ſome ſort addeth forwardneſſe to it: for euen before hee appeareth, he preuayleth by his light, although his beames doe not diſſipate the Ayre, yet prouoketh he it, and ſtirreth it by ſending his light before: for when hee himſelfe appea-

peareth, the one are rayſed vp into the ayre, the other are diſſipated by little and little, in ſuch ſort as they are not permitted to blow, except in the morning; their vigor vaniſheth vnder the force of the Sunne. And if they be ſtrong about the morning, about mid-day they waxe weake, and theſe ſmall windes neuer paſſe mid-day. There are ſome likewiſe that are verie feeble, and more ſhort, according as their cauſes are more or leſſe powerfull.

CHAP. IX.

Whence it commeth that ſuch a winde is more vident in the Spring and Summer.

BVt why are theſe windes more violent in the Spring-time, and in the ſummer? for in the two other ſeaſons they are verie mild, and ſcarſely fill the ſayles of ſhippes. Becauſe the Spring is moyſter, and a greater euaporation is made from diuers waters and places, which by reaſon of the moiſt nature of the heauens are ful and ouercharged. But why is it that theſe vapours are ſo great in the Summer time? Becauſe ſuch daily heat continueth after the ſetting of the Sunne, and continueth for the greater part of the night, and draweth to it ſelfe that which is without, and attracteth with violence all that which the earth is accuſtomed to render of it ſelfe, but it hath not ſufficient force to conſume and diſſipate that which it hath drawne: for this cauſe, the earth and water puſh out theſe little Atomes which are accuſtomed almoſt ordinarily to iſſue out, not onely by heate, but alſo by the reuerberation of his beames. The Sunne is the efficient cauſe of the winds: for the light that foregoeth the riſing of the Sun doth not as yet warme the ayre, but onely reflecteth vpon it, which being ſtrucken vpon, retireth it ſelfe on the one ſide, although I auerre not that this light is without heate, conſidering that it is made of heate. It may be it hath not ſo much heat, that it may actually appeare, yet notwithſtanding it performeth his duety by deducing and attenuating theſe things that are thicke. Beſides, thoſe places, which by ſome iniquitie of nature are ſo cloſed that they cannot entertaine the Sunne, are notwithſtanding lightned by a drye and heauie light, and are leſſe colde by day then by night. By nature likewiſe euery heat drieth and diſperſeth away from it all cloudes. It followeth therefore, that the Sun doth the like. For which cauſe ſome are of the opinion, that the wind bloweth from thence whence the Sunne parteth. But that this is falſe, it appeareth hereby becauſe the winde drieth ſhips into diuers climates, and ſuch as trauell by Sea with full ſaile, ſayle againſt the Sunne riſe, which ſhould not come to paſſe, if the winde were alwaies carried by the Sunne.

If the winde bloweth from the place whence the Sunne departeth.

CHAP. X.

Why the windes that are called Eteſians blow not but in ſummer, and during the number of certaine dayes.

THe Eteſian windes likewiſe (which are alledged by ſome in way of proofe) ſerue them little for their purpoſe. I will firſt declare what their opinion is, and afterwards why it diſliketh me. The Eteſians (ſay they) blow not in the winter, becauſe in the ſhorter dayes the Sunne is ſooner ſet before the colde be ouercome, and therefore the ſnowes both fall and are hardned. In the ſummer time they beginne to blow, becauſe the dayes are longer, and the beames of the Sunne directly beate vpon vs. It is therefore like to be true, that the cloudes being ſha-

ken with great heate, push forth humiditie, and that the earth (discouered and discharged of the Snow) produceth the vapors more freely; whence issue more impressions in the ayre to the Northward, then otherwise, which are carryed into places more sweete and temperate: so doe the Etesians inforce themselues, and therefore is it that they beginne in the Solstice, beeing vnable to endure the rising of the Dogge-starre, because that alreadie the colder part of the Heauen hath powred much of his humour into the same. But the Sunne hauing changed his course, draweth more directly towards vs, inuiting one part of the ayre, and repulsing the other. Thus the gale of these Etesians breaketh the forces of Summer, and defendeth it from the violence of the hotest moneths.

CHAP. XI.

If the Etesians and other windes are stirred by the Sunne.

I Will now performe that which I promised; Why the Etesians helpe them no waies, neyther yeeld any confirmation to this cause; wee haue said, that about the spring of the day, there ariseth a little wind, which is laid as soone as the Sunne meeteth with it. And therefore is it why the Marriners call the Etesians idle & delicate, because they know not how to rise early, as *Gallion* saith. They beginne the most times to blow when that little mornings breath beginneth to calme, which would not come to passe if the Sunne were the stirrer of them as he is of the lesser winds. Furthermore, if the length and greatnesse of the day were the cause that they blew, they should be heard before the Solstice at such time as the dayes are long, and the snowes are melted; for in the moneth of Iuly all the earth is discouered, or at leastwise there are very few things that lie vnder the snow.

CHAP. XII.

Of the windes called Ecnephy *and how they are made.*

THere are some sorts of windes which the clouds that are broken, and fall, push before them; these windes doe the Grecians call ἐκνεφίας, which, in my opinion, are made after this manner. When as a great inequality & diuersitie of bodies which are cast forth by terrestriall vapours, mount on high, and that the one of these bodies are drie, and the other moist; it is to be beleeued, that from so great a contrarietie of bodies that incessantly striue one against another at such time as they are assembled, there should certaine hollow Cloudes be composed, and that there is betweene them some distances, full of narrow holes, such as are in flutes: In these distances there is a subtill and thinne ayre, that incloseth it selfe, which being tossed vp and downe therein, and in the end warmed by a constrayned and interrupted course, becommeth hereby more strong; and seeking for a place more large, breaketh all that which incloseth it, and issueth like a wind, which for the most part is stormy, because it commeth from aboue, and falleth vpon vs with a great violence; because it cannot spread it selfe euerie wayes, but contrariwise trauelleth verie much to finde an issue, enforcing his way before him, and as it were by a violent combate. Ordinarily this wind endureth not long, because it breaketh the receptacles of those Cloudes wherein it

it was caryed: ſometime it iſſueth with a great noyſe, but not without thunder and lightning. Such winds are of more vehemencie and longer continuance, if they carrie with them other violent winds intermixed with them: and ſuch as iſſue from the ſame way, and ſtriue to vnite themſelues with them, euen as Torrents flow in a meaſurable greatneſſe, as long as euery one hath his particular courſe, but when as diuers of them meet together in one, they ſurpaſſe in depth, bredth and ſwiftneſſe, the greateſt Riuers that flow inceſſantly. The ſame way in all likelyhood falls out in ſtormes, which of themſelues continue not long time, but when they haue aſſembled their forces, and when as from diuers parts of the Heauens, the Aire being preſſed, aſſembleth it ſelfe in one place, they both gather more forces, and continue longer.

CHAP. XIII.

The maner how the winds breake from the Cloudes that incloſe them

SO then a reſolued cloud maketh the winde which is diſſolued in diuers ſorts. Sometimes the Aire which is incloſed, ſearching to find a vent, ſtrugleth in ſuch ſort that it breaketh all that collection of Clouds that detaineth it; ſometimes the heat that hath beene occaſioned by the Sunne, ſometimes the interſhocke of Clouds, as it hapneth when two great bodies encounter and cruſh one another. In this place it may be demãded (if thou thinkeſt it fit) whence that ſtorme is raiſed, which is accuſtomed to happen in Riuers, which fleeting onward without interruption ſeeme peaceable and milde and make no noyſe: but when they encounter with any Rocke on this or that ſide of the Riuer, they recoyle and turne their Waters into round Circles which cannot bee diuided; ſo that in whirling about they ſucke vp themſelues, and make a Gulfe: ſo the winde as long as nothing reſiſteth it, extendeth his forces: but when it is beaten back by any Promontory, or if by conſtraint of the places it be gathered into ſome ſtraight and crooked Pipes, it oftimes turneth and returneth it ſelfe into it ſelf, and maketh a Gulfe like vnto thoſe Waters, which as I ſaid, are conuerted and whirled about. This winde turning it ſelfe, and inuironing one and the ſame place, and mouing it ſelfe violently in diuers circles & rounds, is a whirlewind, which if it grow more ſtrong and furious is inkindled, and maketh that flying fire, which the Grecians call πρηστῆρα. This is a fiery ſtorme. Theſe winds for the moſt part being broken from the Cloudes diſcouer all dangers, whereby whole Herdes of beaſts are carryed away in the fields, and whole Ships are toſſed and drowned in the flouds. Some winds alſo engender diuers others, and puſhing the Aire into ſome other places, then thoſe whereupon they were formerly caſt, ſpread themſelues here and there. I will tell you likewiſe that which is come into my memory; euen as the drops of raine in the beginning make not the Earth ſlippery, but when they are gathered together, and re-inforced, then is it ſaid that they flow and fleet: in like caſe, as long as the motions of the Aire are light and agitated in diuers places, it is not wind as yet; it beginneth to bee, when he hath mingled all his motions together, and hath made a mightie body. It is the meaſure that putteth a difference betwixt the Aire and the Winde, for the Winde is a more vehement breath, and the ſpirit likewiſe a lightly flowing Aire.

Chap. XIV.

That there are winds likewise which breake from the Caues and hollow places of the earth.

I Will repeate now that which I said at the first, that the winds issue from Caues and hollow places of the Earth. The Earth is not made and fashioned of one whole massiue piece from the top vnto the bottome, but is hollow in diuers places:

Suspended on obscure and hollow Caues.

Somewhere she hath voides without any humour. There likewise if no light shew the differences of the aire, yet will I say that the clouds & mists consist in obscuritie. For neither are these aboue the Earth, because they seeme so to bee, but because they are, they so seeme. There notwithstanding also are they for this cause, because they are not seene. Thou mayest know likewise that there, doe flow certaine Riuers, no lesse great then those that wee see, the one stealing along sweetly, the other violently and with roaring noyse, by reason that they fall downe headlong from craggie and stonie places. What then, wilt thou not confesse also, that there are Lakes vnder the Earth, & that there are certaine Pooles, whose waters stand continually without issue? Which if it bee so, it followeth also that the Aire is burthened, and by his burthen bended, and raiseth the wind by his vrging forward. We shal know well then that these winds shall be produced, in obscure places, out of these clouds vnder earth, when they haue gathered so much forces that either may suffice to breake thorow the resistance of the Earth, or occupie some open passage for these windes, and that by these Caues they may be conueyed amongst vs. But this is most manifest, that vnder Earth there is a great quantitie of Sulphure & other Minerals, that serue to enkindle fire. The Aire searching issue by these Caues, after it is very much agitated, must of necessity in this great presse, expresse and cause the fire to issue. Afterwards the flames being spred more at large, if there remained any Ayre that was still, the subtiltie thereof gaue it motion, and there with great noise & cracking sound it seeketh passage. But I will entreat hereof more exactly when I shall speake of, and debate of the trembling of the Earth.

Chap. XV.

A digression wherein he entreateth of Riuers and Pooles vnder-ground.

PErmit mee now to tell thee a pleasant Tale. *Asclepiodotus* reciteth, that in times past *Philip* caused certaine Workemen to bee let downe in Desert Mines, to see if there were any thing to bee gotten, and in what estate all things were, and whether the Auarice of our Predecessours had left any thing for those that were to succeed. These men descended with many lights, and remaynd there for many dayes, and finally being wearied with walking, they saw great Riuers, and Poole of a maruellous length like vnto ours, but not inclosed and restrayned with any Earth to bound them in, but spred and extended abroad, which made them afraid. I tooke great content to reade this; for I vnderstand that our Age is sicke, not onely of new vices, but also of those which the Ancients haue taught, and that it is not of late time that Auarice hath digged into the veins of Earth and Rocks, seeking in the darknes the ruine of Mankind.

And

And as touching our Anceſtors, whom wee praiſe ſo much, they likewiſe (whoſe vertues we complaine that we cannot equall) beeing led by hope, haue opened and digged downe mountaines, and haue found themſelues buried vnder the ruines, and vnder the gaine they had made. There haue been Kings long time before *Philip* of *Macedon*, that haue ſearched out the verie bowels of the Earth to finde out Siluer; and forſaking the free ayre, haue ſlid downe into thoſe caues, where there was no difference betwixt day and night, leauing the cleareneſſe of the day behind them. What great hope could this be? What neceſſitie hath bowed a man towards the earth, who was made vpright to behold the Heauens, that he hath digged, and drowned himſelfe in the heart of the Earth, to draw out Gold, which is as dangerous in the ſearching, as in the keeping! For this hath he vndermined the earth, and vnder hope of an vncertaine prey couered in dyrt, (forgetfull of his time, and forgetfull of his better nature) hath he ſequeſtred himſelfe. There is no dead man to whom the earth is ſo waightie, as to thoſe vpon whom auarice hath caſt ſo waightie a loade of earth; from whom ſhe hath taken the light of heauen, and whom ſhe hath buried in thoſe bottomleſſe pits, wherein this poyſon was hidden: Into thoſe places durſt they deſcend, where they haue found a new diſpoſition of things, the earth ſuſpended, the windes blowing in an obſcure voyd, the dreadfull ſources of waters that ſtreamed along, a profound and perpetuall night; yet for all this they feare Hell.

An inuective against auarice.

Chap. XVI.

BVt to returne to that which is now in queſtion. There are foure Windes, diuided into Eaſt, Weſt, South, and North. All the reſt which we call by diuers names are numbred vnder theſe:

Of the foure principall winds, and whence they come.

Evrvs *retired towards the mornings riſe,*
And to the Nabathean Kingdomes flies,
Breathing on Perſia, and thoſe mountaines hye,
That are expos'd to Phoebvs *riſing eye.*
Milde Zephirvs *the euening hath poſſeſt,*
And beates vpon the warmer ſhores of Weſt.
But horrid Boreas *doth the North inuade*
And bends his ſtormes againſt the Scythian glade:
Where contrarie, the Southerne winde againe
The Nooneſted tract doth moiſt with clouds and raine.

Or if thou haddeſt rather comprehend them in ſhorter words, let them be aſſembled in one tempeſt (which can no waies be.)

Evrvs *and* Nothvs *tempeſt both together,*
And ſtormie Afrike haſts (to helpe them) thither.

And the North-wind which had no place in that conflict. Some imagine that there are twelue Windes. For they diuide the foure parts of the Heauens into three, and giue two adiuncts to euery one of the foure principall winds. According to this manner, *Varro*, a verie diligent man, hath ordered them; and not

Of twelue winds, according to ſome.

without cauſe: For the Sunne neither riſeth nor ſetteth alwaies in one place, but the one is the riſing, and the other the ſetting Equinoctiall; for there are two Equinoctials, the one Solſtitiall, and the other hibernall. We call that *Subſolanus*, that riſeth from the Orientall Equinoctiall: the Grecians call it ἀπηλιώτην. *Eurus* iſſueth from the Orient of winter, which we haue called *Vulturnus*. And *Liuy* ſo termeth it in that vnfortunate battell of the Romans, wherein *Hannibal* ſet the riſing Sunne and wind in the eyes of his enemies, and by the aſſiſtance both of Sunne and wind, got the victorie. *Varro* ſurnameth it alſo *Eurus* after this manner. At this day the Latines vſe indifferently both the one and the other. The wind that bloweth from the Orientall Solſtice, is called *Cæcias*, or καικίαν by the Greekes, and the Latines haue no other name. The weſt Equinoctial ſendeth *Fauonius*, which they that vnderſtand not the Greek wil tel thee is *Zephirus*. From the Occidentall Solſtice proceedeth *Corus*, or according to others, *Argeſtes*, which I think not, becauſe that *Corus* bloweth violently, and maketh a ſtorme in ſome part; *Argeſtes* is ordinarily ſlacke, equall, and common as well to thoſe that go, as thoſe that returne. *Africus* that is both ſtormie and tempeſtuous, departeth from the Occident of Winter, and by the Grecians is called λίψ. To the Northward, the higheſt is Aquilon, that in the midſt Septentrion, & *Thracias* is the lower, which hath no other name amongſt the Latines. From the Meridionall *axis* ariſeth *Euronotus*, then *Notus*, in Latine *Auſter*; after theſe, *Libanotus*, which amongſt vs is without a name.

Their names.

CHAP. XVII.

That there can be but twelue principall winds.

I Agree that there are twelue winds, not becauſe there ariſe ſo many in euery country (for the inclination of the earth excludeth ſome) but becauſe there are no more in any place. So ſay we that there are ſix caſes, yet mean we not, that euery nowne hath ſix caſes, but becauſe there is no nowne can haue more then ſix. They that haue propoſed twelue winds, haue followed this reaſon, that there are as many winds as there are parts of the heauen, which is diuided into fiue circles, which paſſe thorow the Cardines of the world, that is to ſay, the Northerne, Solſtitial, Equinoctiall, Hibernall, and Meridionall; to which is annexed a ſixt, diſtinguiſhing, as thou knoweſt, the ſuperiour part of the world, from the inferiour. For there is alwayes a halfe aboue, and another beneath. The Greekes haue called this line which is partly couered, and partly diſcouered, *Horizon*, we *Finitor* or *Finiens*. To this muſt we adde the Meridian circle, which diuideth the Horizon by ſtraight angles. Some of theſe circles goe ſloape-wiſe, and trauerſe the others. But it is neceſſarie that there ſhould be as great differences in the ayre, as there is in the parts. So then the Horizon diuideth the fiue aboue-named circles, whereof it maketh ten parts, fiue to the Eaſtward, and fiue to the Weſtward. The Meridian circle, which encountereth with the Horizon, addeth two parts. If the ayre haue twelue differences, ſo many windes maketh it. There are ſome that are proper to certaine places, which go not from one place to another, but bend themſelues towards that which is next, without blowing from one end of the world to another. *Atabulus* moleſteth *Apulia*; *Iapix*, *Calabria*; *Sciron*, *Athens*; *Categis*, *Pamphilia*; *Circius*, *France*; whoſe inhabitants ceaſe not to giue him thankes, although he breaketh their buildings, as if they were bound vnto him for the bountie of their aire. At ſuch time as the Emperour

Auguſtus

Auguſtus ſoiourned in France, he vowed and builded a Temple to this wind. It were an infinite matter if I ſhould entreate of all other winds in particular, ſince for the moſt part, there is not any Region that hath not ſome winde, that both breedeth and ceaſeth in it, or about it.

CHAP. XVIII.

why the winds haue beene created and lodged in the Ayre.

AMongſt other Workes of diuine prouidence therefore, a man may likewiſe wonder at this, as a matter worthy of admiration. For ſhe hath not out of one cauſe, both found out, and diſpoſed the winds diuerſly: but firſt of all, to the end ſhe might not ſuffer the aire to ſtand ſtill, but by continuall agitation make it profitable & vitall to thoſe that ſhould vſe it. Againe, that ſhee might miniſter raines vnto the Earth, and bridle exceſſiue ſtormes. For ſometimes they bring on Clouds, ſometimes ſeuer them, to the end that the raine may be diſtributed thorow all the World: Auſter drieueth it into Italy, Aquilo caſteth it into Africa; the Eteſians ſuffer not the cloudes to ſtay with vs. The ſame windes in the ſame ſeaſon when we haue drought, water India and Ethiopia with continuall raines. But why? could a man ſtore vp his Corne, were it not that the wind aſſiſted him to driue the chaffe from that which was to be reſerued? Except there were ſomewhat that cauſed it to increaſe, and that breaking the eare and ſpike that holdeth the graine hidden and couered (which the Laborers call the huſks) ſhould open the ſame? Is it not a great good, that ſhe hath giuen vs the meanes to bee able to traffike and to merchandize with forren Nations? This is a great benefit of Nature, except the fury of men conuerted it to their iniurie. Now that which in times paſt was ſpoken by the greater part of people by *Cæſar*, that a man could ſcarcely ſay whether it were more expedient for the Commonweale, if this man had liued, or had neuer beene, may be at this day ſaid of the windes. So much the neceſſity of them, and the profit that they bring, counterpoiſeth the euils, which the furie of Mankind hath inuēted to his own ruine by this meanes. For ſuch goods ceaſe not to be good of their own nature, although they are become hurtfull through their wickedneſſe that abuſe the ſame. The eternal prouidence of God, (who is the gouernor of this world) hath not giuen this charge vnto the winds to agitate the aire, neither hath hee lodged them in all parts to cleanſe the ſame, to the end wee ſhould couer a part of the Sea with veſſels charged with armed Souldiers, or that we ſhould ſeek out enemies in or beyond the ſame. What madneſſe is it that poſſeſſeth vs, and maketh vs to ſeeke out a meanes how to murther one another? Wee embarke our ſelues to fight and ſeeke out danger, we hazard our ſelues to finde out hazard. Wee aduenture on vncertain fortune, we combat againſt the violence of a ſtorme, which no humane power is able to ſurmount, and runne vnto death without hope of ſepulture: yet ſhould this be nothing, if we might attaine peace hereby. But now when we haue eſcaped ſo many hidden rockes, and the ambuſhes of a Sea full of ſhoales, impetuous billowes, and ſands, into which a head-long winde drieueth thoſe that ſayle: when wee haue paſſed thorow dayes couered with skowling Clouds, horrid nights ful of Raine and Thunder, and ſeene the veſſels broken and battered by the winde: What ſhall bee the fruit of this labour and feare? What Hauen ſhall entertaine vs, being wearied with ſo many euils? It ſhall be warre, and the enemy that attendeth vs vpon our deſcent; the Nations

How men haue abuſed the bleſſing of God beſtowed vpon vs by the wind.

we

we ſhall murther, and ſhall kill a part of the Conquerours armie, with burning of thoſe Cities that were builded for perpetuitie. Why call we the people to armes? Why leuie we men of warre, entending to arrange our battells in the middeſt of the ſea? Why diſquiet we the ſeas? Is not the Earth great enough for vs to die in? Fortune handleth vs too delicately: ſhe hath giuen vs too hard bodies, & too happie health. There is no accident that may hurt vs. Euery one may meaſure his yeares, and purſue them vntill old age. Let vs then enter vpon the ſea, and prouoke the ſorts that forbeare vs. Wretched men what ſeeke you? Death; which euery where attendeth you, and alwayes is at hand? He will finde you euen in your beds, but let him finde you alwayes innocent; he will poſſeſſe you in your houſes, but let him take hold of thoſe that practiſe no euill. But what other thing is this, but meere rage, for a man inceſſantly to carrie his dangers about him, and to thruſt himſelfe amongſt new and vnknowne dangers, to enter into choller without any offence, and thereupon to treade all things vnder foote that a man meeteth withall, and after the manner of ſauage beaſts, to murther him that a man hateth not? Yet beaſts bite eyther for reuenge or hunger ſake; but we that are prodigall both of our owne and other mens bloud, trouble the ſeas, lanch our ſhips, commit our ſecuritie to the waues, wiſh for faire Windes, whoſe felicitie is to be carried ſpeedily to warre. How farre haue our euils rauiſhed vs that are euill? Is it a little matter for vs to play the fooles in our owne countrey? So the fooliſh Perſian King ſayled ouer into Greece, which he conquered not, although he couered the Country with ſouldiers. So would *Alexander* enquire, when he was beyond the Bactrians and Indians, what was beyond that great ſea, & would be angry if he ſhould leaue any thing behind him. Thus Couetouſneſſe wil deliuer *Craſſus* into the Parthians hands. He ſhall not feare the execrations of the Tribune that calleth him backe, nor the ſtormes of a long voyage, nor the lightnings which enuironing Euphrates, foretold him of his fall, nor the gods that made head againſt him; In ſpight of heauen and earth, he will runne and ſeeke out gold. It were therefore ſome reaſon, to ſay that Nature had greatly fauoured vs, if ſhe had forbidden the windes to blow, to the end to bridle the forces of humane furie, by ſtaying euery one in his owne countrie. For if there followed no other good, at leaſtwiſe no man could be borne, but to doe euill to himſelfe, and his owne. But now it is a ſmall matter to play the mad-man at home, we muſt goe farre off, and torment others. There is no countrie ſo farre off vs, but it may ſend vs much miſerie. What know I, whether any Powerfull and vnknowne Prince, made proud with his owne greatneſſe, ſhall ſallie out of his owne Countrie with armed hand? or whether he riggeth ſome nauy, intending to cauſe ſome trouble? whence know I whether ſuch or ſuch a winde may bring armes againſt me? It were a great part of humane peace, if the ſeas were cloſed; yet can we not, as I ſaid a little before, complaine againſt God our Creator, if we abuſe his benefits, and make them contrarie vnto vs. He gaue the windes to keepe the temperature both of heauen and earth, to call forth and ſuppreſſe the waters, to nouriſh ſeeds and fruits of trees; which the agitation of the windes, together with other aſſiſtance do ripen, drawing nutriment to their vpper parts, and encreaſing them, leſt they ſhold wither. He gaue the winds to know the furthermoſt parts of the earth. For man had beene an vnskilfull creature, and without great experience of things, if hee had beene ſhut vp within the confines of his owne countrie. He gaue the winds, to the end that the commodities of euery countrie might be common, not to the end they ſhould carry legions & horſemen, nor

Inuectiues against the diſturbers of humane peace.

The ſtrange vanities of Xerxes *and* Alexander.

In what ſort men abuſe the windes.

God is the author of good, though men employ his bleſſings to the contrarie.

nor tranſport men to pernicious Wars. If we weigh the benefits of Nature according to their deprauednesse that vse them, we haue receiued nothing but to our owne misery. What profiteth it a man to see, to speake? Nay, whose life is not a torment? Thou shalt find nothing of so manifest profit, which errour cannot transferre to the contrary. So Nature intended, that the windes should bee good, but wee haue made them euill. There is not one but pusheth vs towards some euill. Euery one setteth sayle to diuers ends and intentions, but no man aymeth at the iust cause; for diuers euill concupiscences make vs embarke, therefore we set sayle to some euill end. *Plato* speaketh well to the purpose, and he it is, that must be produced before vs, as a witnesse in the end of our dayes, that we prize our liues basely for things of small value. But (my deare *Lucillius*) if thou obserue their folly well, that is to say, our owne (for we are of the company) thou wilt laugh; yet more when thou shalt bethinke thy selfe, that life is gotten by those things, wherein life is consumed.

The wicked enuy nothing but to their owne confusion.

A notable censure of our vanitie.

The end of the fifth Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

Dedicated to Lvcillivs.

The ſixth Booke.

Wherein

He intreateth of the motion of the Earth.

Chap. I.

WE haue heard (my *Lucillius* the beſt of men) that Pompeias a renowned Citie in Campania, hauing on the one ſide the Surrentinian and Sabiane ſhores, on the other ſide the Herculan, and which the Sea beguirteth with a pleaſant Gulfe, made as it were artificially, was ſhaken by an Earth-quake, not without the preiudice of thoſe Countries that bordered vpon the ſame: and that the ſame happened in Winter time, which (as our Anceſtours aſſure vs,) is exempt from ſuch danger. This Earth-quake happened the fift day of *Febr uary*, when *Regulus* and *Virginius* were Conſuls, which brought a maruellous ruine into Campania, which had beene neuer well aſſured from that danger: yet had it not before that time encountred with any ſuch misfortune, and in great feares had beene oftentimes preſerued; for a part of the Citie of Hercule is falne to the ground, and that which as yet ſtandeth, is not well aſſured. The Colonie of the Neucernis alſo, as it hath not ſuffered ſome generall deſtruction, ſo is it not without complaint. Naples likewiſe hath priuately loſt much, but publikely nothing, being lightly touched with a great euill. As touching ſome ſcattered Farmes,

The wonderfull Earth-quake that happened in Campania in Seneaes time.

The effect of this Earth-quake.

Farmes, they haue beene almoſt all of them ſhaken, but not offended by this Earth-quake. They adde hereunto, that ſixe hundred flockes of Sheepe were ſtrooken dead, and that Statues haue beene riuen in ſunder, and moreouer, that ſome perſons loſt their wits, and ranne about the ſtreetes like madde men. The proceſſe of this enterprized worke, and the circumſtance of the ſeaſon require vs to examine the cauſes of theſe accidents. Wee ought to ſeeke out comfort for thoſe that are diſmayed, and extinguiſh mightie feare. For what ſecuritie can a man promiſe himſelfe if the World it ſelfe bee ſhaken, and the moſt ſolid parts thereof quake? if that which is wholly immoueable and ſetled, (to the end it may ſuſtayne all other things on it) bee ſhattered heere and there? If the Earth loſeth that which ſhe hath proper in her, which is to bee firme; whereupon may wee aſſure our diſmay and feare? What retreate ſhall there be for our bodies? Whither ſhall they retyre in danger, if feare iſſueth and be drawne from the bottome of the Earth? All men are amazed with feare hearing the houſes crack, & when the ruine hath giuen a ſigne, then euery one flieth head-long from the place, and forſaketh his home and houſhold-goods, & ſetleth himſelfe in the open fields. What retreate diſcouer we? What ſuccour appeareth if the World it ſelfe fall into raine? If ſhe that keepeth and ſuſtayneth vs, whereon our Cities are builded, which ſome haue ſaid to be the foundation of the World, ſinketh and trembleth; what ſupport, or rather what ſolace may a man hope for, when as feare it ſelfe hath loſt the meanes of flight? Is there any aſſured retreat or firme ſafegard, ſay I, either for a mans ſelfe or another? I may repulſe mine Enemy from the breach; high Rampiers and Bulwarkes will ſtay great Armies from approching very eaſily. The Heauens preſerue vs from ſhipwracke: the roofes of our houſes reſiſt the violence of raging raines, and defence vs from the continuall fall of ſhowers: the fire followeth not thoſe that flie it: the houſes vnder ground, and deepe digged Caues ſerue for a ſhelter againſt Thunders and the threatnings of Heauen. The Lightning penetrateth not the Earth, but is repulſed by a little obiect of the ſame. In the plague time a man may change his habitation. There is no euill but may be auoided. Neuer did Lightnings burne vp whole Nations. The peſtilent Aire hath deſolated Cities, but not deſtroyed them: this euill extendeth it ſelfe euery way, and is vnauoydably greedie, and publikely harmefull. For it not onely deuoureth Houſes, or Families, or priuate Cities, but ouerturneth whole Nations and Regions, and ſometime couereth them in her ruines, ſometimes hideth them in a bottomleſſe Gulfe of confuſion. Neither leaueth it ſo much whereby it may appeare that that was at leaſtwiſe, which now is not. But the Earth extendeth it ſelfe aboue noble Cities, without any appearance of the former condition: neither want there ſome men that feare this kind of death, more then any other, whereby both they and their Houſes are ſwallowed vp, and are carryed away aliue from the number of the liuing, as if all ſorts of death conducted vs not to one and the ſame end. Amongſt all other Rites that Nature pretendeth in Iuſtice, this is the principall, that drawing neere vnto death wee are all equall. There is no difference therefore whether a ſtone cruſh me, or a whole Mountain ſmother me; whether the burthen of one houſe fall vpon me, or I breath my laſt vnder a little heape of the duſt thereof, or whether the whole Earth hide my head; if I die by day and before all men, or if ſome obſcure and vaſt yawning of the earth couer me; if I fal alone into ſuch a bottomleſſe pit, or if many Nations keepe me company. What care I if they make a great noyſe about me when I ſhall depart? The death is alwaies death in what part ſoeuer I meete it. Let

There is nothing aſſured vnder Heauen.

How vaine are the hopes which man apprehend amidſt ſo great incertainties.

Conſolations and remedies againſt the ſame.

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vs therefore fortifie our courages againſt this ruine, which neither can be auoyded nor preuented. Let vs liſten no more to thoſe men, who haue renounced Campania, and who after this accident haue forſaken the Countrie, and vow that they will neuer viſit that Region againe; for who will promiſe them that this or that ground ſhall ſtand vpon better fonndations? All places of the earth are of the ſame ſtuffe, and if as yet they are not moued, yet are they moueable: Haply this night, or the day before this night, ſhall deuide this place likewiſe, wherein thou liueſt more ſecurely. Whence wilt thou know that the condition of theſe places is better, on which Fortune hath alreadie ſpent all her forces, and are aſſured for euer by the ruine which they haue ſuffered? We deceyue our ſelues if we thinke that there is any part of the earth exempt from this danger. All of them are ſubiect to the ſame Law. Nature hath made nothing, which is not expoſed to change: this thing faileth at one time, and that at another. And euen as in great Cities, now this houſe, now that is ſuſpended; ſo in this world, now one Region is ſhaken, ſtraight another. Tyre in times paſt was defaced by ruines. Aſia loſt twelue Cities at once. The laſt yeare Achaia and Macedon haue beene endamaged with this euill (whatſoeuer it be) that hath now afflicted Campania. Fate maketh his circuit; and if for a time hee forget ſome things, at laſt he reuiſiteth them. He afflicteth ſome more rarely, and others more often, but leaueth nothing exempt and free from euill: hee ſubiecteth not vs onely that are men, that haue but a little handfull of life, but Cities alſo, extents of countries, ſhores, and the Sea it ſelfe. Meane while we make our ſelues beleeue that theſe corruptible things are eternall, and thinke that our good hap which we enioy, & which paſſeth away more lightly then the wind, ſhall haue ſome waight or ſtay in this or that. And they that promiſe themſelues that all things ſhall be perpetuall vnto them, cannot remember that the earth it ſelfe, on which we treade, is neither firme nor ſtable: for this accident is not onely incident to Campania and Achaia, but to euery ground, to bee brittle, and to be reſolued vpon diuers cauſes, and to be ruinated in part, although the whole remaine.

All countries are expoſed to earthquakes.

Chap. II.

WHat do I? I had promiſed to ſet downe comforts againſt dangers, and behold I denounce perils euery way; I denie that there is any thing, which both cannot periſh nor cauſe ruine, which may be euer in eternall repoſe: but contrariwiſe, I maintaine alſo that this ought to ſerue for the greateſt aſſurance that may be found, becauſe a feare without remedy is a meere folly. Reaſon ſhaketh off wiſe-mens feare, imprudent men gather great ſecuritie in their deſperation. Think therefore that this is ſpoken vnto mankinde which was ſaid vnto thoſe men, who thorow a ſudden captiuity ſtood amazed amidſt the flame and the enemie:

The onely helpe to thoſe that are in thrall,
Is counted this, to hope no helpe at all.

The true aſſurance againſt dangers, is to remember that we are expoſed to dangers.

If you will feare nothing, think that all things are to be feared: look about you, vpon how ſlight cauſes we are ſhaken and ouerturned. Neither is our meate, nor our drinke, our watching, our ſleepe wholſome for vs, except it be in ſome

measure: you see now that our bodies are vaine, fluid, infirme, and easily destroyed. Vndoubtedly this one danger were enough, that the earths tremble, that they are instantly dissipated, and swallow that which they themselues sustaine. He priseth himselfe verie much, that feareth the lightning, the shaking and openings of the earth, whence as he knoweth that the sense of his owne infirmitie, maketh him feare his owne flegme. Behold how we are made: but truely we haue beene framed of so solid a matter, and are become so high that we cannot perish, except the parts of the world be moued, except the heauens thunder, except the earth sinke. A little pain, not of the whole finger, but of one side of the naile of our little finger, or a chap killeth vs: and shall I feare the tremblings of the earth, whom a little thicke spittle choketh? Shal I feare that the Sea shall breake from out his bounds, and that the flouds (with a course more greater then accustomed, by assembling more waters) should attempt to drowne me; when as a potion hath strangled some, that slippeth downe the contrarie way into the throat? What a fond thing is it to feare the Sea, when thou knowest that thou maiest perish by a little drop? There is no greater solace and remedie against death, then to know that we must die; and against all dangers that enuiron and astonish vs, to remember that we beare an infinite number of perils in our bosomes. For what madnesse can there be more, then to swound when we heare it thunder, and to hide our selues vnder earth for feare of lightning? What is more foolish then to feare the sudden fall and ouerthrow of mountains, the ouerflowes of the Sea, being cast without his bounds? When as death meeteth with vs in all places, and accosteth vs on all sides, and there is nothing so little, but is of sufficient force to exterminate mankind. Neither should these accidents confound vs, as if they contained in them more euill then an ordinary death: but contrariwise, since we must needs depart out of this life, and at one time or other breath our last, it should be a contentment for vs to die by some notorious meanes. We must needs die sometime, wheresoeuer it be. Although this earth that sustaineth me remaineth firme, and containeth it selfe within his limits, & is not shaken by any incommodity, yet shall she couer me one day. What skils it then whether I couer my selfe, or that the earth of it selfe couer me? She openeth her selfe thorow the maruailous power of an vnknowne euill, she yawneth and maketh me sinke, and swalloweth mee in her immeasurable depth: What then? is it a more gentle death to die in the plaine? What cause haue I to complaine, if nature will not permit me to bee buried in an ignoble place? and if she cast a part of her selfe ouer me? My friend *Vagellius* wrote very wittily in that worthy Verse of his;

The smallest dangers being sufficient to end vs, why should we feare any whatsoeuer appearance offereth it selfe? the end is one.

If I must fall, this thing wish I,
That I may fall downe from the skie.

The same will I say; if I must die, let it be then when all the world is shaken: not that it is a thing lawfull to wish the ruine of the world, but because it is a great solace against death, to see that all the earth must one day haue an end.

Chap.

CHAP. III.

THis likewiſe ſhall profit much, to preſume in minde that the gods doe none of theſe things, neyther that their indignation is the cauſe, whence this agitation both of heauen and earth proceedeth. Such accidents haue their cauſes; it is not by commandemēt that they rage thus, but euen as our bodies are afflicted with euill humours, ſo both heauen and earth haue certaine defaults, and euen then when they ſeeme to doe vs harme, they endamage themſelues. But becauſe we vnderſtand not the true cauſes, all accidents ſeeme terrible vnto vs, and becauſe they happen very ſeldome, we are thereby affrighted the more. Thoſe euils that are ordinarie are more eaſily endured, but thoſe that are extraordinary, aſtoniſh the more. But why ſeemeth any thing a noueltie vnto vs? It is becauſe we comprehend nature by the eyes, and not by reaſon, and thinke no waies on that which ſhe may doe, but onely on that which ſhee hath done. Therefore are we worthily chaſtiſed for this negligence, being terrified by thoſe accidents which wee call new, when as indeed they are not, but onely vnaccuſtomed, What then? Feele we not our mindes ſeized with religious feare, and finde we not the common ſort diſmaid, to ſee the Sunne loſe his light, or the Moone (whoſe obſcuritie is more often) when ſhe hideth her ſelfe wholly, or in ſome part? and farre more if we ſee pillars of enflamed fire thwarting the aire; a greater part of the heauens on fire, if wee ſee crinite Comets and diuers Sunnes, if we behold the ſtarres by day-time, the ſodaine fires running from one part to another, and leauing after them a great light. We behold none of theſe things without feare, and when as to be ignorant is the cauſe of feare, thinke you it a ſmall matter to be inſtructed how you ſhould not be afraid? How farre better were it therfore to ſeeke out the cauſes of theſe changes, by applying the mind diligently thereunto? For there cannot any one more worthy ſubiect be found out, whereon a man ſhould not onely fixe his ſtudies, but ſpend them alſo.

Of the naturall cauſes of earthquakes.

Whence it commeth to paſſe, that we eſteeme extraordinarie accidents for nouelties.

CHAP. IV.

LEt vs therefore ſeeke out what the cauſe is which mooueth the earth from her bottome to the top, that impelleth the waight of ſo maſſiue a bodie, what it is that hath ſo much force to bee able to lift vp ſo vnweildie a burthen; whence commeth it that ſometimes ſhe trembleth, and ſometimes being looſened ſincketh, now renteth her ſelfe into diuers parts, now appeareth long time open, ſometimes cloſeth her ſelfe ſodainly, preſently ſwalloweth vp great Riuers, anon after diſgorgeth new, diſcouereth in one place the veines of hot water, in another cold: vomiteth ſometimes fire by a new vent of a Mountaine or Rock: otherwhiles choketh and ſhuteth vp thoſe that had flamed and burned for the ſpace of many yeares. She moueth a thouſand miracles, produceth diuers changes, tranſporteth mountaines, maketh mountains of plaines, ſwelleth vp the vallies, and raiſeth new Ilands in the Sea. To know the cauſes of ſo many accidents, is a thing worthy to be diſcuſſed. But what commoditie ſayſt thou will there grow hereby? The greateſt in this World, which is the knowledge of nature. Although the conſideration of this matter bringeth many commodities with

The cauſes of diuers tremblings, and yawnings of the earth, and other ſuch great accidents.

What profit the ſearch into nature yeeldeth a man.

it, yet containeth it nothing in it ſelfe more excellent then this, that the worthineſſe thereof wholly poſſeſſeth the mind that is fixed thereupon; and it is not the gaine, but the miracle that is obſerued therein, that maketh it venerable. Let vs conſider then what the cauſe might be, why ſuch things happen, the contemplation whereof is ſo pleaſing vnto me, that although in times paſt, during my yonger yeares, I publiſhed a Treatiſe of earthquakes, yet had I a mind to trie and aſſay, whether age hath added any thing eyther to my knowledge or diligence.

Chap. V.

Diuers opinions vpon the cauſes of earthquakes.

OThers haue thought that the cauſe of earthquakes was in the aire, ſome in the impreſſions of fire, ſome in the earth it ſelfe, and otherſome in the aire. Some haue ſaid that two or three of the elements were the cauſe, ſome haue imputed it to all. Some of theſe haue ſaid, that one of theſe in their knowledge was the cauſe thereof, but which they knew not: But now let vs examine euerie particular. This before all things muſt I needs ſay, that the opinions of the ancients were both groſſe and feeble. They wandered as yet about the truth. All things were new to thoſe that ſpake of it firſt, but afterwards they were better poliſhed and diſcouered, and if any thing be found out, yet for all that we ought to aſcribe and attribute the honour to them. It was the enterpriſe of a high vnderſtanding, to diue into the ſecrets of nature, and not content to behold her outwardly, to contemplate her inwardly, and to deſcend into the ſecrets of the Gods. He hath helped very much in the finding it out, that hath hoped that he might find the ſame. Our ancients therfore are to be heard with ſome excuſe: nothing is conſummate in the beginning: neither in this thing only which is the greateſt and moſt intricate of all others, wherein likewiſe when as much is performed, yet euery age ſhall finde what to doe: but in euerie other buſineſſe alſo, the beginnings were alwaies farre from perfection.

The ignorance of the ancients in this point of naturall Philoſophie.

Chap. VI.

Whether waters be the cauſe of earthquakes.

IT hath not beene maintayned by one, nor after one manner, that the water is the cauſe of earthquakes. *Thales Mileſius* is of the opinion, that all the earth floateth, and is carried aboue the water, whether it be that wee call it the greater Ocean, or the great Sea, or any ſimple water of another nature, or a moiſt element. By this water, ſaith he, the earth is ſuſtained as a great ſhip, which waigheth verie much vpon the waters that beare it vp. It were a ſuperfluous matter to ſet down the reaſons why he thinketh that the moſt weightieſt part of the world cannot be ſuſtained by the aire which is ſubtill and light: For the queſtion is not now about the ſituation thereof, but of the trembling of the ſame. He alledgeth for one of his reaſons, that the waters are the cauſe of the quaking thereof, becauſe that in all extraordinarie motions, there iſſue almoſt ordinarily ſome new fountaines: as it happeth almoſt ordinarily by ſome ſhips, which if they be inclining to one ſide; and ſhew their keele aſide-long, gather water; which (if it happen that the burthen they beare be ouer-waightie) either ſpreadeth it ſelfe aboue, raiſeth

The reaſons alledges by Thales *to proue this, with* Senecaes *anſwers.*

raiſeth it ſelfe more higher towards the right, or towards the left. Wee neede no long anſwere to ſhew that this opinion is falſe. For if the water ſuſtayned the earth, ſometimes the whole earth ſhould be ſhaken, and haue continuall motion, neither ſhould we wonder that it is agitated, but that it ſtayeth ſetled. She ſhould not tremble in a part, but wholly: for neuer is a ſhip ſhaken to the halfes. But the earthquake is not of the whole, but a part only. How then can it be, that all that which is carried is not wholly agitated, if that which is not carried is agitated? But why appeare new waters? Firſt of all the earth hath oftentimes trembled, and yet no new ſource hath euer diſcouered it ſelfe. Again, if for this cauſe the water brake forth, it would ſpreade it ſelfe on both ſides of the earth, as we ſee it hapneth in Riuers, and in the Sea, that when the ſhips lie at road, the increaſe of the waters appeareth, eſpecially about the ſides of the Veſſell. Finally, there ſhould not be ſo ſmall an eruption made as he ſpeaketh and the pumpe ſhould not yeeld water as it were by cleft, but a great deluge ſhould be made as from an infinite water that beareth the earth.

CHAP. VII.

ALſo, ſome haue imputed the motion of the earth to the water, but vpon a different cauſe: They ſay that diuers kinds of waters runne thorow the whole earth: and that in ſome places the waters are perpetual, great, and nauigable, although it raineth not. On the one ſide Nilus is very great, and violent in the Summer time; on the other, Danubius, and the Rhyne, paſſing thorow peaceable and hoſtile Countries, the one brideling the incurſions of the Sarmatians, and ſeparating Europe from Aſia: the other repelling the Almaines, which are a warlike Nation. Adde hereunto the ſpacious Lakes, the pooles enuironed by nations that know not one another, the Mariſhes that neuer as yet ſhip hath throughly ſailed thorow, nor the inhabitants that border thereupon haue euer viſited and ſearched. After this, ſo many fountaines, ſo many ſources, whence are vomited both from aboue and beneath the earth, ſo many Riuers in ſo great number. Beſides theſe ſo many furious torrents, whoſe forces dure as little as they are ſodaine and violent. Such is the nature and appearances of waters, eſpecially of thoſe that are in the earth. There likewiſe are diuers currents of maruailous ſwiftneſſe, which ſpend themſelues into bottomleſſe pits: and others more gentill, which are ſpred abroade by ſpacious channells, where they flow peaceably without any noiſe. But who will denie that they are contained in vaſt receptacles, and that in diuers places they remaine in repoſe without ſtirring? I neede not long time inſiſt vpon this proofe, that there are many waters there, where all are. For the earth would not ſuffice to produce ſo many floudsif ſhee had not aboundance in ſtore. This being thus; it muſt needes be that ſometimes a Riuer ſwelleth inwardly, and that in breaking his bounds he runneth violently againſt that which reſiſteth him. By this meanes there ſhall bee ſome motion made of ſome part againſt which the floud inforceth it ſelfe, and againſt which it will beate vntill ſuch time as it hath a decreaſe. It may be that the Riuer exceeding his bounds, eateth away ſome quarter of the Countrie, and carrieth with it a maſſe of the earth: which beginning to be diſſolued, all the reſt which is aboue is ſhaken and followeth after. But that man ouer-truſteth his eyes, and cannot extend his minde further then the eye of his bodie, that be-

Other reaſons of thoſe who after Thales haue thought, that the water is the cauſe of the trembling of the earth.

ieeueth not, that in the cauities of the earth there are gulfes of the ſpacious ſea. For I ſee not what thing may hinder, but that there is a ſhore vnder earth, and that by hidden channels, there is a Sea, which therein (it may be) hath as much and more place then thoſe which we ſee. The reaſon is, that the earth and the ſea, that is diſcouered to our ſight, ought to be as it were couered with ſo many Creatures as we ſee. Contrariwiſe, the Regions that are hidden, deſert, and without inhabitants, receiue the waters more freely, which nothing hindreth to flow, and to be agitated by thoſe windes, by the whole aire, and the whole diſtances of places. A ſtorme being raiſed there, and more violent then ordinary, may more rudely ſhake ſome portion of the earth which it encountreth with. For in our quarters likewiſe many places farre diſtant from the Sea, haue been beaten with a ſudden acceſſe and floud of the ſame; and the floud that is conceiued to come a farre off, hath inuaded thoſe country-houſes that are builded about vs. Vnder earth alſo the Sea may haue his ebbe and floate; which cannot be without ſome ſhaking of the earth, which is aboue the ſame.

CHAP. VIII.

He proueth that there are abundant waters vnder the earth.

I Thinke that thou wilt not very much debate and doubt, whether there be riuers and a ſea hidden vnder ground: for from whence doe they iſſue, and come vnto vs, except that it be becauſe the water is incloſed in his ſource? Tell me when thou ſeeſt the courſe of the riuer Tigris ſtaied, and the water thereof dried vp by little and little, and not all at once, and the loſſe appeareth not, but it is diminiſhed vntill ſuch time as it is wholly dryed, whither thinkeſt thou that it goeth, when as thou ſeeſt it iſſue, as violent, ſpacious, and deepe as it was in the beginning? And whē thou ſeeſt the Riuer *Alpheus*, which the Poets haue ſo much renowned, loſe it ſelfe in Achaia, and after hauing trauerſed the ſea, diſcouer it ſelfe in Sicilie, where with a liuely ſource it driueth out the pleaſant fountaine of Arethuſa, what thinkeſt thou? Knoweſt thou not that amongſt the reports that are made of the Riuer of Nilus, and the ouerflow thereof in Summer time, that it is ſaid that it iſſueth from the earth, & that it increaſeth not by the waters of the ayre, but by thoſe waters that ſpring from vnder the earth? I haue heard ſay by two Centurions, whom the Emperor *Nero* (a friend of all vertue, but aboue all, of veritie) had ſent to diſcouer the ſource of Nilus, that after a long iourney, accompliſhed by the aſſiſtance of the King of Æthiopia, who had recommended them to diuers other Kings; they came vnto certaine mariſhes of infinite extent, the inhabitants of which countrey knew not the end thereof, and no man durſt promiſe himſelfe to diſcouer the ſame, by reaſon that the hearbes and waters were ſo tyed together, that it was impoſſible for a foote-man to trauel; much leſſe for a Boat, becauſe the Mariſhes being ful of mud and flags, could not beare the veſſell wherein there was any more then one man. They adde moreouer, that they haue ſeen in mariſhes two rocks, from whence the water falleth abundantly. But whether it be that ſuch water be called the ſource or increaſe of Nilus, or that he hath his beginning there, or that he is deriued from farther places, thinkeſt thou that it mounteth not from ſome great Lake vnder earth? It muſt needes be that theſe rocks haue their waters deriued from diuers places, and gathered vpon high, which diſcharge themſelues in ſuch abundance, and ſo violently.

Neroes praiſe during the firſt yeares of his Empire; but how much alteration breedeth great authority, where the counſailors are flatterers, religion paganiſme, delight impietie?

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

THere bee ſome that iudge fire to bee the cauſe of this motion, yet conſider they this cauſe in diuers faſhions. Amongſt the reſt *Anaxagoras* thinketh that the Ayre and the Earth are almoſt ſhaken by the ſame cauſe. When as in the inferiour part the winde encountreth and breaketh the thicke Ayre, and gathereth it into Cloudes with the ſame violence as Fogges are deuided, and that this ſhocke of the Cloudes, and the courſe of ſcattered Ayre produceth Lightning; the fire that is incloſed, runneth againſt that which is before him ſearching iſſue, and piercing thorow that which reſiſteth him, vntill ſuch time as either by ſome ſtreights hee findeth a paſſage to dart it ſelfe towards the Heauens, or maketh himſelfe way by force and violence. Some ſay that the cauſe is in the fire, but they are not of opinion that it is for this reaſon, but for that beeing couered in diuers places, it burneth and conſumeth all that which it meeteth withall. And if the things that are eaten thereby happen to fall, then is it that there followeth a diſiunction of the parts, which are diſfurniſhed of their ſtayes, and finally, a totall ruine, becauſe nothing preſenteth it ſelfe to ſuſtayne the burthen. Then are the openings and vaſt yawnings of the Earth diſcouered; or elſe when the parts of the ſame haue long time declined, they which remayne intyre beginne to diſſolue. Wee ſee the like hereof happen amongſt vs as oftentimes as the fire hath taken hold of ſome quarter in the Citie, when as the beames and principals are burned, or that the maine Timbers that ſuſtayne the Houſe are ſunke, then the Houſe being ſhaken falleth to the ground, and ſo long time ſhrinke they, and are vncertaine, vntill they haue found ſome place to ſtay vpon.

The examination of their opinion who hold that the fire is cauſe of Earthquake.

CHAP. X.

ANAXIMENES ſayth, that the Earth her ſelfe is the cauſe of her motion, neyther is there any thing extrinſecally that impelleth the ſame, but that into her, and from her fall certaine parts which the water diſſolueth, or the fire eateth, or the wind ſhaketh? but although theſe three ceaſe, yet ceaſſeth ſhe not to haue ſomething, by meanes whereof this reuulſion and diminution is made. For firſt of all, all things decline by ſucceſſion of time, and there is nothing that is exempted from the hands of age which ruinates the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolid things. Euen as therefore in old Houſes, ſome things fall although they are not ſtrooken, when as they haue more weight vpon them then force to beare it: ſo falleth it out in this vniuerſall bodie of the Earth, that the partes thereof are diſſolued by age, and being diſſolued, fall and breede a trembling in the vpper parts. Firſt, whileſt they ſeparate themſelues (for there is no great thing that is diſioyned without the motion of that whereunto it cleaueth;) then when they are falne they rebound backe againe after the manner of a Ball, which falling from on high vpon the Earth, is many times ſtrooken vp, and maketh diuers bounds. But if they happen to fall into ſome great Poole, the water that is mooued by the fall maketh that tremble which is round about, and it is the weight that fal-

The opinion of Anaximenes, that the earth is ſelfe is the cauſe of her motion.

falleth from on high that cauſeth this preſent ſhocke, and that ſpreadeth it euery wayes.

CHAP. XI.

Another opinion of thoſe that think the Earthquake is cauſed by fire.

THere are ſome that aſſigne this trembling to the fire, but otherwiſe; for when as in diuers places they are hote and boyling waters, it muſt needs be, that a mighty vapour is turned vp and down without iſſue, which by the multiplication thereof re-inforceth the Ayre; which being animated and prouoked, riueth that which is oppoſite; but if it be more remiſſe it doth nothing elſe but moue. We ſee that water ſometh when fire is put vnder it. That which this fire doth in this water, that is included in a ſtreight and narrow Veſſell; by farre more wee may thinke it may doe it, when with violence and great abundance, he cauſeth great quantities of waters to boyle. Then agitateth hee by the vaporation of the waters that ouerflow, whatſoeuer he beateth vpon.

CHAP. XII.

Whether the wind be the cauſe of Earthquakes.

MAny and the greateſt learned men are of the opinion that the winde is the cauſe of Earthquakes. *Archelaus* who hath carefully examined the opinions of the Ancients, ſaith thus: The windes are carried thorow the cauities of the Earth, afterwards when all ſpaces of the ſame are filled, and that the Ayre is thickned as much as may bee, that winde that commeth after preſſeth and expreſſeth the former, and firſt of all by redoubled ſtrokes puſheth it forward, and finally caſteth it out. This ſeeking for a place, runneth here and there, and enforceth it ſelfe to breake his bounds. Thus commeth it to paſſe that the Earth is ſhaken by the winde, which ſtriueth and ſeeketh for a paſſage to get out at; when as therefore an Earthquake is like to follow, firſt, there goeth before it a tranquillity and calme of the Ayre, and the reaſon is, becauſe the power and vertue which was accuſtomed to moue the winds, is detayned vnder Earth. And now likewiſe in this Earth-quake of Campania, although it were in Winter time, & in a troubled ſeaſon; yet ſo it is that ſome dayes before it happened, the Ayre was calme and peaceable. What then? Was there neuer Earthquake when the windes blew? Very ſeldome haue two windes blowne at once: yet can it bee, and it is wont to be; which if we admit, and that it appeareth that two windes may blow at once, why might it come to paſſe that the one ſhould agitate the higher Ayre, and the other the inferiour?

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The firme opinion of Ariſtotle *and others, that winde is the cauſe of Earthquakes.*

YOu may number amongſt thoſe of this opinion *Ariſtotle* and his Scholler *Theophraſtus*, a man not ſo excellent and diuine as the Grecians make him, yet of a pleaſing, fluent, and vnaffected Diſcourſe. I will diſcouer vnto thee both their opinions: there is alwayes ſome euaporation from the Earth, that is ſometimes dry, ſometimes intermixed with humidity. This exhalation iſſuing from beneath, and carryed vp as high as it might, when as ſhee hath not a farther place by which ſhee may finde iſſue, recoyleth backe againe, and enfoldeth her ſelfe in her ſelfe: and whilſt the debate of the wind, which goeth and commeth, ouerturneth that which maketh head againſt her, be it that ſhe remayneth encloſed, be it that ſhe eſcapeth by narrow ſtreights, ſhe moueth Earthquakes & Thunders. *Strabo* is of the ſame opinion; a man who hath carefully addicted himſelfe to this part of Philoſophie, and hath diligently ſearched out the ſecrets of Nature. This is his opinion: Cold and Heate are two oppoſites, and cannot be together, the cold ſlippeth in thither where the heat is abſent; as contrariwiſe, the heate entereth that place whence the colde is driuen. This that I ſpeake is true; but that both are driuen contrariwiſe, by this it appeareth. In Winter time when the cold is vpon the Earth the Springs are warme, the Caues and all hidden places vnder Earth are hot, becauſe the heate is retired thither, giuing place vnto the colde that poſſeſſeth the vpper part. When the heate is thus entered into the lower parts, and hath inſinuated it ſelfe as much as it may, the thicker it is the ſtronger it is. If a new heate come vnto it, the one being preſſed by the other giueth place: the contrary happeneth, when as the colde becomming more powerfull ſlippeth into the Caues. All the heate which at that time was hidden therein, giuing place vnto the cold, retireth it ſelfe into ſome narrow corner, and is mooued, and inforceth it ſelfe with great violence; for the nature of them both admitteth no concord, neither can they euer bide in one place. Flying therefore and ſtriuing by all meanes to get out, he ouerthroweth, ruinateth and toſſeth whatſoeuer hee meeteth. Therefore before the Earth is moued, men are accuſtomed to heare a kinde of whiſtling or murmure whileſt the windes combate beneath; or otherwiſe, as our *Virgil* ſaith, could not

The Earth waue vnder feet, the Mountaines quake,

if the winde were not the cauſe hereof. There are likewiſe viciſſitudes of this fight, and each hath his turne. The heate ceaſſeth to aſſemble it ſelfe, and to iſſue. Then is the colde repreſſed, and ſucceedeth to re-inforce himſelfe incontinently: when as therefore the force of heate and cold runneth and returneth often, and that the winde goeth and returneth here and there, then is it that the Earth trembleth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The diuers causes of Earthquakes by the meanes of wind.

SOme there are that think that the earth is shaken by the wind, & by no other meanes; but they imagine another cause then *Aristotle* did. And heare what they say. Our bodie is watered and moystened with bloud and spirit, which runne here and there, thorow those passages that are deputed to those offices. But we haue some more narrow receptacles of the soule, by which she doth nothing else but wander; some more open and spacious, in which she is gathered together, and from whence she diuideth her selfe into parcels. So this great bodie of the Earth is open to the waters that possesse the place of bloud, and to the windes, which a man may well call the soule. These two encounter in some place, in some place stay. But as in the body, as long as it is in health, the continuall beating of the Artery is measured, but if the health thereof be altered, the pulse is frequent and high; the signes and violent respirations, are the signes that the bodie is wearied and afflicted. In like sort when as the waters and the winds are in their naturall receptacles in the bodie of the Earth, they haue no agitation aboue measure. But if there happen any disorder, at that time there is distemper as in a sicke bodie, the winde that breathed along pleasantly, if it be stopped in the passage, agitateth his veines. It followeth not therefore that the earth should bee as the bodie of a liuing Creature, as some doe pretend. For if it were so, it should be wholly agitated as a liuing Creature is. And we our selues feele that a Feuer afflicteth not some parts of the body more gently then other some, but that shee runneth thorow all equally. Consider therefore, if it be not true that the wind entereth into the Earth, repleniſhed with Ayre round about, which as long as he hath free passage, stealeth along gently; if hee encounter with any thing that stoppeth his passage, first of all he is charged by the Aire that presseth after hard at his backe, afterwards hee flyeth secretly by some crany, and the more eagerly dislodgeth hee, the more straiter his passage is. This cannot bee done without conflict, neither is there any combat without agitation. If hee findeth not any Clift to escape there, he gathereth himselfe together and beginneth to tempest, whirling vpwards and downwards, vntill such time as hee hath ouerturned and sunke that which resisted him: if hee be subtill, hee is wonderously strong, and if he slideth thorow passages that are somewhat narrow, and that by his vertue he enlargeth and dissipateth all that where he entereth, then is the earth shaken. For either she openeth her selfe to giue passage to the wind, or after she hath giuen it, being destitute of foundation, shee seizeth and seateth her selfe in that cauitie whereby she gaue him passage.

CHAP. XV.

The third opinion of Earthquakes by force of winde.

SOme thus thinke: The Earth is perforated in diuers places, neither hath she onely these first entrances and pores which she receiued as vents from her beginning, but casualty hath bred many more in her. In some places the water hath inlarged all that earth which she had ouer her, the torrents haue eaten away some portion, the greatest heates haue cleft another. The winde entereth betwixt both, which if the Sea hath included and driuen, neither suffered the flouds to goe back-

backward, then he being cut off both of his entrance and returne, tumbleth about. And becauſe he cãnot, according to his nature, tend directly, he ſhooteth vp himſelfe on high, and reuerberateth the Earth that preſſeth him.

Chap. XVI.

The fourth opinion as touching the trembling of the Earth by winde.

WE muſt alſo ſpeake ſomething as touching that which diuers Authors approue, and where it may be they will be found to bee different. True it is that the Earth is not without Aire, and not only this Aire which maintaineth the ſame, and tyeth the parts thereof together, penetrating likewiſe thorow ſtones and other bodies without life: but alſo this vitall Aire which quickeneth and nouriſheth all things. If ſhe had it not, how ſhould ſhe giue life to ſo many plants & ſeeds, which draw their vigor from no place elſe? How could ſhe entertaine & ſuſtain ſo many diuers roots in her, the one of one faſhion, the other of another; the one entertained in her vpper part, the others buried more deeper, if ſhe had not much ſoule which engendreth ſo many and ſo diuers things, and nouriſheth them by her inſpiration and vertue? Hitherto haue I ſet downe but coniectures. All the Heauens, that are encloſed & arounded with Elementary fire, all theſe innumerable numbers of the Starres, all the celeſtiall bodies, and amongſt the reſt, the Sunne (ſhaping his courſe more neere vnto vs, and which is but twice as great as the Globe of the Earth) draw nouriſhment from the Earth, and diuide it amongſt them, being ſuſtained by nothing elſe but terreſtriall vapours. This is their nouriſhment and feeding. But the Earth could not nouriſh ſo many Creatures, ſo ample and more greater then her ſelfe, if ſhe were not full of a ſoule, that day and night is ſpread thorow all her parts. For it cannot bee but that there remaineth very much in her, from whence there is ſo much both expected and gathered, and that which iſſueth forth ſhould not bee bred in his proper time. She ſhould not haue continuall abundance of ſpirit to furniſh ſo many celeſtiall bodies, if theſe things had not concurrence amongſt themſelues, and were not grounded and changed in ſome other thing. Yet of neceſſitie ſhee muſt abound and be full, and muſt furniſh her ſelfe with that, which ſhe hath in ſtore. There is no doubt then, but that much ſpirit is hidden therein, and that within the entrailes of the Earth there is a maruellous abundance of Aire. This being ſo, that muſt needes follow, that that which is filled with a thing which is very moueable, ſhould be oftentimes remoued. Euery one knoweth that there is nothing more inconſtant, ſtirring, and fleeting then the Aire.

Chap. XVII.

Seneeaes opinion as touching the greatneſſe of the Sunne.

IT is conuenient therefore that hee exerciſe his nature, and that that which will alwayes be moued, ſhould ſometimes agitate and moue other things. When is this done? Then when his courſe is cut off and ſtayed. For as long as he is not intercepted, hee ſteaeleth along quietly and peaceably; but if he be reſiſted or reſtrayned, hee entereth into fury, and breaketh thorow all that which intercepteth him, euen as the Poet ſaith by the floud:

A conſequence drawne from the precedent Diſcourſe, and a proofe that the wind is the cauſe of the trembling of the Earth.

Araxes

Araxes that diſdaines to beare a bridge.

As long as he hath an eaſie and free paſſage, he fleeteth along at pleaſure; but if either by cunning or aduenture ſome ſtones are gathered together which ſtay his courſe, hee taketh occaſion hereby to doe much miſchiefe, and the more ſtones are oppoſed againſt him, the more forces findeth he. For all theſe flouds that come behind, and make the heape more high, beeing vnable to ſupport themſelues any more, ouerthrow all things in paſſing by, and flye along lenelling their ſtreame with that they haue ouerthrowne, and thoſe waues that fled before them. The ſame befalleth the winde: The more rigorous and ſwift it is, the more ſwiftly flieth it, and carrieth away with it, with greater violence, all that which either ſtoppeth or reſiſteth his paſſage. Thence commeth the Earthquake, but in that part vnder which this conflict was made. That this which I haue ſpoken is true, it appeareth by this that followeth. Oft-times when there hath bin an Earth-quake, if any part of the ſame hath beene ſhattered, the wind hath iſſued forth, and blowne for the ſpace of diuers dayes, as it fell out by report in that Earthquake, wherewith thoſe of Chalcis were afflicted, which was deſcribed by *Aſclepiodotus*, *Poſſidonius* Scholler in his Book of Naturall Queſtions. You ſhall find in other Authours, that the Earth being opened in a certaine place: anone after, there iſſued a winde, which vndoubtedly had made his way in that part from whence it blew.

The wind can neuer be ſtayed.

The concluſion of all the precedent Diſcourſe.

Chap. XVIII.

In what ſort the wind cauſeth the earth to tremble.

Thus then the wind being by nature ſwift, & changing from place to place, is the greateſt cauſe whereby the Earth is mooued. As long as this winde is impelled and lyeth hidden in a voyd place, it remayneth calme, and doth no euill to that which enuironeth it; when as any externall or ſuperuenient cauſe ſolliciteth him and chaſeth him, and driueth him into a ſtrait, yet for a while giueth hee place and wandereth; but when as all occaſion of eſcape is taken from him, and hee is preſſed on euery ſide, then,

With a mightie murmure of the Mountaine,
He furious runnes about his ſtrait incloſure.

And after he hath long time beat againſt the ſame, hee teareth and ſcattereth it in pieces, ſhewing himſelfe the more violent, the longer that this debate hath laſted in his Priſon and incloſure. Afterwards when as he hath ſearched euery nooke of the place wherein he was reſtrayned and could not eſcape, hee returneth towards that part, where he was moſt of all impact and cloſed, and then ſlideth he away by certaine ſecret places, which the Earthquake hath a little opened, or paſſeth by ſome new breach. Behold how his extreme violence cannot be ſtayed and there is no reſtraint ſufficient to retaine him: for he breaketh all bounds, and carrieth with him euery burthen that is laid vpon him, and infuſed into thoſe things that are more ſmall and thinne, he prepareth himſelfe a releaſe and libertie by an inuincible power that is naturall vnto him, and running

ning on head-long, eſtabliſheth himſelfe in his rights. In a word, the wind is inuincible, neither is there any thing that,

May keepe in awe, or elſe in Priſon ſtrong,
The ſtrugling winds or tempeſt thundring long.

Vndoubtedly the Poets, who haue diſcourſed in theſe tearmes, intended to ſpeake of theſe couerts vnder ground, where the winds remaine incloſed. But they haue not comprehended, that that which is incloſed is not wind alreadie, and that that which is the winde, cannot bee encloſed. For that which is encloſed remayneth ſtill, and is a ſtatue of the Aire. The winde appeareth not to bee winde, but when it flyeth. To theſe reaſons a man may adde this alſo, which proueth that the winds is the cauſe of Earth-quakes, that is to ſay, that our bodies tremble not, except ſome cauſe doe ſhake the ſpirit, which being reſtrained by feare, weakened by age, the veines decaying and ſhrinking, is arreſted by colde, or when the acceſſe approcheth is caſt out of his courſe. For as long as he floweth without hinderance, and floweth according to his accuſtomed manner, there is no ſhaking in the body. But if any thing happen that hindereth him from performing his office, then being ſcarce able to beare thoſe things which he ſuſtayned by his vigor, in falling he ſhaketh all that which in his integritie he had ſupported.

A compariſon taken from the bodie of man.

Chap. XIX.

BVt we muſt needs giue eare to *Metrodorus Chius*, that will haue his opinion ſtand for Law. For mine owne part I will not ouerſlip thoſe opinions I approue not, when as it is far better to preſent all, and rather to condemne that which wee approoue not, then to paſſe it vnder ſilence. What ſaith hee then? Euen as his voice that ſingeth in a tune, paſſeth and reſoundeth in euery place with a certaine Eccho, and although it bee not high, yet filleth it alwayes the tune, not without noiſe and rebound of the ſame: So the capacitie and vaſtitie of the cauities and holes that hang vnder ground haue their Aire, which as ſoone as another that falleth from aboue hath ſtrooken, maketh a noyſe, euen as the things that are void, whereof I haue ſpoken, haue a reſound, when any one cryeth in them.

The opinion of Metrodorus *vpon this point.*

Chap. XX.

LEt vs now come vnto them, that haue ſaid that all the Elements, or the greater part of thoſe whereof we haue ſpoken, are the cauſe of Earthquake. *Democritus* ſetteth them not downe all, but for the moſt part. For ſometimes he ſaith that the wind is the cauſe, ſometimes the water, and ſometimes both; and this proſecuteth hee after this manner. Some part of the Earth is hollow, and in that there aſſembleth a great quantitie and abundance of water. Of this there is ſome part more ſubtill and liquid then the reſt: This beeing reiected by the waight that commeth vpon it, is beaten againſt the earth and ſhaketh the ſame. For it could not

The examination of their opinion who thinke that all the Elements together, or the moſt part, are the cauſe of Earth quakes.

float, except it ſhaked that againſt which it is beaten. That likewiſe which heretofore we haue ſpoken by the Aire, may be ſaid by the water alſo, when as it is gathered into one place, and that it ceaſeth to containe any more, ſhe ſtayeth her ſelfe againſt ſomething: then worketh ſhee an iſſue, firſt by her weight, ſecondly, by her violence, for ſhe cannot haue iſſue, but by ſome hollow or bending place, hauing beene long time retayned; nor fall by meaſure in a right Line, or without ſhaking thoſe things, by which, and vpon which ſhe falleth. But if it ſo fall out, that hauing taken ſome motion, ſhee happen to ſtay in ſome place, and that this collection of water mounteth backe againe, and confuſeth it ſelfe in it ſelfe; ſhe is repulſed towards the firme Land, which ſhee ſhaketh towards that ſide where ſhe diſchargeth her ſelfe moſt. Furthermore, the Earth being ſometimes ſteeped in water that hath entred into it, ſetleth a little lower, and the bottom thereof is ſhaken: which comming to paſſe, this part is preſſed towards that, towards which the greateſt abundance of water inclineth. Sometimes alſo the wind puſheth forward the waues, and if he inſiſt with more violence then ordinary, he cauſeth that portion of the earth to tremble, into which he tranſlated the waters that are gathered by him. Somtimes incloſed in ſtraits, and ſeeking iſſue, he ſtirreth all thoſe things which he enuironeth, but the earth is pory, and giueth paſſages for the wind, which is ſo thin and pure, that a man cannot containe it; and ſo ſtrong, that nothing can reſiſt his force. The Epicure ſaith that all theſe cauſes may bee, and hee ſearcheth out diuers others likewiſe, cenſuring thoſe that haue maintained that both the one and the other cauſes aboue mentioned, proceed from the quaking of the earth; ſure it is a thing almoſt impoſſible to maintayne certaine things to be certaine, which a man cannot comprehend but by ſimple coniecture. So then, according to his opinion, the water may ſhake the earth, if it hath waſhed and worne away ſome portions thereof; which being diminiſhed and infeebled, cannot any more ſuſtayne that, which they bare being in their entyre. The impreſſion of the Aire may cauſe an Earth-quake, and it may come to paſſe that the externall Aire ſhall bee agitated by another, that commeth to intermixe it ſelfe with it. It may be alſo that the earth being iuſtled by ſome part of it ſelfe that ſinketh and falleth ſuddenly, is ſhaken likewiſe: Or elſe a portion of the ſame, being ſuſtained by ſome ſupports, trembleth if either the ſupporters bend, or retire backe. Haply alſo ſome inflammation of the Aire being conuerted into fire, and like vnto Lightnings darteth forth and confoundeth all that which it meeteth withall. And it may be that ſome winde incenſeth both the waters of Mariſhes and Pooles, whence followeth an Earth-quake, becauſe the ſhocke is violent; or elſe the agitation of the Aire, which encreaſeth by motion and vrgeth it ſelfe, moueth all things from the bottome to the top. But the Epicure can find no more certaine cauſe of Earth-quake then the winde.

CHAP. XXI.

Seneca accordeth with Ariſtotle in his opinion, in as much as concerneth Earth-quakes.

THis is our opinion alſo, that it is the winde that effecteth ſo great things: ſince there is nothing ſo ſtrong and violent in nature, and without which, thoſe things that are moſt vehement, haue not any vigor. The wind enkindleth the fire: take away the wind from the waters, they are ſluggiſh and dead; but if the winde ſtirreth them, they flow violently. The wind can diſſipate the greateſt ſpaces of Countries,

tries, make new mountaines appeare and riſe, place vnſeene Iſles in the middeſt of the Ocean. Who doubteth but that the wind brought that Iſland of Therafia into ſight, which in our time appeared in the Ægean Seas, in the preſence of thoſe Mariners that beheld the Miracle? *Poſidonus* ſetteth downe two ſorts of Earthquakes, giuing euery one of them a ſeuerall name: the one is called Succuſſion, when the Earth is moued vpward and downwards: The other is called Inclination, when the earth is ſhaken, and inclineth to one ſide like a Boat. But I think there is a third, which hath his denomination from vs, and our Predeceſſors haue called Earthquakes, and not without cauſe, becauſe they differ the one from the other. For in theſe accidents there is not alwayes an agitation from high to low, nor an inclining on one ſide or another, but ſometimes a darting or preſſing forward, which is the leaſt dangerous; whereas on the other ſide the inclination is farre leſſe dreadfull then the Succuſſion or ſhaking. For if in the inclination of the Earth, the oppoſite motion haſteth not to redreſſe that which bendeth ſide-long, there neceſſarily followeth a dreadfull ruine. And as theſe motions are different in themſelues, ſo are their cauſes diuers.

Three ſorts of Earth quakes.

CHAP. XXII.

THerefore let vs firſt of all ſpeake of the motion by ſuccuſſion or ſhaking. If at any time, by change of diuers Chariots, men carrie great burthens, and that the wheeles beeing drawne with more then vſuall force, ſinke into ſome place, you ſhall feele a ſhaking of the Earth. *Aſclepiodotus* reporteth, that when a ſtone fell from the ſide of a Mountaine that was broken, it ſhaked in ſuch ſort the Buildings that were neere, that they fell to the ground. The like may happen vnder earth, that ſome of thoſe ſtones that hang ouer the Mountaine, being diſſolued, fall with ſome great weight and noiſe into the hollowes that are vnder earth; and the greater the weight is, and the higher it falleth from, the more violent noiſe is there made; and ſo all the couering of the hollow Vault is moued. And it is not likely that the Rockes are puſhed downward, and driuen downe by their ſimple weight; but when as the Riuers flow and rage aboue them, the water continually miniſheth the ioynts of the ſtone, riuing off (if I may ſo ſpeake) the skin that incloſeth it. This diminution increaſing by ſucceſſion of time, infeebleth in ſuch ſort that which it hath eaten, by little and little, that ſuch ſtaues cannot any more ſuſtaine the burthen. Then fall the ſtones through exceſſiue weight, and this Rocke being caſt downe head-long, ſhaketh all that which it hath driuen to the bottome, hauing found no reſiſtance:

And all things ſeeme to fall to ſudden ruine,

As our *Virgil* ſaith. This ſhould be the cauſe of this motion of ſuccuſſion: now paſſe I ouer to the other cauſe.

Of the Earthquake by ſuccuſſion.

CHAP. XXIII.

THe earth is of a rare nature, and hath much void in it. Thorow theſe parts and rarities the wind is carried, which when it is entered in ſome quantitie and findeth no iſſue, it ſhaketh the Earth. This cauſe, if a troop of witneſſes preuaileth any thing with thee, is pleaſing vnto others, as I haue ſaid a little before. This likewiſe doth *Caliſthenes* approue, a man of no ſmall reckoning. For hee was a man of a

Of the Earthquake by inclination.

noble mind,and ſuch a one as could not endure a Princes inſolencie. *Alexander* is defamed for euer, by putting this Philoſopher to death, in ſuch ſort as neither his Vertue, neither his felicity in Warre can euer redeeme him. For as oftentimes as a man ſhall ſay, that hee hath defeated diuers thouſands of Barbarians: it will be oppoſed, and *Caliſthenes* alſo. If any one ſaith, *Alexander* killed *Darius*, who at that time was the greateſt King of the earth: ſome will reply, and *Caliſthenes* too. When ſome ſhall alleage that hee conquered all that which he met withall, as farre as the bounds of the Ocean, on which he rigged new Nauies, extending his Empire from the one corner of Thrace, as farre as the furtheſt part of the East, it will be ſaid that he ſlew *Caliſthenes*. Although he hath ſurpaſſed all Princes, and precedent Captaines: the wrong which hee offered *Caliſthenes* was ſo great, that it blemiſheth all his other Exploits. This Philoſopher then, in his Bookes wherein hee deſcribeth how Helice and Buris haue bin deuoured by the waters: and what accident was the cauſe why the Sea couered them, or why they were ſucked vp, ſaith that which hath bin touched in the former part, that the winde entered the earth by ſome ſmall and ſecret Conduits in all parts, yea vnder the Sea. Afterwards, when this courſe which it had held to enter, is ſtopped, and the water hath cloſed vp behind him all other paſſage, he turneth here and there, and returning himſelfe into himſelfe, ſhaketh the earth. And therefore is it, that the places that border vpon the Sea are oftentimes agitated: and the Poets haue aſſigned this power vnto *Neptune*, Whoſoeuer vnderſtandeth the Greeke Tongue, knoweth that *Homer* ſirnameth him ἐννοσίγαιον, that is to ſay, earth-ſhaker.

Caliſthenes opinion.

Chap. XXIV.

In what manner the wind entreth into the earth, to cauſe it to tremble.

For mine owne part I am of this opinion, that the wind is the cauſe of ſuch an euill. I will only debate vpon one point, in what māner this winde entreth, whether it bee by pores, ſo ſtrait that the eye cannot obſerue them, or if they are more greater, and open, and likewiſe whether they riſe from the bottome or aboue the earth. This is incredible: For in our bodies likewiſe, the skinne repulſeth the wind, which hath not entered, except by thoſe paſſages by which it is drawne; and being entertained by vs, cannot conſiſt but in the moſt ſpacious part of the bodie, for it remayneth not amongſt the nerues, & in the pulpe, but in the entrails, and the large retreat of our breſts. A man may think as much of the earth, eſpecially by reaſon that the ſhaking happeneth not aboue, nor about the ſurface of the Earth, but from beneath, and proceedeth from the bottom. The proofe whereof is, that the deepeſt Seas are agitated, when as that whereupon they are ſpred is moued. It is therefore likely to bee true that the earth is agitated from the bottome, where the winde is formed in ſpacious Dennes: Some will reply, that euen as after we are ſeiſed with great cold, a horror & a trembling ſucceedeth, ſo the winde finding a paſſage outward, cauſeth the earth to tremble. But this is impoſſible. For firſt of all the earth ſhould of neceſſity be ſubiect to this acceſſe of cold, to the end that the ſame might befall her as doth vs, who quiuer vpon an externall cauſe. I will not deny, but that there is ſomething in the earth that hath ſome reſemblance with that which hapneth in our bodies, but the cauſes are diuers. It muſt needs be ſome interior and deep agitation, that ſhaketh the Earth, as a man may gather euidently enough by this, becauſe the earth ha-

hauing beene opened by a very great and terrible motion, ſuch opening hath ſometimes ſwallowed and ſucked vp whole Cities, which no man hath ſeene afterwards. *Thucydides* writeth, that about the time that the Warre was in Peloponneſus, all the Atlantique Iſland, or the moſt part thereof, was couered with waters. As much hapned in Sidonia, if thou beleeueſt *Poſsidonius*. This matter needeth no witneſſes: for wee our ſelues remember, that the earth hauing beene opened by an inward Earthquake, all the Countries were ruined, and the Champians periſhed: which I will now tell you how I thinke it hapneth.

CHAP. XXV.

How the earth is ſhaken by the winde.

WHen as the winde with great violence hath engulfed himſelfe wholly in the cauities and void places of the earth, and that it beginneth to tempeſt in ſeeking an iſſue, it oftentimes beateth againſt the ſides and places, wherein he is reſtrained, vpon which ſometimes whole Cities are ſituated. And theſe at ſometimes are in ſuch ſort ſhaken, that the houſes that are builded thereupon fall vnto the ground. Sometimes the agitation is ſo violent, that the foundations and wals that ſuſtain all the reſt of the building, fall into this concauitie, in ſuch ſort as whole Cities ſinke downe into a depth without end or meaſure. If thou wilt beleeue it, it is reported that the Mountaine Oſſa was ioyned to the Mountaine Olympus, & was torne away by an Earthquake in ſuch ſort, that the Mountain, that before time was very thicke, was diuided into two: and that at that time, the Riuer Peneus retyred himſelfe, which dryed vp the Mariſhes that were diſcommodious to Theſſalie, and carryed with him thoſe waters that were ſetled there without iſſue. Ladon a Riuer that is betwixt Helis and Megalapolis, was cauſed to flow by an earthquake; what proue I by this? That the winds are gathered in ſpacious Caues: for I can giue no other name to thoſe voide places vnder Earth. If it were otherwaies, the greater part of the Earth ſhould bee ſhaken, whereas now the Earthquake extendeth it ſelfe neuer farther then two hundred miles about. That whereof all the World talketh hath not paſſed Campania. At ſuch time as Chalcis was ſhaken, Thebes remayned in quiet. Ægeum was violently toſſed, and Patraſſa that was neere vnto it, heard nothing of it. That vaſt concuſſion that oppreſſed the two Cities of Helice and Buris, ſtaid on the other ſide of Ægeum, whereby it appeareth that the Earthquake had as much extent as vnder Earth thoſe hollow places had, where the winde was encloſed.

The marueilous force of the winde.

How farre the Earth-quake extendeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

The examination of their opinions who hold the Egyptians, and the Iſland of Delos were neuer ſhaken.

I Could abuſe the authority of great men to proue this, who write that Egypt hath neuer trembled. And the reaſon they yeeld hereof is this; That it is wholly gathered and compoſed of mud. For (if we may giue credit to *Homer*) Phares was ſo farre off from the Continent as a ſhip with ful ſaile may reach in one daies iournie: but now it is adioyned to the Continent. For Nilus flowing with a troubled ſtreame, and bearing along with him much mud, and heaping it afterwards on

thoſe other Lands, that are vnited together, hath from yeare to yeare enlarged the Confines of Egypt. Thence is it that it is a fat and muddie ground, without any openings, but of a continued thicknes: the mud being become dry; which hath ſtopped vp and cimented all that ſtructure, and vnited all the parts of the ſame ſo well together, that no void may come betweene; conſidering that alwayes that which is ſoft and moiſt, ioyneth it ſelfe with that which was ſolid. But I ſay that Egypt is ſubiect to trembling, and the Iſle of Delos likewiſe, although that *Virgil* willed them to ſtand:

Hee made th' Inhabitants this fauour finde,
Neither to feare ſtrange Earthquakes, nor ſtrange winde.

Theſe the Philoſophers likewiſe (a credulous Nation, according to *Pindarus*) ſaid to be exempt from trembling: *Thucydides* writeth, that before time it had not beene agitated, but that about the time of the Peloponneſian War it trembled. *Caliſthenes* ſaith, that it was at another time. Amongſt many prodigies (ſaith hee) which denounced the ouerthrow of Helice and Buris, there were two moſt notable, the one was a Pillar of fire, of immeaſurable greatnes, the other the Earthquake in Delos. The reaſon why he thinketh that Delos is firme, is, that being in the Sea it hath many hollow Rockes & ſtones that are pierced through, which giue paſſage to the winds that are encloſed. Hee addeth, that by reaſon hereof the Iſlands are more aſſured, and the Cities alſo that are more nearer to the Sea. The Citie of Pompeias and Hercule haue felt, that this is falſe. Furthermore, all the Sea-coaſts are ſubiect to agitation. So Paphos hath oftentimes bin ruined, and Nicopolis likewiſe too familiarly acquainted with this miſerie. A deepe Sea inuironeth Cyprus, yet is it ſhaken, and ſo is Tyre likewiſe: Hitherto haue we examined the cauſes why the Earth trembleth.

CHAP. XXVII.

A diſcourſe vpon thoſe Sheepe which were found dead in that earthquake, and of the cauſes of this accident.

BVt ſome particular accidents fel out in this Earthquake of Campania, whereof I am to ſet downe ſome reaſons. For they ſay that ſix hundred flock of Sheepe were killed in the Region of Pompeias. Thou haſt no cauſe to thinke that theſe Sheepe periſhed through feare; we haue ſaid that after great Earthquakes, there ordinarily followeth a peſtilence: neither is this to be wondered at, becauſe many peſtilent things lye hidden in the depth. The Aire it ſelfe, that is impriſoned in eternall obſcurity, either by the intermiſſion of the Earth, or by his owne idleneſſe, is pernicious vnto thoſe that ſuck the ſame: either being corrupted by the malignitie of hidden fires, when it is ſent from a farre off, it ſoileth and infecteth the other Aire which is pure, and breedeth new ſickneſſes in them who breath the ſame, whereunto they haue not beene accuſtomed. Furthermore, there are certaine vnprofitable and peſtilent waters, hidden in the hollowes and ſecrets of the earth, and the cauſe why they are ſuch, is, becauſe they haue neither flux nor reflux, nor are beat vpon by any freer wind. Being then thus thick and couered with an obſcure myſt, they haue nothing in them that is not peſtilent, and contrary to our bodies. The Aire likewiſe that is intermixed with them, and that lyeth amidſt thoſe Mariſhes when it raiſeth it ſelfe, ſpreadeth a generall corruption, and killeth thoſe that draw the ſame. But bruit beaſts and cattell

feele

ſeele this leaſt, on whom the plague, the more greedier they are, raigneth more fiercely. The reaſon is, becauſe they remaine moſt often in open aire, and along by riuer ſides, which ordinarily draw more contagion. As touching ſheep, which are of a more tender nature, and haue their heads almoſt daily inclining towards the ground, I wonder not that they haue bin attainted with this contagion, conſidering that they haue ſucked and gathered the breath of the infected aire from the earth. Such an aire had done more miſchiefe vnto men, had it iſſued in greater abundance; but before it iſſued or was ſuckt vp by any man, it was choaked by abundance of pure aire that breathed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Why the aire iſſuing from the hollow places of the earth is peſtilent and mortall,

THat the earth containeth many things both peſtilent and mortal, thou maiſt know, becauſe ſo many poiſons iſſue from it, not ſcattered by the hand, but of their owne accord, the ground containing in it the ſeedes both of good and euill. And why? Are there not diuers places in Italie wherein by ſecret pores certaine venomous vapors are exhaled, that kill both man & beaſts if they draw neere them? The birds alſo if they light vpon it before it be tempered with a better aire, fal downe in the very flight, and their bodies become blew and ſwolne, euen as theſe humane bodies are, that are ſtrangled. This ſpirit as long as it is contayned in the earth, flowing through a ſmall and ſlender paſſage, hath no more power to kill any, but thoſe that looke into that, or willingly offer themſelues vnto it. But when as for many ages it hath beene hidden in darkneſſe, & thorow the malignitie and vice of the place hath gathered more corruption, the longer it ſtayeth there the more heauie it waxeth, and conſequently the more pernicious is it. But when it hath gotten an iſſue, it ſpreadeth that eternall venome which it hath gathered in a duskie colde, and infernall night, & infecteth the aire of our region For the beſt are ouer-come by the worſt. Then likewiſe that pure aire is tranſlated and changed into euill: whence proceed ſodain and continuall deaths, & monſtrous ſickneſſes, as proceeding from new cauſes. The contagion continueth more or leſſe, according to the continuance & vehemencie of the earthquake, and ceaſeth not vntill the ſpacious extent of the heauens, and the agitation of the windes hath diſſipated thoſe venemous vapours.

CHAP. XXIX.

A conſideration of another accident as touching ſome that haue become inſenſate and ſtupid in theſe earthquakes.

IF a particular and ſlight feare maketh thoſe that are attainted therewith to become ſenſeleſſe, and to runne about like fooles and deſperate men, we neede not wonder, if at ſuch time as the world hath had an alarum, and Cities haue beene ſunke, whole peoples ſwallowed vp, and the earth ſhaken, that ſome haue been ſeene tormented with ſadneſſe and feare, deſtitute of conſolation, and driuen out of their wits. It is no eaſie matter to haue a good ſence in proſperitie or aduerſitie. And therefore the milder ſpirits haue beene attainted with ſuch feare, that they haue ſwounded. There is no man affraid that hindreth not his health in ſome ſort: and whoſoeuer is attainted with feare, reſembleth a mad man rather then any other; but ſome recouer themſelues ſodainly, other ſome remaine

remayne troubled a longer time, and are as it were tranſported. Thence commeth it that during the Warre time there are found ſo many Fooles running about the ſtreets; and neuer meet we with ſo many Diuines and Sooth-ſayers, as when feare intermixed with Religion, attaynteth and ſeizeth mens braines. I wonder not that during this Earthquake, a Statue was diuided into two parts, and that the Earth it ſelfe was rent from the top to the bottome.

Some ſay that erſt the fury of a ſtorme,
(So much can Age and tract of many yeares
Tranſforme thoſe things beneath in ſundry ſorts.)
Did ſeparate two places, which at firſt
Were but one ſoile. The Sea puſht forth her wanes:
And headlong flouds by force ſurpaſſing meaſure,
Did rent the ſtrong Sicilian ſhores perforce
From Italie and his faire Continent,
And ſeuered with a ſtraight and floting ſtreame,
The fields and Cities, from their former bounds.

Thou ſeeſt that there is nothing permanent in the Eſtates of Cities & Peoples, when as one part of nature is moued by it ſelfe, or that a violent wind agitateth ſome Sea. For the effect of the parts as well as of the whole is maruellous. For although it rageth in ſome parts, yet is it cauſed by the forces of the whole. So hath the Sea diuided and torne Spaine from Africa: and by the ſame inundation, ſo much teſtified by the moſt famous Poets, Sicilie hath beene ſeparated from Italie. But ſometimes thoſe things haue moſt violence which come from beneath, for that is moſt furious that inforceth his paſſage through ſtreights: we haue ſufficiently declared both of the effects of the Earthquake, and of the maruellous euents that haue ſucceeded them.

Chap. XXX.

How it may come to paſſe that a Statue cleaueth in two by Earthquake.

Why therefore ſhould a man bee amazed for this cauſe, that the Braſſe of one Statue, which is not ſolid, but hollow and thinne, is broken, when as haply the ſpirit that ſeeketh iſſue is included in the ſame? But who is hee that knoweth not this? wee haue ſeene houſes tremble, and the ioynts and the timbers of the ſame open, and afterwards cloſe againe; contrariwiſe we haue ſeene ſome buildings that were not well grounded at the firſt, & which the Carpenters had careleſly ioyned together, which being agitated by an Earth-quake, haue vnited themſelues together in a better ſort. And if it riueth in two whole wals, and renteth whole houſes, and ſhaketh the walls of whole Towers which are ſolid, and ouer-turneth the foundations of the building, who is hee that can find any matter worthy of note, that a Statue hath beene rent from the bottome to the top?

Why the quaking continueth diuers dayes.

But why continued the Earthquake for diuers daies? For Cãpania ceaſſed not to tremble continually, ſometimes more mildly then at other times, but with great hurt: becauſe the Earthquake ſhiuered that which had beene ouer-turned and ſhaken, which finding no ſtay or reſting place, fell, and broke it ſelfe anew. All the winde had not as yet gotten iſſue, but had only deliuered ouer a part whileſt the ſtronger part, that remayned, laboured to find iſſue.

Chap.

CHAP. XXXI.

AMongſt thoſe arguments whereby it is proued that theſe things are done by the wind, thou maieſt without all doubt ſet downe this: when as there is a great earthquake paſt, whereby cities and countries are deſtroyed, there cannot another follow the ſame that is equall with it, but after the greateſt, the lighter motions follow, becauſe the moſt violent haue giuen paſſage to thoſe windes that encountred one another. The remainder of theſe winds cannot doe ſo much, and doe not beat one vpon another, becauſe they haue their way alreadie opened, and follow that way by which the greateſt force is paſt. Moreouer, I thinke that worthy memorie which a learned and honourable perſonage hath obſerued, that being in the ſtoue to waſh himſelfe, he vndoubtedly ſaw the pauements and ſtones, wherewith the houſe was paued, ſeparate themſelues the one from the other, and afterwards reunite themſelues; and the water eating betweene the clefts, at ſuch time as the tyles ſeparated themſelues one from another, boyled and foamed betweene them both, at ſuch time as they cloſed themſelues. I haue heard the ſame man report, that he had ſeene ſoft things tremble more gently and oftner, then thoſe of hard and ſolide nature.

Why the firſt tremblings are almoſt the moſt violent.

CHAP. XXXII.

AND thus much, my *Lucillius*, the beſt of men, as touching the cauſes. Now come I to that which wil fortifie our minds, becauſe it more importeth vs to become wiſe then learned. But the one is not done without the other. For reſolution is no otherwaies planted in the minde then by good arts, and the contemplation of nature. For whom will not this accident fortifie and confirme againſt all others? Why then ſhould I feare a man or a ſauage beaſt? I am expoſed to farre greater dangers. We are aſſailed by Riuers, by Lands, and by the greateſt parts of nature: we ought therefore to prouoke death with a mightie courage, whether he inuade vs by an equall and vaſt aſſault, or by a daily and ordinarie end: it makes no matter with what maske he be couered, nor how mightie the engine is that he draweth againſt vs; that which he demandeth at our hands, is the leaſt matter. This ſhall old age take from vs, this the paine of an eare, this the corrupt abundance of humours in vs, this meate which the ſtomacke can hardly diſgeſt; this a foot but ſlightly offended. The ſoule in man is but a ſmal matter, but it is a mightie thing to contemne the ſoule. Hee that contemneth it ſhall with a quiet eye behold the enraged ſeas, although all the windes haue incenſed the ſame, although the ſtream with ſome perturbation of the world, turne and arme all the Ocean againſt the earth. He ſhall ſecurely behold the dreadful & horrid face of the lightning-heauen. Although the heauen breaketh it ſelfe, and mixeth his fires to ruine both himſelfe, and all that is vnder him, he ſhall ſecurely behold the yawning earth that riueth and renteth vnder him. Although thoſe infernall Kingdomes ſhould bee diſcouered, he ſhall dreadleſſe ſtand in the face of this confuſion, and haply ſhall skip into the Gulfe, into which he ſhould fall. What care I how great the meanes be, by which I periſh, when as to periſh is no great matter? If therefore we will be happy, if we would not be vexed by the feare of men, of gods, or any things: if we would diſpiſe fortune that promiſeth vs vnneceſſary things, and threatneth vs with trifles; if we will liue quietly, and debate for felicitie with the gods themſelues, we muſt carrie

What reſolutions we are to gather from theſe earthquakes.

The principall is a reſolute and aſſured contempt of death.

carrie our ſoules in our hands: whether it be that ambuſhes would entrap, or ſickneſſe aſſaile, or the enemies ſword threaten, or the noiſe of falling ſtands, or the ruine of the earth, or theſe great fires that conſume Cities & Countries doe inuiron her, ſhe will lay hold on which ſoeuer of theſe dangers ſhe lifteth: what elſe ſhould I do, but exhort her in her departure, and to ſend her away with all her goods? Goe forth couragiouſly, goe happily. Thinke it not ſtrange to reſtore that which thou haſt receiued. The queſtion is not now of the things, but of the time. Thou doeſt that which thou oughteſt to doe at another time: neyther deſire thou death, neither feare it, beware thou ſtep not backe as if thou were to depart into ſome place of euil: Nature that made thee, expecteth thee, and a place farre better and ſecure. There the earth trembleth not, neither the windes combate one with another, and burſt the clouds with thundring noiſe, nor fire deſolateth whole Countries and Cities, nor the feare of whoſes Nauies ſucked vp by ſhipwrack, nor Armies readie to giue battell, nor a multitude of Souldiers running in furie to murther one another, nor the plague, nor fires kindled here and there, to burne the bodies both of great and ſmall, into aſhes. This is but a ſmall matter: what feare we? Is death a grieuous matter? rather let it happen once, then threaten alwaies. Shall I be affraid to periſh, when as the earth periſheth before me, and thoſe things are ſhaken which ſhake others, and attempting to doe vs miſchiefe, offence themſelues? The ſea hath ſwallowed vp Helice and Buris wholly: ſhall I be affraid for one little bodie? Shippes ſaile ouer two Cities, yea two ſuch as we knew, which are reſerued in our remembrance, by the meanes of that diſcourſe which hath beene publiſhed of them. How many other Cities, in great number haue beene ſwallowed vp in other places? how many Nations hath either the earth or ſea deuoured? Shall I refuſe mine end, when as I know that I am not without end? yea when I know that all things are finite: ſhall I feare the laſt breath or ſigh? As much as thou canſt therefore, my *Lucillius*, animate thy ſelfe againſt the feare of death. This is he that maketh vs humble, this is he that diſquieteth and confoundeth that very life which he ſpareth. This is he that maketh theſe earthquakes and lightnings greater then they be. All which thou wilt endure conſtantly, if thou thinke that there is no difference betwixt a ſhort & long time. They are houres which wee loſe: put caſe they be dayes, moneths, yeares; wee loſe them becauſe they muſt be loſt. What importeth it, I pray you, whether I attayne to ſuch a yeare or no? The time fleeteth away, abandoning thoſe that deſire it ſo much: neither is that mine that either is to come, or hath beene. I hang vpon the point of flying Time, and it is a great matter that it hath beene but a verie moment. The wiſeman *Lælius* anſwered very elegantly to a certaine man, that ſaid, *I haue ſixtie yeares of age*; Speakeſt thou (ſaith he) of theſe ſixtie which thou haſt not? Neither hereby vnderſtand we the condition of incomprehenſible life, nor the chance of time which is neuer our owne, becauſe wee make account of the yeares that are paſt. Let vs fixe this in our mindes, and let vs oftentimes ſay one vnto another, We muſt die: When? What careſt thou? Death is the Law of Nature, Death the tribute and office of mortall men, and the remedie of all euils; whoſoeuer feareth it, will wiſh for it. Setting aſide all other things, my *Lucillius*, meditate on this onely, leſt thou waxe afraid of the name of Death; Make him familiar with thee by continuall meditation, that if the cauſe require thou maiſt ſtep forth and meet him.

Miſerable effects cauſed by the ouer-great apprehenſion of death.

The end of the ſixth Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA,

Dedicated to Lvcillivs.

The ſeuenth Booke.

Wherein

He intreateth of Comets.

Chap. I.

THere is no man ſo ſlow, dul, & brutiſh, that lifteth not vp his thoughts to behold diuine things, and fixeth not his whole mind vpon them, eſpecially when as ſome new miracle appeareth in the heauens. For as long as nothing appeareth but that which is ordinary, cuſtom taketh away the greatneſſe of things. For we are ſo compoſed, that thoſe things which we daily meete withall, paſſe by, although they be worthy of admiration: contrariwiſe, we take a ſingular pleaſure to beholde the ſmalleſt trifles, if they haue any noueltie in them. This aſſembly therefore of Starres, whereby the beauty of this immeaſurable body is diſtinguiſhed, inuiteth not the people to beholde them; but when as any thing is changed in ſome extraordinay manner, all mens eyes are fixed on heauen: no man gazeth at the Sun, except it be in the eclipſe: no man obſerueth the Moone, except ſhe be darkened. Then whole Cities cry out, and euery one being tranſported thorow vaine ſuperſtition, feareth in his owne behalfe. But how farre greater things are thoſe, that the Sunne (if I may ſo ſpeake it) hath as many degrees as it hath daies, and firmeth the yeare by his courſe? that from the ſolſtice he preſently inclineth and giueth ſpace vnto the nights? that

Nouelty rauiſheth vs, ordinary matters are contemptible vnto vs.

that he hideth the ſtars, that he burneth not the earth, being farre more greater then the ſame, but nouriſheth it by temperating his heat, by intentions and remiſſions; that he neuer filleth or obſcureth the Moone but when ſhe is oppoſite vnto him; yet reſpect we not theſe things as long as they continue in their order. If any thing be troubled, or appeare contrary to cuſtome, we behold it, we inquire of it, we ſhew it: ſo naturall a thing is it to admire at the newneſſe, and not at the greatneſſe of things. The ſame falleth out in Comets: if a rare fire appeare, and of an vnaccuſtomed figure, there is no man that is not deſirous to know what it is, and forgetting all other things, he queſtioneth vpon this new accident, not knowing whether he ought to admire or feare. For many there are that will enkindle feare in other men, and walke about and preſage that this fire threatneth ſome great miſchiefe. They enquire therfore, and would needs know whether it be a prodigie, or ſome ſtarre in the heauen. But truely no man may either ſearch after a thing more magnificent, nor learne a thing more profitable, then what the nature of the ſtars and planets is. Whether this contracted flame, which both our ſight doth affirme, and that light which floweth from them, and that heat that deſcendeth from thence; or whether they are not flaming Orbes, but certain ſolid and earthly bodies, which ſliding thorow fierie tracts, draw their brightneſſe and colour from them, not being cleare of themſelues. Of which opinion many great men were, who beleeued that the ſtars were compact of a ſolid ſubſtance, and were nouriſhed by forrain fire: for their flame, ſay they, would flie away, except it had ſomething that reſtrained it, and detained it; and being gathered, and not vnited to a ſtable bodie, vndoubtedly the world by his ſtormineſſe had diſſipated it.

The application of this curioſitie to the conſideration of Comets.

The modeſt ſerch & examination of thoſe fires is laudable.

CHAP. II.

If Comets are of the ſame condition as other ſtarres.

FOr the better inueſtigation hereof, it ſhall not be amiſſe to enquire whether Comets are of the ſame condition as the Stars are. For they ſeeme to haue ſomething common with them, their riſing and ſetting, their reſemblance likewiſe, although they ſpread and ſtretch themſelues out longer: for they are as fierie and bright as the other. But if all ſtarres were terreſtriall exhalations, the Comets and ſtarres ſhould be alike: but if they be nought elſe but pure fire, and continue ſixe moneths, if the continuall turning and ſwiftneſſe of the heauen diſſolueth them not, they likewiſe may conſiſt of a thin matter, neyther for all this be diſſipated by the continuall courſe of heauen. To this point it appertaineth alſo to know if the heauen turneth the earth continuing fixed, or if the Heauen is vnmoueable, and the earth turneth. For ſome there were that haue ſaid, that it is we whom nature inſenſibly turneth about, and that the riſing and ſetting is not by the motion of the heauens, but that they riſe and ſet of themſelues. It is a thing worthy contemplation to know in what eſtate we are, if the place wherein we abide, be fixed or turned, whether God cauſeth vs to turne, or cauſeth all things to turne about vs; but it is neceſſary for vs to haue a collection & knowledge of the ancient riſing of Comets: for as yet their courſes cannot be comprehended, by reaſon of their raritie, neither can it be ſought out whether they obſerue their courſes, and ſome due order produceth them to their certaine day. This obſeruation of celeſtiall things is a noueltie, and but lately brought into Greece.

A Paradox of the motion and turning of the earth about the heauens, reuiued in our time by Copernicus.

CHAP.

Chap. III.

The ancient naturall Philoſophers ſeemed ouer curious in obſerning comets

Democritvs alſo (the moſt ſubtileſt amongſt all the ancient Philoſophers) ſaith, that he ſuſpecteth that there are diuers ſtarres that runne; but neyther hath he ſet downe their number, nor their names, for as yet had he not comprehended the courſes of the fiue Planets. *Eudoxus* was the firſt that brought the doctrine of theſe motions out of Egypt into Greece, yet ſpeakes he nothing of Comets; whereby it appeareth that this part had not beene ſufficiently laboured and ſought into by the Egyptians, who had been the moſt curious obſeruers of the heauens. After him *Conon*, a diligent enquirer after theſe things, likewiſe gathered that theſe eclipſes of the Sunne were obſerued by the Egyptians: yet made he no mention of Comets, which he would not haue forgotten, if they had any waies made mention or giuen knowledge of them. Two onely amongſt the Caldees, who are reported to haue ſtudied this ſcience, *Epigenes* and *Apollonius Myndius* (a moſt cunning obſeruer of the works of nature) differ amongſt themſelues: for the one ſaith that Comets by the Caldees are put amongſt the number of wandering ſtarres, and that their courſes are well knowne. But *Epigenes* contrariwiſe ſaith, that the Caldees haue no aſſured knowledge of Comets, but that in their iudgements they are kindled by ſome ſtorme that is agitated and ſtirred in the ayre.

Chap. IV.

Epigenes opinion as touching the meteors of fire.

If firſt therefore thou thinkeſt it meete, we will ſet downe their opinions, and refell them: This man thinkes that the ſtarre of Saturne hath the moſt force vnto all the celeſtiall motions. This when as ſhe preſſeth the neighbouring ſigne of *Mars*, or that ſhe paſſeth into thoſe that haue a vicinity with the Moone, or falleth into the beames of the Sunne, being by nature windie and colde, cloſeth and thickneth the ayre in diuers parts. Afterwards, if ſhe hath gathered into her ſelfe the beames of the Sunne, it thundereth and lightneth. If *Mars* fauoureth her likewiſe, it lightneth. Beſides (ſaith he) the lightnings haue one matter, and the fulgurations another; for the euaporation of the water, and all other things which are moiſt, doth nought elſe but moue the Meteors, which doe nought elſe but moue threatnings; neyther ſucceedeth there any other euill. But the exhalation that mounteth from the earth, as being more hote and more drie, produceth lightnings. But thoſe beames and Torches which differ in no other thing amongſt themſelues but in greatneſſe, are made after this manner: when as ſome globe of the aire hath incloſed moiſt and earthly things in that which we call a ſtorme; whither ſoeuer it is carried, it preſenteth the forme of an extended fire, which continueth ſo long as the complexion of that ayre hath remayned, carrying in it ſelfe much moiſt and earthly matter.

Chap. V.

An examination and diſtinct refutation of theſe opinions.

TO begin with the laſt lies: this is falſe that Torches and fierie beames are expreſſed by a ſtorm: for a ſtorme is formed, and rowleth neere vnto the earth; and therefore it pulleth vp ſhrubs by the roots, and whereſoeuer it inclineth, it maketh the ground naked, laying hold in the meane ſpace on woods and houſes, for the moſt part lower then the clouds, and yet neuer higher. But contrariwiſe, the pillars appeare in the higheſt region of the ayre, and conſequently they haue neuer reſiſted the clouds. Further more, a ſtorm preſſeth forward more violently beyond compariſon aboue any other Cloud, and fulfilleth his courſe in a round. It likewiſe continueth not long time, but burſteth it ſelfe by his owne violence. But pillars of fire neyther rome, nor flie ouer as Torches doe, but abide in one place, and ſhine in the ſame part of the heauen. *Charimander* alſo in that booke which he wrote of Comets, ſaith, that *Anaxagoras* obſerued in the heauens a great and vnaccuſtomed light of the greatneſſe of a huge pillar, and that it ſhined for many daies. *Caliſthenes* teſtifieth that there appeared the like reſẽblance of extended fire, before that *Buris* or *Helice* were hidden by the Sea. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that it was not a beam but a comet; but that by reaſon of the exceſſiue heat it appeared not to be ſcattered fire, but in proceſſe of time, when as now it burned leſſe, it preſented it ſelfe in the forme of a Comet: in which fire there were many things that were worthy to be noted, and yet nothing more then this, that when it ſhined in the heauens, the ſea preſently ouerflowed *Buris* & *Helice*. Did not therfore *Ariſtotle* beleeue, that not only that, but al other beames were Comets? This difference haue you, that in the one the fire was continuall, in the other ſcattered: for pillars haue an equall flame, neyther intermitted or failing in any place, and coacted in the vttermoſt parts therof, ſuch as that was whereof I ſpake of late, according to *Caliſthenes* opinion.

Chap. VI.

Two ſorts of Comets, according to Epigenes, and of their cauſes.

EPIGENES ſaith, there are two ſorts of Comets; the one on euerie ſide powre forth their heat, and change not their place; others extend their ſcattered fire in one place like haire, and trauerſe the ſtars, whereof two ſuch haue appeared in our time. Theſe former are crinite, and euery waies likewiſe immoueable, yet are they for the moſt part lower, & compoſed of the ſame cauſes, as pillars and torches are from the intemperature of the troubled aire, which carries with it ſelf many moiſt and drie exhalations that are raiſed from the earth. For the winde that ſlides thorow theſe ſtraits may inflame the aire aboue, ful of nutriment, fit for fire, and afterwards driue it backeward from the place where it is calmeſt, for feare leſt through ſome cauſe it ſhould returne and grow faint, & anon after ſhould come to raiſe it ſelfe, and enkindle the fire where it was. For we ſee that the winds after ſome certain daies, return vnto the ſame place whence they firſt iſſued. The raines alſo, and other kindes of tempeſts, returne vnto their point and aſſignation. But to expreſſe his intent in a few words, he thinketh that Comets are made in the ſame ſort, as fires that are caſt out by ſtormes; this only is the difference, that the ſtormes fall from on high vpon the earth, and theſe fires raiſe themſelues from the earth vnto the heauens.

Chap.

VII.

MAnie things are ſpoken againſt theſe; firſt, if the winde were the cauſe, a Comet ſhould neuer appeare without winde, but now it appeareth euen in the calmeſt ayre. Againe, if it were cauſed by winde, it ſhould fall with the winde: and if it beganne with the winde, it ſhould increaſe with the winde; and the more fiery ſhould it be, the more violent the winde was. To this adde that likewiſe: The winde impelleth many parts of the ayre; but a Comet appeareth in one place: the winde mounteth not vp on high; but Comets are ſeene verie high aboue the windes. After this, he paſſeth ouer to thoſe, which, as he ſaith, haue a more certaine reſemblance of ſtars, which goe forward, and paſſe the ſignes in the Zodiaque. Theſe, ſaith he, are made of the ſame cauſes as the other that are lower: in this onely they differ, that the exhalations of the earth, carrying many drie things with them, aſcend to the higher part, and by the North wind are driuen into the vpper part of heauen. Againe, if the North winde did driue them, they ſhould be alwaies driuen to the Southward, againſt which the North winde bloweth. But they haue diuers ſtations, ſome goe towards the Eaſt, ſome towards the Weſt, and all in turning, which way the winde would not giue. Againe, if the violence of the North winde, lifted them vp from the earth vnto the heauens, Comets ſhould not riſe with any other windes; but they riſe.

The winde is no cauſe of Comets, as Epigenes *thinketh.*

CHAP. VIII.

BVt now let vs reſell that reaſon of his (for he vſeth them both.) All that which the earth hath exhaled, eyther drye or moiſt, comming to ioyne in one, the diſcord that happeneth betweene theſe bodies, maketh the ayre become ſtormie. The vehemencie then of that turning winde enkindleth by his courſe, and rayſeth vp on high, all that which it holdeth incloſed in it ſelfe; & the brightnes of the fire that is incloſed dureth as long time as the exhalation, whereby it is entertained, which beginning to decreaſe, the fire decreaſeth likewiſe. He that ſaid this, conſidered not what the courſe of ſtorms & comets is. That of ſtorms is headlong & violent, and ſwifter then the winds: that of the Comets is more milde, and no man can diſcouer what way they make in foure and twentie howers. Furthermore, the motion of ſtormes is inconſtant, ſcattered, and turning: that of Comets is certaine, and keepeth one ſetled courſe. Would any one of vs thinke that the winde carrieth away, or that the ſtorme cauſeth the Moone to turne, or elſe the fiue wandring ſtars? Nothing leſſe in my iudgement. And why? Becauſe their courſe is neither troubled nor ſuſpended. Let vs transferre the ſame vnto Comets. They moue not confuſedly or tumultuouſly, ſo as any man ſhould beleeue that they are impelled by turbulent and inconſtant cauſes. And again, although theſe ſtorms might imbrace the exhalations of earth & water, & afterwards lift them vp from beneath vpwards, yet ſhould they not make them mount about the Moone. All their carriage extendeth no farther then the clouds. But we ſee that comets are intermixed with the ſtars, & ſlide along the ſuperior parts. It is not therfore likely, that in ſo great ſpace a ſtorm of wind may continue, the which as it is moſt violent, the ſooner takes it an end.

Stormes are not the cauſe of Comets.

Chap. IX.

The continuation of the refutation contayned in the former chapter.

LEt him chuſe which of theſe two he liſt: if it be a light ſtorme, it cannot deſcend from ſo high; if it be a violent & ſudden ſtorme, it wil break it ſelfe the ſooner. Moreouer, theſe lower comets mount not ſo high as ſome thinke, by reaſon that they haue more waighty matter then the reſt. This waight hindreth them from mounting. Contrariwiſe, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that the Comets that are higheſt, and are of longeſt continuance haue a matter more ſolid then the lower. They likewiſe could not continue longer, except ſome more ſtronger nutriment maintayned them. I ſaid not long ſince, that a ſtorme could not endure long, nor raiſe it ſelfe aboue the Moone, nor as far as the ſtars: for a ſtorme is raiſed by a conflict of diuers windes one with another. This conflict cannot be of long continuance: for an vncertaine winde hauing ſtrugled with the reſt, finally, the victorie remaineth to that which is the ſtrongeſt. But no violent tempeſt laſteth long. The more headlong the tempeſts are, the leſſe time and continuance haue they: when the winds are in their full force, they incontinently begin to decline, and it muſt needes be that by their more earneſt vigour they ſhould tend to their diſſolution. So then no man euer ſaw a ſtrong ſtorme of wind continue longer then fo re and twentie houres, no not an houre. The ſwiftneſſe thereof is wonderfull, and no leſſe wonderfull is the ſhortneſſe. Beſides this, he turneth with more greater violence & ſwiftneſſe about the earth: if it be high, it is leſſe headlong, by reaſon whereof it ſpreadeth it ſelfe. Adde hereunto now, that if it raiſed it ſelfe aboue the regions of the aire, towards the heauens and ſtars, the motion of them, which whirleth about the whole frame, would diſſolue and diſſipate the ſame: for what is it that turneth more ſwiftly then the motion of heauen? When the force of all the winds ſhould be aſſembled together, and the ſolid and firme ſtructure of the earth likewiſe, this motion could diſſipate all that, and conſequently in leſſe then nothing, ſhould make that parceli of intorted and confuſed aire to vaniſh.

Chap. X.

He continueth his proofe, that ſtormes of the aire cannot be the cauſe of the enkindling of Comets.

FVrthermore, the fire carried vp by the ſtorme, could not continue long, if the ſtorme continued not likewiſe: but what is more incredible then that a ſtorme ſhould laſt long? For one motion is ouercome by his contrary motion: for the place aboue the ayre hath his motion that carrieth the heauens:

And drawes the higher Starres with ſwifter turne,
And whirles them round about.

And if thou grant them ſome remiſſion, which can hardly be done in any ſort, what ſhall we ſay of comets that continue ſixe moneths? Againe, there ſhould be two motions in one place, the one of them diuine & continuall, accompliſhing his work without intermiſſion; the other freſh & new, being ſhaken by the ſtorme. Of neceſſity therfore, the one muſt be an impediment to the other. But the motion of the Moone, & the courſe of the other Planets which are aboue, alwaies obſerue their time, neither ſtop they euer, or ſtay they, nor giueth vs any

any ſuſpition of intermiſſion or let in their motion. It is an incredible thing that a ſtorme (which is a kinde of tempeſt extremely violent and impetuous) ſhould mount as high as mid-heauen, and whirle it ſelfe amongſt the ſpheares, whoſe courſe is ſo peaceable and gouerned. Put caſe that a ſtorme enkindleth a fire, and driueth it vp on high, or that it appeareth in a longer forme, yet thinke I that it muſt be ſuch as that is which cauſeth the fire. But the forme of a ſtorme is round, for it turneth in the ſame place, and is whirled about, after the manner of a cylinder that turneth and rouleth in it ſelfe: therefore the fire that is incloſed therein muſt be like vnto the ſame. But it is long and ſcattered, and no waies like vnto that which is round.

CHAP. XI.

Comets appeare in diuers parts of heauen.

LEt vs leaue *Epigenes*, & examin other mens opinions, which before I begin to expound, that is, firſt of all to be preſuppoſed, that Comets are not ſeene in one part of the heauen, nor in the Zodiak only, but appeare aſwell in the Eaſt as in the Weſt, yea, and oft-times about the North. Their forme is not one; for although the Grecians haue made a difference of thoſe whoſe flame hangeth downe after the manner of a beard, and of thoſe which on euery ſide of them ſpread their light as it were haire, and of thoſe whoſe fire extendeth and poureth it ſelfe out, but tendeth towards a head; yet are all theſe of the ſame note, and are rightly called Comets, whoſe formes whenas they appeare after a long time, it is a hard matter to compare them one with another. At that very time when they appeare, all thoſe that beholde them are not of the ſame opinion, in reſpect of their habitude, but euen as each of them hath eyther a ſharper or a duller ſight; ſo ſaith he that they are either cleerer or redder, or that their haires are drawn inwardly or ſcattered on the ſides. But whether there be any differences of them or no, yet muſt Comets be made by the ſame reaſon. One thing muſt remaine reſolued, that it is an extraordinary thing to ſee a new appearance of Stars, that draw about themſelues a ſcattered fire. Some one of the ancients allow of this reaſon, when as one of the wandring Stars adioyneth it ſelfe to another, both their lights being confuſed into one, make an appearance of a longer Star: neyther doth this happen onely at ſuch time as one Planet toucheth another, but alſo when they approach, for the ſpace betweene them both is enlightned and inflamed both by the one and the other, and maketh a long fire.

Their qualitie is iudged by the obſcuritie or clearenеſſe of our ſight.

CHAP. XII.

An anſwere vnto thoſe that thinke that Comets are formed by the approach and incountry of two Planets.

TO theſe we will anſwer thus; that there is a certaine number of moueable Stars, and that at one time both they and Comets are wont to appeare; whereby it is manifeſt, that Comets are not cauſed by their coition and meeting, but are created of themſelues. It oft-times hapneth that a ſtar is found right vnderneath one of thoſe which is higheſt, & ſometimes *Saturne* is aboue *Iupiter*, and *Mars* beholdeth in a right line both *Venus* and *Mercurie*. But for all this courſe and incountry the one with the other, a Comet is not therefore made; otherwiſe they ſhould be made euery yeare, for in euery yeare ſome ſtars meete together

in one ſigne; if one Planet drawing neere or aboue another, did make a comet, it ſhould ceaſe to be in the ſame inſtant, for the Planets paſſe ſuddenly. And therfore is it, that the eclipſe of the Planets dureth not long time, becauſe the ſame courſe that brought them together carrieth them away ſwiftly. We ſee that in a very little ſpace of time the eclipſes both of Sunne and Moone take an end. Thoſe of the other Planets likewiſe which are leſſe, ought likewiſe to continue leſſe. But there are certaine comets that endure ſixe moneths, which would not come to paſſe, if they were produced by coniunction of two planets, which cannot long time ſubſiſt together; but that the Law of neceſſitie muſt needes ſeparate them. Beſides, theſe planets ſeeme neere neighbours one vnto another, yet are they ſeparated by huge diſtances. How then may one Planet dart out fire vnto another, in ſuch ſort as both of them ſeem but one, when as there is ſo great a diſtance betweene them? The light (ſaith he) of two ſtars is intermixed, and preſent a forme of one: in no other ſort then when as by meeting with the Sunne, a cloud becommeth red, as the euenings and the mornings are yellow, and as ſometimes or other we ſee the Arch of the Sunne. All theſe firſt of all are cauſed by great force: for it is the Sun that enkindleth theſe, the ſtars haue not the ſame power. Againe, none of theſe appeare but vnder the Moone, and neere vnto the earth. The ſuperior bodies are pure and ſincere, & neuer change their colour. Beſides, if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, it ſhould not endure, but ſhould be extinguiſhed ſuddenly, as crownes are which begirt the Sunne or Moone, and vaniſh a little while after: neyther doth the Raine-bow continue long. If any ſuch thing were, whereby the middle ſpace betweene two ſtarres ſhould be confuſed, they would as ſoone vaniſh out of ſight, or if it continued, it ſhould not be ſo long as the Comets endure. The planets ſhape their courſe in the circle of the Zodiacke, but the Comets appeare in all the parts of the heauen. As touching the time of their apparition, it is no more certaine then the place wherein they are confined.

CHAP. XIII.

An inſtance of Artemidorus to maintaine his opinion, and the anſwer to the ſame.

THis is alledged by *Artemidorus*, againſt that which is ſaid before, that not onely theſe fiue ſtars doe run, but that they are obſerued alone, yet that innumerable ſtarres, that are carried in ſecret, eyther vnknowne vnto vs by reaſon of the obſcuritie of their light, or by reaſon of ſuch a poſition of their circles, that then at length they are ſeene when they are come to their period or end. Therfore, as he ſaith, ſome ſtars run between, which are new vnto vs, which intermix their light with thoſe that are fixed, and extend their fire farre more then other ſtarres are accuſtomed: this is the ſlighteſt of his fictions, for all his diſcourſes of the world are impudent lies: for if we beleeue him, the heauen that we ſee is moſt ſolid, and hardned after the manner of a tyle, and of a deepe and thick bodie, and is made of Atomes cõgeſted and gathered together. The next ſurface vnto this is fiery, ſo compact that it neither can be diſſolued or vitiated, yet hath it ſome vents and windowes, by which the fires enter from the exterior part of the heauen, which are not ſo large that they may trouble it inwardly, whence againe they ſteale and ſlip forth. Theſe therefore which appeared contrarie to cuſtome, flowed and had their influence from that matter, that lay on each ſide of the world. To anſwer theſe queſtions, what other thing is it, then to exerciſe the hand, and to caſt a mans armes into the winde?

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

An exact refutation of Artemidorus his Paradoxes.

YEt would I haue this man tell me who hath laid ſuch thicke plancheirs on the Heauen, what reaſon there is that we ſhould beleeue him that the Heauen is of this thickneſſe? What is the cauſe hee ſhould carrie ſo many ſolid bodies thither, and detayn them there? Againe, that which is of ſo great thickneſſe, muſt needes bee of a great weight. How therefore may heauy things remaine ſuſpended in the Heauens? How commeth it to paſſe that this heauy burthen falleth not, and breaketh not himſelfe through his weight? For it cannot bee that the force of ſo great a burthen, as he ſetteth down, ſhould hang and depend on ſo ſlight ſtaies. Neither can this likewiſe be ſpoken, that outwardly there are ſome ſupporters that vphold it from falling; nor likewiſe that in the middeſt there is any thing oppoſed, that might entertaine or containe ſuch an impendent bodie. No man likewiſe dare be ſo bold as to ſay that the World is carryed and whirled about infinitely, and that it falleth; but that it appeareth not whether it fall or no, becauſe the precipitation thereof is eternall, hauing no end wherein it may terminate. Some haue ſpoken thus of the earth, when as they had found no reaſon why a weight ſhould conſiſt in the Aire; It is alwayes falling, ſay they, but it appeareth not whether it fall or no, becauſe that is infinite into which it falleth. What is it then, whereby thou wilt proue that only fiue Stars mooue not, but that there are many, and in many Regions of the World? Or if it be lawfull to anſwere this without any probable Argument, what is the cauſe why ſome man ſhould not ſay, that either all the Stars are moued, or none? Againe, that troope of Stars that wander here and there, helpe thee nothing. For the more they be, the oftner ſhould they fall vpon others: but Comets are rare, and for this cauſe are wonderfull. Moreouer, all Ages will beare teſtimonie againſt them, who haue both obſerued the riſing of thoſe Stars, and haue communicated them with Poſteritie.

Another Paradox incloſed in diuers abſurdities.

CHAP. XV.

Examples to approue that one Comet cannot be made of diuers wandering ſtars.

AFter the death of *Demetrius* King of Syria, the father of *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, and a little before the Warre in Achaia, there appeared a Comet almoſt as great as the Sun. In the beginning it was a Circle of red fire, ſparkling with ſo great light, that it ſurmounted the obſcuritie of the night. Afterwards this greatneſſe began to diminiſh, and the brightneſſe thereof to vaniſh. Finally, the Comet was wholly ſpent. How many wandering Starres, thinke you, ſhould haue beene ioyned together to make ſo great a body? Although a thouſand had beene reduced into one Maſſe, yet could they not reflect ſo much light as the Sun doth. During the Reigne of *Attalus* a Comet was ſeene, which in the beginning was but little, but afterwards it encreaſed, and extended, and lengthened out it ſelfe as farre as the Æquator, in ſuch ſort as it equalled (ſo long was the extent thereof) that part of the Heauen which the Aſtronomers call the Milke-white way. How many wandering Starres ſhould there haue beene gotten together, to occupie with a continuall fire ſo long a tract of Heauen?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The shameleſſe error and abſurditie of ſome Hiſtorians, taxed, and namely of Artemidorus.

Againſt Hiſterians in title, and Lyers in effect.

WE haue ſpoken againſt the Argument, now muſt we ſay ſomewhat againſt the witneſſes: we need not labour much to empouerish the authoritie of *Ephorus*, hee is an Hiſtorian. Some men get commendation by relating of incredible matters, and excite the Reader by ſome Miracle, who would doe ſome other thing elſe, if hee were but entertained by ordinary matters. Some are credulous, and ſome negligent, ſome are circumuented, and ſome pleaſed with lies: the one auoid them not, the other deſire them. And this is common to the whole Nation, who as he thinketh cannot approue his worke; neither that it will bee paſſable and vendible, except it hath ſome aſperſion of lyes. But *Ephorus*, a man of no religious honeſty or faith, is ofttimes deceiued, and oftentimes deceiueth: as in this place, becauſe when as this Comet (which all the World obſerued,) drew after it the euent of a mightie matter, when as vpon the riſing thereof it drowned Helice and Buris, he ſaith that it diuided it ſelfe into two Starres, which beſides himſelfe no man teſtifieth. For who is hee that could obſerue that moment, wherein the Comet was diſſolued, and diuided into two parts? And if any one hath ſeene a Comet diuided into two, may not another ſee two vnited in one? And why added he not into what Stars it was diuided, whereas it muſt needs be ſome one of the fiue Planets?

CHAP. XVII.

The examination of Apollonius *Paradox, that there are many wandering Comets.*

APOLLONIVS MINDIVS is of a contrary opinion, for he ſaith that a Comet is not made one out of diuers erraticall Starres, but that many Comets are erratical. It is not a falſe appearance, nor an extended fire, by the vicinitie of two Planets, that maketh a Comet: her forme is not reſtrained in a round, but more high, and extended in length: yet hath it no manifeſt courſe, for it trauerſeth the higheſt part of Heauen, and when as ſhe is at the loweſt of her courſe, ſhe is not ſeene. Neither are we to thinke that we ſaw the ſame in *Claudius* time, which appeared in *Auguſtus* dayes, nor that that which appeared vnder *Nero Cæſar*, (which hath ennobled all the reſt;) was like vnto that which appeared about the eleuenth houre of the day, when as men celebrated the ſports of *Venus Iulius Cæſars* mother, after he had beene murthered. There are diuers Comets of diuers ſorts, of different greatneſſe and diſlike in colour: the one are red, without any cleerneſſe, the other white, and of a pure and cleere brightneſſe; the other flaming obſcurely, and enuironed with thicke ſmoke. Some are bloudie, hideous, which preſage nothing elſe but Murthers and Maſſacres. Theſe either leſſen or encreaſe their light, as other celeſtiall fires doe; in deſcending and approching more neere vnto vs, they ſhew more cleere and more great: leſſe and more obſcure in remounting, becauſe they withdraw themſelues further off.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

HEreunto we forthwith anſwer, that the ſame falleth not out in Comets, that happeneth in other Celeſtiall fires. For Comets, the very firſt day they appeare are at the greateſt. But they ſhould encreaſe, the neerer they draw vnto vs: but now their firſt appearance continueth vntill ſuch time as they begin to be extinguiſhed. Againe, that which was anſwered to the firſt, may be anſwered to this man likewiſe: if a Comet were a Planet, and had his courſe, it ſhould be moued within the bounds of the Zodiake, in which all other Planets ſhape their courſe. For neuer doth a ſtarre appeare by a ſtarre. Our ſight cannot penetrate thorow a ſtarre, to ſee thorow it, what is vnder it. But men ſee thorow a Comet, as thorow a cloud, that which is vnderneath; whereby it appeareth that it is not a Starre, but a light fire that is gathered in haſte.

A difference betweene Comets and other celeſtiall fires.

CHAP. XIX.

THe Stoique *Zeno* is of this opinion, ſuppoſing that the Starres doe rank themſelues, the one of them neere vnto the other, and intermix their beames, where there followeth an appearance of a long ſtar. By this reckoning diuers thinke that there are no comets, but that by reuerberation of the ſtars, which are one of them neer vnto the other, or by the coniunction of them that entertaine one another, that is cauſed, which hath ſuch or ſuch appearance of a comet. Some maintaine that there are; but that they haue their particular courſes, and at the end of certaine yeares they appeare. Some other accord alſo that there are, but deny that they ought to be called ſtarres, becauſe they diminiſh by little and little, and continue not long, and vaniſh, as it were, in an inſtant.

Zenoes *opinion according with* Apollonius.

CHAP. XX.

DIuers of our coat and ſort are of the ſame opinion, neither thinke they that it repugneth againſt the truth: for we ſee diuers ſorts of fires that are formed in the aire, and ſometimes the heauen on fire, ſometimes long ſtreames of flame, then burning torches carried away ſwiftly, with a large fire: the lightnings alſo, although marueilouſly ſudden, in an inſtant dazle the eyes, and leaue their fires proceeding from the aire, that is cruſhed and violently beaten together. Therefore reſiſt they not, but being expreſſed, flow, and forthwith periſh. Other fires continue long, & vaniſh not, except firſt of all that aliment that nouriſhed them be conſumed. In this ranke are thoſe miracles that are written by *Poſsidonius*, burning pillars and bucklers, and other fierie impreſſions, notable by reaſon of their noueltie, which would not aſtoniſh mens minds, if they appeared according to cuſtome and nature. All men are amazed that behold theſe, and be it that any fire either ſhine or ſhoot, be it that preſſing the aire, and by ſetting it on fire, it ſubſiſteth, and is reputed for ſome noueltie, euerie one gazeth thereat, and ſuppoſeth it to be miraculous. What then? Hath not the heauen ſometimes opened,

Seneces *opinion hereupon.*

ned, and a great cleerenesse hath broken forth of the cauitie? Thou mightest exclaime: What is this?

I see the Heauen depart it selfe in twaine,
And scattered Stars from thence shine forth againe.

Which sometimes haue shined before the night was expected, and haue broken forth at mid-day; but there is another reason hereof, why they appeare at an vnusuall time, and although wee see them not, yet euery one knoweth that they cease not to be. Wee see not many Comets that are obscured by the Sunbeames, in whose Eclipse, as *Possidonius* testifieth, there appeared a Comet, which the neighbouring Sunne had hidden. For oftentimes when the Sun setteth, there are certaine scattered fires seene not farre off him: the cause is, because the greater light is spread in such sort ouer the lesser, that it may not bee seene: But Comets escape the Sun-beames.

Chap. XXI.

That which the Stoickes teach, as touching Comets.

SO then the Stoickes hold that the Comets, such as are Torches, Trumpets, Pillars, and other such Wonders in the Heauen, are created of thicke Aire. And therefore appeare they most often in the North, because in that place there is found much weightie Aire. Why then is not a Comet fixed, but goeth forward? After the manner of fires, it followeth that which nourisheth it. For although by nature she inclineth vpwards, yet when shee wanteth matter, she declineth into the Aire, according as the matter thereof tendeth or bendeth it, either to the right or left part. For she hath no way, but such as the veine of that which nourisheth her, and leadeth her, thither creepeth she; neither shapeth she her course as a Starre, but is fed as fire is. Why then appeareth shee a long time, and is not quickly extinguished? For that we beheld vnder the happie Gouernment of *Nero*, was seene for the space of six moneths, shaping a course altogether opposite to that which appeared in the time of *Claudius*. For that rising from the North vpwards, declined toward the East, alwayes more obscure. This began in the same part, but bending towards the West, declined towards the South, and then vanished out of sight. That in *Claudius* time had a quarter more moist, and more fit for inflammation, which shee followed. That in *Neroes* time had a more spacious and furnished extent. They therefore descend thither, whither the matter that maintayneth them draweth them, & not their way: which appeareth to be diuers in those two which wee beheld, whereas the one moued toward the right hand, the other towards the left. But all Stars haue their course in the same part, that is to say, contrarie to that of the Heauens, which turneth from the East to the West, and the Stars quite contrarie: they haue therefore a double motion, that of their owne, and that of the Heauens, that carryeth them.

Of tow Comets that appeared in the time of Claudius *and* Nero.

Chap.

CHAP. XXII.

The examination of the Stoickes opinion.

I Am not of the Stoicks opinion, for I thinke not that a Comet is a ſudden fire, but that it is to be reputed amongſt one of the eternal workes of Nature. Firſt of all, whatſoeuer the Aire createth, are of ſhort continuance, becauſe they are made of a fleeting and mutable ſubiect. For how can any thing ſubſiſt long time in the ſame ſort in the Aire, when as the Aire it ſelfe neuer remaineth like it ſelf? It doth nothing but turne and flow, and hath very little reſt. In a moments ſpace it is changed into another ſtate then it was in before: now is it faire, now rainie, then inconſtant between both; for clouds are familiar with it, into which he gathereth himſelfe, and from which he is diſſolued, which now aſſemble themſelues, ſuddenly ſcatter, and neuer continue at reſt. It cannot bee that a ſetled fire ſhould take his ſituation in a body ſo fleeting, and ſhould cleaue vnto it ſo obſtinately as if nature had ſo appropriated it, that it ſhould neuer bee ſeparated from it. Moreouer, if it alwaies remained annexed to that which entertaineth the ſame, it ſhould neuer deſcend: for the neerer the Aire approcheth to the Earth, the thicker it is, and neuer doth a Comet deſcend as farre as the lower Region of the Aire, neither approcheth ſo neere vnto the Earth. The fire likewiſe mounteth thither, whither his nature carryeth him, that is to ſay, on high, or thither, whither the matter to which it cleaueth, or that it feedeth, draweth him.

CHAP. XXIII.

The difference betweene Stars and Comets.

NO ordinary and celeſtiall fires haue an oblike way. Circular motion is the property of the ſtars, yet know I not whether any other Comets haue done the like; two in our age haue done it. Againe, all that which is kindled by a temporall cauſe, is quickly extinguiſhed. So do Torches burne in paſſing by, ſo Lightnings haue their force for a flaſh, ſo thoſe Stars that are called tranſuerſe and falling, flye ouer and cut the Aire; no fires haue continuance but in their owne fire. Thoſe diuine Stars ſpeake I of, which ſhall continue as long as the Heauen it ſelfe, becauſe they are parts and the workmanſhip thereof. But theſe do ſomthing, they goe, they infalliby follow their courſes, and are equall. For they ſhould euery other day become greater or leſſe, if their fire were gathered and collected ſuddenly, & enkindled vpon ſome cauſe: for it ſhould be leſſer or greater, accordingly as it ſhould be abundantly or ſparingly entertayned. I ſaid of late that there is nothing continuall which is inflamed by the corruption of the Aire: now adde I further, it neither can abide or ſtand by any meanes. For both a Torch, and Lightning, and a ſhooting Starre; and whatſoeuer fire is expreſſed by the Aire, ſtayeth not in a place, neither appeareth but whileſt it falleth. The Comet hath her ſiege, whence ſhe is not ſo ſoone chaſed, but ſhe finiſheth her courſe in meaſure, and is not extinguiſhed ſuddenly, but vadeth by little and little: if it were a wandering Starre, ſaith he, it ſhould be in the Zodiake. Who ſetteth one limit for the Stars? Who driueth diuine things into a ſtrait? The Planets which thou only thinkeſt haue motion, haue diuers Circles. Why therefore ſhould there not be others, which might haue a way proper and peculiar from that of the Planets? What is the cauſe that the Heauen is vnacceſſible in ſome place?

That which is enflamed by the corruption of the Aire cannot ſubſiſt.

Seneca ſeemeth to encline in ſome ſort to this opinion, that a Comet is ſome kind of wandering Starre.

place? If thou thinkeſt that no Planet may paſſe the Zodiack, I ſay that a Comet may haue his Circle ſo large, that in ſome place he may enter into the Zodiack. This is not neceſſary, but it may be.

CHAP. XXIV.

The reaſons that moeue him to produce this Paradox.

COnſider whether this becommeth not the greatneſſe of Heauen better, that it be diuided into ſeuerall courſes, then to imagine one only Circle wherein all the Planets haue their courſe, & that the reſt remaine vnprofitable and idle. Beleeueſt thou that in this ſo great and faire bodie, (amongſt innumerable Stars, which by their diuers beautie adorne and diſtinguiſh the night, nor ſuffering the Aire to remayne void and improfitable,) that there ſhould be but only fiue Starres, to whom it ſhould be lawfull to exerciſe themſelues, whileſt all the reſt ſtand, like a fixed and immoueable multitude? If any man enquire of me in this place, why therefore is not the courſe of theſe as well obſerued as of thoſe fiue Stars? To him I will anſwere, that we grant that there are many things, but what they are we know not. All of vs will confeſſe, that each of vs hath a ſoule, by whoſe command we are impelled, and reuoked: but what this ſoule is which is the Ruler and Gouernour ouer vs, euery man is as farre from telling thee, as hee is vncertaine where it is. Some will ſay that it is a ſpirit, another, that it is harmonie: That Man, a diuine thing, and like vnto God; This Man, a very ſubtill Aire, and that other, an incorporeall facultie: neither will there want ſome that will call it bloud; otherſome, heat. So that a man cannot know the truth of other things, who as yet hath not the perfect knowledge of himſelfe.

CHAP. XXV.

That there is ſomewhat more in Comets then in other Meteors of fire.

WHy wonder we therefore that the Comets (which are a rare ſpectacle of Heauen) are as yet vnreſtrained vnder certaine Lawes, and that neither their beginnings nor endings are knowne, hauing not their returne, but after a long ſpace of time? There are not yet a thouſand and fiue hundred yeares paſt, ſince Greece

Numbred and named the light-ſome Starres:

One Age cannot know all things.

and many Nations are there at this day who know not the heauen but by ſight, that as yet are ignorant why the Moone faileth, or ſuffereth an Eclipſe: And theſe things amongſt vs likewiſe haue beene lately reduced to a certaintie. The time ſhall come that theſe things which are now hidden ſhall be diſcouered by Time, and the diligence of future Ages. One Age is ouer-ſhort to ſeeke out theſe ſecrets, & a mans whole age is required to be ſpent in the contemplation of Heauen. Is it not a miſery for vs that wee diuide this little time wee haue to liue, betweene ſerious and friuolous occupations? There ſhall bee diuers ages therefore that ſhall cleere theſe difficulties: The time ſhall come wherein our Poſteritie ſhall wonder that we were ignorant of ſo manifeſt things: wee haue learned not long ſince in what time thoſe fiue Planets, which we perceiue, doe riſe and ſet, or ſtay; why they goe directly on, or recoile backeward, and which hold-

holding ſo different courſes, conſtraine vs to be curious. Not many yeares ſince it hath bin ſhewed vs, whether *Iupiter* riſeth, or ſetteth, or is retrograde; for ſo it is ſaid, when he retireth. There haue bin ſome that haue ſaid vnto vs: you erre, that iudge that any Star either ſuppreſſeth or turneth his courſe. Celeſtiall bodies haue their motion, neither can they be auerted, they all go forward as ſoon as they are ſent, they goe. They ſhall bee no more when they ceaſſe to mooue. This eternall worke hath irreuocable motions: which if they ſhould at any time ſtay, the one ſhould bee confounded in the other, whereas now the ſame tenure and equalitie conſerueth them.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the retrogradation of certain Planets.

WHence commeth it then that certaine Planets ſeeme to bee retrograde? The courſe of the Sunne impoſeth on them this appearance of ſlow motion; beſides, the nature and ſite of their courſes and Circles in ſuch ſort, that at ſometimes they deceiue their ſight that behold them. In this ſort, Ships that ſaile with a fore-winde ſeeme not to ſtirre. The day will come when ſome one ſhall ſhew vs in what parts the Comets wander: why they obſerue ſo different a courſe from other Stars, what and how great they are. Wee content our ſelues with thoſe things that are found: Let thoſe that ſucceed vs manifeſt the truth likewiſe for their parts. We ſee not, ſaith he, any thing that is vnderneath the Planets. Our eies pierce the Comets. Firſt, if this be ſo, it is not in that part where the Celeſtiall body is of a thick and ſolid fire, but there, where there is a brightneſſe more rare, and in that part where the haires are ſcattered. Thou ſeeſt through the ſpaces of the fires, and not through them. All Stars (ſaith hee) are round, all Comets are extended, whereby it appeareth that they are no Starres: but who will grant thee this, that Comets are long? Whereas naturally according as other celeſtiall bodies are, they are formed round, but it is their brightneſſe that extendeth it ſelfe. Euen as the Sunne ſpreadeth his beames farre and neere, and yet hath another forme then that which proceedeth from his beames: ſo the bodies of Comets are round, but their light appeareth more long, then that of the other Starres.

To maintaine his opinion hee anſwereth to an obiection that is made, that the Comets are more neerer the earth then the Planets and that they are of another forme

CHAP. XXVII.

Another anſwer of Senecaes, *to the Obiection, that there is a difference betweene the light of the Comets and Planets.*

WHy (ſayeſt thou?) Tell me firſt why the Moone receiueth a different light from that of the Sunne, when as ſhee receiueth the ſame from the Sunne? whence is it that ſhe is ſometimes red, and ſometimes pale? For what cauſe hath ſhe a leaden and darke colour, when ſhee is excluded from the ſight of the Sunne? Make me vnderſtand why all the Stars haue a different appearance the one from the other, and haue no reſemblance with that of the Sunne. But as nothing hindereth them to be Stars, although they reſemble not, ſo nothing hindereth the Comets from being eternall, and of the ſame condition that the Stars are, although they haue not the ſame appearance. And why? the World it ſelfe, if thou conſider the ſame, is it not compoſed of diuers parts? whence is it that the Sun is alwayes burning in the Signe of *Leo*, and ſcorcheth the Earth with exceſſiue

heat, and that in *Aquarius* he calleth on the Winter, and causeth the Riuers to freeze? All this is but one Sunne, although his nature and effects are diuers: within a short time after, he riseth in the Signe of *Aries*, and slowly stealeth on in that of *Libra*; yet both the one and the other Signe is of the same nature, although that in the one there is swift motion, and in the other slow progresse. Seest thou not how contrarie the Elements are the one vnto the other? They are heauie and light, cold and hot, moist and dry. All the harmonie of the world is composed of discords. Thou denyest that a Comet is a Starre, because the forme of the one is not answerable to that of the other. For thou seest how like that Starre is that fulfilleth his course in thirtie yeares, to that which finisheth his within the space of twelue moneths. Nature frameth not all her workes vpon one mold, but glorifieth her selfe in her varietie. Shee hath made some bodies greater, some more swift then others; some more violent, and some more tempered: There are some shee hath drawne from the troope, to the end they should march apart and in sight; other some hath she put into company: hee is wholly ignorant of the power of nature, that thinketh not that it is lawfull for her to doe that sometime which she doth often. Shee sheweth not Comets ordinarily, she attributeth vnto them another place, other times, & different motions from the rest: By these Comets she would embellish and beautifie the excellencie of her worke, and the face of the Comet is more faire, then that it should be esteemed casuall; whether it bee wee obserue their extent, whether their more cleere brightnesse, and more ardent then others. But their face hath some worthy and notable thing in it; for it is not restrayned and locked vp in a narrow roome, but is more large and spacious, and comprehendeth that which diuers Starres imbrace.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Presage of Comets.

COmets signifie tempest, as *Aristotle* saith, and the intemperature of windes and raines. Thinkest thou then that that which presageth a thing to come is not a Starre? For this is not in such sort a signe and presage of tempest as that is of raine, when

Where boyling Oyle doth cracke, and rotten mushromes growes.

Or as it is a signe that the Sea will rage,

When Moore-hens sport vpon the dryer Coast,
And leaue the Marshes where they haunted most:
And th' Herne mounts vp and leaues the watry shroudes,
And soares aloft aboue the highest Cloudes,

But as the Equinoctial presageth heat or the cold of the yeare, that followeth; so the Chaldies say, that the Starre that gouerneth on the birth-day, setleth and presageth the good or euill hap of men. But to the end thou mayest know that this is thus, the Comet threatneth not the Earth with winde and raine sodainly, (as *Aristotle* saith,) but maketh all the whole yeare suspected: whereby it appeareth that a Comet hath not suddenly drawne Presages to reflect them vpon that which she meeteth withall, but shee hath them in reseruation,

uation, and comprehended by the Lawes of the World: The Comet that appeared during the Conſulſhip of *Paterculus* and *Vopiſcus*, accompliſhed that which was foretold by *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*: For there were great and continuall tempeſts euery where. But in Achaia and Macedon the Cities were ruined by Earthquake. Their ſlow motion (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) ſheweth that they are weightie, and haue much earthly exhalation in them: Their courſe likewiſe, for almoſt ordinarily they are puſhed towards the Poles.

CHAP. XXIX.

Seneaes *opinion of that which is contayned in the former Chapter.*

BOth the one and the other is falſe: I wil firſt ſpeake of the former, why thoſe things that are carried more heauily are more weighty? What then? Is the Planet of *Saturne*, which of all others ſhapeth his courſe more ſlowly, heauy? But it is a ſigne of leuitie in it, that it is aboue the reſt. But ſhe goeth about with a longer compaſſe, and moueth not more ſlowly, but longer then the reſt Remember thy ſelf that I may ſay as much of Comets, although their courſe be more ſlow. But it is a lye to ſay they goe more ſlowly, for this laſt hath trauerſed the halfe of the Heauens in ſix moneths ſpace: The former ſhaped his courſe in leſſe time. But becauſe that Comets are weighty, they are carryed more low. Firſt, that which is carryed circularly, hath not a courſe in ſtraight a Angle. Afterwards, this laſt began his motion in the North, and came by the Weſt vnto the South, then raiſing her courſe vaniſhed. The other vnder *Claudius* appeared firſt in the North, and ceaſſed not to raiſe it ſelfe continually on, and vntill it was extinct. Hitherto haue I propoſed other mens reaſons, or mine owne, in reſpect of Comets: which, whether they be true or no, the Gods know, who haue the knowledge of truth. For vs it is lawfull to cenſure and coniecture vpon them in ſecret only, not with any confidence to find them out, but yet with ſome hope.

CHAP. XXX.

The vſe of the doctrine of Comets.

ARISTOTLE ſpeaketh worthily, that we ought neuer to be accompanied with more modeſty, then when we ſpeake of the gods: if we enter the Temples with a good Countenance; if we approch the Sacrifice with abaſed eyes; if wee caſt our Gownes ouer our faces; if wee compoſe our behauiour in the moſt humbleſt ſort that may be: how much more ought we to doe this when wee diſpute of fixed and wandring Stars, and of the nature of the gods; auoiding carefully all raſh, impudent, light, fooliſh, lying and malicious ſpeech? Neither let vs wonder that thoſe things are diſcouered lately, which lye hidden ſo deeply. It muſt needes concerne *Panætius*, and thoſe that deny that a Comet is an ordinary Star, (affirming that it is but a vaine appearance) to intreat more exactly, if euery moneth of the yeare be equally apt to produce Comets; if euery Region of the heauens be fit to entertaine them, if they may be conceiued euery where, whereas they may wander: and other queſtions, all which are taken away, when I ſay that they are no caſuall fires, but interlaced in the Heauens, which they bring not forth frequently, but moue them in ſecret. How many things are there beſides Comets, that paſſe in ſecret, and neuer diſcouer themſelues to mans eyes? For

Seneaes *anſwere to Panætius his touching Comets.*

How God ought to be considered.

God hath not made all things subiect to humane sight. How little see wee of that which is enclosed in so great an Orbe? Euen he that manageth these things, who hath created them, who hath founded the World, and hath inclosed it about himselfe, and is the greater and better part of this his worke, is not subiect to our eyes, but is to be visited by our thoughts.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the weaknes of mans iudgement in the consideration and knowledge of celestiall things.

THere are many things besides, that are neere vnto the Diuinitie, and haue a power that approcheth neare vnto it, which are hidden, or happely which thou wilt more wonder at, haue filled our eyes, and fled from them; bee it that their subtitie is so great, as the apprehension of human vnderstanding cannot reach thereunto; or that so great a Maiesty remaineth hidden in so sacred a retreat, gouerning his Kingdome, that is himselfe, without suffering any thing to approch him, but the soule of man. We cannot know, what this thing is, whithout which nothing is; and we wonder if some small fires are vnknowne vnto vs, wheras God which is the greatest part of the World, is not subiect to our vnderstanding? How many liuing creatures haue we first knowne in this World? and many things likewise are there, that the people of succeeding age shall know, which are vnknowne vnto vs? Many things are reserued for the ages to come, when as our memory shall bee extinguished. The World is a little thing, except all men haue somewhat to obserue in it. Those things that are sacred are oftentimes taught. The Eleusians alwayes reserue some noueltie, to shew vnto those that reuisit them. Nature discouereth not her secrets at once: we thinke that we are exercised in them, but we are but poore Nouices. Things that are so hidden, are not the subiects and obiects of euery mans eyes: they are enclosed and shut vp in his most retyred Sacrarie. The ages wherein wee are shall see somewhat, the succedent another part: why, therefore shall these things bee brought into our knowledge. The greatest come slowly, especially when we ceasse to trauell after them. That which we wholly endeuour in our mindes, wee haue not yet effected, which is, to be most wicked: vices are but yet a learning: dissolution hath found some noueltie whereupon she may mad herselfe and dote. Impudicitie hath attracted some new thing to defame her selfe: The pompe and vanitie of this World hath inuented I know not what, more daintie and delicate then was accustomed, to confound it selfe: Wee are not as yet sufficiently effeminate, but extinguish by our disguises all that which remayneth of vertue: we will out-strip women in their vanities; we that are men, attyre our selues in colours like Harlots, which modest Matrons would be ashamed to thinke vpon: We Bride it in our walkes, and tread vpon tip-toe; wee walke not, but slip along. Our fingers are loaden with Rings, and there is not a ioynt that hath not a precious stone: We daily inuent, I know not what, to violate and vitiate manhood, and to defame it, because wee cannot shake it off. One hath cut off his members, another hath retyred himselfe into the most shamefull and infamous place in the Theater, and being hired to die, is armed with infamie. The poore man likewise hath found a subiect, wherein to exercise his infirmitie.

The wonders of the World are discouered from age to age.

Disorders not of Senecaes *age but ours, wherein Pride wanteth no ornament.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

His Concluſion is ſuch, that he complayneth of the contempt of Philoſophie, and the affectation of vanities; which if it be not a miſery of this time, let euerie Wiſe man iudge.

WOndereſt thou that wiſdome hath not as yet attained her perfection? Iniquitie is not yet wholly diſcouered. Shee is but new borne, and we beſtow all our labour vpon her, our eies and hands are at her ſeruice. Who is hee that ſeeketh after Wiſdome? Who iudgeth her worthy any more but a ſuperficiall knowledge? Who reſpecteth Philoſophie or the liberall ſtudie thereof, but when the Playes and Paſtimes are put downe? or when it raineth, or when a man knoweth not how to loſe the time? Therfore is it that ſo many Schooles of the Philoſophers are emptie. The old and new Academique haue no Reader left them: Who is hee that will teach the Precepts of *Pyrrhon*? The Schoole of *Pythagoras*, (whoſe Scholers were ſo enuious,) finds not a Maſter. The new Sect of the *Sextians* (more powerfull amongſt the Romanes then any other,) hauing begunne with great vehemencie, is extinguiſhed in his Infancie. Contrariwiſe, what care is there had that the name of ſome famous Stage-plaier ſhould not bee obſcured? The Families of *Pylades* and *Batillus*, two famous Players, continue by ſucceſſions, there are diuers Schollers and a great number of Profeſſors in thoſe Sciences. Priuately through the whole Citie their Pulpit ſoundeth: hither men and women trot. Both Huſbands and Wiues contend which of them ſhall bee neereſt; afterwards hauing loſt all ſhame, vnder their Maskes, they enter ino Tauernes, caring in no ſort what becomes of Philophie. So farre are we therefore from comprehending any of thoſe things which the Ancients haue left in obſcuritie, that for the moſt part moſt of their inuentions are forgotten. But vndoubtedly, when we ſhall trauell with all our power after it, if ſober and modeſt youth would ſtudie this, if the Elders would teach this, and the younger learne it, yet ſcarſly ſhould they ſound the depth of it, where truth is placed, which now we ſeeke with idle hands and aboue the Earth.

The end of the ſeuenth and laſt Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF

THE REST AND RETIREMENT OF A WISE-MAN:

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

I Know not whether this be a Booke or an Epistle; yet is it to be seuered from the booke of Blessed life, with which it hath no correspondence. Neyther know I when it was written; yet is both the matter and the handling thereof good and learned. The question was, Whether it were lawfull for a Wise-man to liue priuately and retired from the Common-weale? It was debated amongst the Stoickes, who by consent called men thereunto. He maintayneth the affirmatiue. And the beginning of this booke is missing, that which is extant intendeth thus much. He saith, by the example of the chiefest of the Stoiques, that this is both iust and vsuall, who although they sent some vnto the Common-weale, yet themselues went not: But that some embraced honest repose, euen from their youth; other some in their later dayes retired thither, like olde souldiers that had alreadie deserued their wages. But that honest repose is in the studies of wisdome, and contemplation of Nature. He addeth this, that these are pleasing both to the Stoicks and Epicures, but with some slight difference, because the one doe purposely seeke out the Rest, the other vpon occasion; Namely, if the Commonwealth be desperately corrupted, if a man haue small authoritie and fauour; likewise if he be infirme and sickly. He concludeth that euen in retirement the Commonweale is handled; which he maketh double, the lesser and the greater; the one is concluded and comprehended in certaine bounds and Lawes, as the Athenian or Roman Common-weale: The other is the whole World it selfe, whereof Nature hath made vs Citizens. The greater, a Wise-man both manageth and handleth euen in his rest and retirement, eyther by writing or teaching.

ing. This did Zeno, *and* Chrysippvs, *and more profited they mankinde then the labours and discourses of all actiue men.*

Out of the XXVII. Chapter.

THe Circi, by all mens consent, commend vices vnto vs. Although we attempt nothing else that is profitable for vs, yet shall it profit our selues in especiall, that wee are able to retire our selues apart; and why is it not lawfull for vs to retire our selues to those that are the best men, and to chuse some patterne whereby we may direct our liues? which is not done in idlenesse. Then may a man build on that which is the best, when no man commeth betweene that may wrest the iudgement which as yet is but weake, by the assistance of the people. Then may the life march onward with an equall and setled pace, which we make vnprofitable by contrary deliberations: for among all other euils this is the worst, that we change our vices into other vices, in such sort, as we haue not that power ouer our selues to continue in one vice, which is alreadie familiar vnto vs: we grow from one vnto another, and cause our selues to be tormented daily after some new maner. This likewise vexeth vs, that our iudgments are not onely depraued, but slight and vaine: we fluctuate and comprehend one thing by another, we leaue that which we haue wished for, and runne after that which we haue forsaken. In briefe, there is a perpetuall turne and returne betweene our desire and our repentance. For we depend wholly on other mens aduice, and that seemeth the best in our iudgement, which is desired and praised by the most, and not that which we ought to desire and esteeme. Neither estimate we the good or euil way by it selfe, but onely by that which is most beaten, wherein euery one throngeth after another. Thou wilt say vnto me, What doost thou *Seneca?* Thou forsakest thine owne part. Truly the Stoickes say thus: We will be in action euen vntill the last terme of our liues, wee will not desist to seeke out common good, to helpe euery one, to assist our very enemies, and to labour with our hands: we are they that giue not any vacation to our yeares, and who (as an eloquent man saith) hide our white haires vnder our helmets. Wee are they amongst whom it is so hard a matter to finde any tract of idlenesse before death, that (if the occasion offer it) euen in our death we employ our selues more then euer. Why talkest thou vnto vs of the precepts of *Epicurus* amidst the very principles of *Zenoes* Doctrine? If thou be aggrieued, and moued by following one partie, why forsakest thou them not honestly and couragiously without betraying them? Behold what for the present I will answer thee; Requirest thou any more at my hands then this, that I endeuour to resemble my Masters and Conductors? What therefore wilt thou doe? I will tract that path which they leade mee, and not that way which they send me.

Chap.

Chap. XXIX.

NOw will I approue vnto thee, that I forſake not the precepts of the Stoicks, for they themſelues haue not departed from them, and yet might I be very well excuſed, although I followed not their precepts, but their examples. This which I ſay, wil I diuide into two parts: in the firſt I will ſhew how any man may from his infancie addict himſelfe entirely to the contemplation of veritie, and ſeeke and exerciſe apart, the meanes how to order his life well. In the ſecond, how in his olde age he may faſhion other men, and make them vertuous. Herein wil I follow the cuſtome of the veſtall Virgins, which diuide and order their age in ſuch ſort, that they may learne firſt of all to vnderſtand their ceremonies, and then to practiſe them, and finally, to teach them vnto others.

Chap. XXX.

I Will alſo ſhew that this is approued by the Stoickes; not that I am conſtrained to doe nothing that repugneth againſt the ſaying of *Zeno* or *Chriſippus*, but becauſe the diſpute permits mee to incline to their aduice; and to follow alwaies the opinion of one alone, is to offer iniurie to the reſt. Gladly would I wiſh it, that all things were already vnderſtood, & that truth ſhould be diſcouered & confeſſed by all men; we would not then change the opinions of the Stoicks: but now we ſeeke the truth with thoſe men that teach the ſame. There are two great ſects that differ in this thing, the one of the Epicures, the other of the Stoicks; but both of them ſend a man to his repoſe; but the truth is, that the waies are different. The Epicure ſaith, *That a wiſe man ſhall not haue acceſſe to the Common-weale, except ſome accident happen that drieth him thereunto.* And *Zeno* ſaith, *That he ſhall not haue acceſſe to the Common-weale, except there be ſomwhat that retayneth him.* The one ſeeketh repoſe of ſet purpoſe, the other vpon occaſion and cauſe. But this cauſe extendeth very far, if the Cõmon weale be ſo deſperate as it cannot be helped, if it be poſſeſſed with miſchiefes. The wiſe-man ſhall not labor in vaine, neither hazard himſelfe, knowing that it will be but loſt time, eſpecially if he haue little credite and leſſe forces, and that the Commonweale be ſo ſicke, that it neither can nor will giue him acceſſe or audience. Eüen as a weak and conſumed man will not enroll himſelfe to go vnto the wars: and as no man will lanch a Ship into the Sea that leaketh, and hath waſting tymbers: ſo a wiſe-man will not caſt himſelfe into a way where there is neither entry nor any iſſue whatſoeuer. He then that hath all his commodities in their entire, may ſtay in the hauen, and addict himſelfe readily to good occupations, rather then make ſaile, and to go and caſt himſelfe athwart the winds and waues; in briefe, the diſciple of vertues may imbrace this happy repoſe, wherin the moſt peaceable men haue licence to maintaine themſelues. This is required at each mans hands, that (if he may doe it) he profit diuers, at leaſtwiſe ſom, if not his neereſt; or if he cannot, at leaſtwiſe himſelf. For when he maketh himſelfe profitable to others, he procures the common good. As contrariwiſe, he that makes himſelfe worſe, firſt of all hurteth himſelfe, then all thoſe whom he might aſſiſt had he beene a good man. So then he that behaueth himſelfe well in his owne reſpect, doth

doth hereby profit others, becauſe he prepareth them the meanes whence they may reape profit.

Chap. XXXI.

LEt vs imagine two Common-weales, the one great and truely publique, the which comprehendeth both gods and men: wherein we cannot confine our eye within this or that limit, but wee meaſure the extent of the ſame with the Sunne: and the other, that where Nature hath cauſed vs to be borne. This ſhall be eyther Athens, or Carthage, or ſome other Citie, which appertaineth not vnto me, but to entertaine men onely. Some men at one time ſerue both theſe Common-weales, otherſome the leſſer onely; and ſome other the great, and not the leſſe. We may in repoſe ſerue this greater Common-weale, & I know not whether better in contemplation then in action; as if we enquire what vertue is, or if there be but one or diuers; whether it be nature or ſtudie that maketh men vertuous: whether there be but one world that comprehendeth the ſeas, the firme lands, and that which is incloſed within them: or if God hath created diuers worlds, if the matter whereof all things are made, is continuate and complete, or in parcels: if there be void intermixed amongſt thoſe things that are ſolid: if God onely beholdeth his worke, or if he manage and gouerneth it: if he be ſpred about the ſame, and not incloſed, or if he be infuſed into all creatures: if the world be corruptible or incorruptible, and to be numbred amongſt thoſe things that haue end. What ſeruice doth he to God, that beholdeth and conſidereth theſe things? It is to that end, that the workes of God ſhould haue ſuch a man for a witneſſe. Wee ſay vſually that the ſoueraigne good is to liue according to Nature, which hath brought vs into this World, both for contemplation and action. Let vs now approue that which we haue ſaid heretofore.

Chap. XXXII.

THis ſhall be well approued, if euery one aske himſelfe how great deſire he hath had to know vnknowne things, and how much he liſteneth attentiuely to all fables that are recounted vnto him. Some trauell by ſea, and expoſe themſelues to the dangers of a long voyage, vnder hope to know ſome hidden things, and which few other men haue ſeene. The like deſire aſſembleth the people in the Theaters. This compelleth vs to ſearch out hidden things, and to ſeeke out thoſe things that are ſecret, to turne ouer antiquities, and to examine the cuſtomes of forren Nations. Nature hath giuen vs a curious minde, and knowing the excellencie of her art and ſecret, hath created vs to be beholders of things ſo excellent. But ſhe had beene fruſtrated of her intention, had ſhe diſcouered in ſecret, workes of ſo great, ſo apparent, ſo exquiſitly laboured, ſo proper, and of ſo diuers beauties. But to the end thou mayeſt know that ſhe would be beheld euery wayes, and not couertly or ſlightly, conſider where ſhe hath lodged vs. She hath placed vs in the middeſt of her ſelfe, and hath giuen vs the ouer-view of euery thing; and hath not onely created man vpright, but alſo to the end he might

might behold the rising and setting of the stars, and carry his eies on euery side; she hath raised his head, and planted it vpon his necke, which boweth and turneth at his pleasure. Afterwards, she hath produced sixe signes for the day, and six for the night, and hath left no part of her vndiscouered, to the end thereby that she might present them to the eye, and enkindle a desire in him to behold the rest. For we see not all things: and as touching those things which appeare vnto vs, wee see them not in their greatnesse: but our sight in searching them maketh way, and planteth the foundations of the truth, to the end that inquisition may passe from those things that are manifest to those that are obscure, and find somewhat more ancient then the world it selfe. As, where these celestiall bodies come, what was the estate of the world, before the parts therof were disposed, as now they bee: what reason hath discouered those things that were drowned and confused, who hath assigned places vnto things; whence commeth it, that those things that are waightie, are by their nature inclined downwards; and those things that are light mount vp on high? if besides the force & waight of bodies, some higher power hath imposed a law on all those things; if that be true, and which is more iustifiable, that a man is a part of God, & that they are, as it were, sparkles which that holy fire hath caused to fall vpon the earth, and that remaine enclosed in this forren place. Our thought breaketh thorow the bulwarkes of heauen; neither is contented with that which is shewed vnto it. I search, saith he, that which is beyond the world, whether it bee a deepe void, or some great extent inclosed, yet notwithstanding within certaine bounds. What is the habitude of those things that are excluded from our world, if they be informed and confused: if in euerie part they haue equall place, if they be ordered to some vse, if they are belonging to our world, or far estranged from it; and whirle about in the void: if they be indiuiduall, whereof all things created are to be made, or if their matter entertaineth them, and is euery way mutable: if the elements are contrarie the one vnto the other, or if they be not at discord, but by diuers meanes entertaine one another. Being borne to seeke out these things, consider how small a time man hath receiued, although he employ himselfe wholly herein, although he permit no man to distract him, and were carefull to husband well euery minute of an houre, without losing one: although he liued longer then any other, without touch of any crosse or disaster whatsoeuer, yet is he ouer mortall, & of too small continuance to attaine vnto the knowledge of eternall things. So then I liue according to Nature, if I addict my selfe wholly vnto her, and admire and reuerence her. But her will is that I should intend to contemplation and action. I do both the one and the other, for contemplation is not without action. But we must see (sayest thou) if thou hast disposed thy selfe thereunto, to this end onely, to reape the pleasure without searching any other thing, then a continuall contemplation and without issue; for this contemplation is a sweet and verie attractiue thing. To this I answer thee, that it importeth as much as to demand, with what affection thou addictest thy selfe to a politique and actiue life? Is it to trauell alwaies, and without ceasing, in such sort as thou neuer raisest thy selfe from the consideration of humane things to diuine? Euen as it is vnlikely that a man can desire ought, or doe any work, except he first of all haue some science in his soule, and some loue of vertue (for these things desire to be mixed together, and compared the one with the other) so vertue, which is idle and without action, is an imperfect and languishing good, which neuer maketh shew of that which she hath learned. Who wil say that a vertuous man ought not to assay in actiõ how

how much he hath profited? Dare any man maintaine that he ought to meditate only on that which he ought to do? Is he not tied alſo to exerciſe his hand ſometimes, and to bring that which he hath meditated to a true effect? What if the delay be not in the wiſeman himſelfe, if there wanteth not an actor, but ſuch things as are to be acted? What, wilt thou permit him to be with himſelfe? With what mind doth a wiſe man retire himſelfe? To the end he may know that he will act ſomewhat by himſelfe that may profit poſterity. Vndoubtedly we that are Stoicks doe maintaine that *Zeno* and *Chriſippus* haue done more in their ſolitude, then if they had conducted Armies, exerciſed publique charges, eſtabliſhed lawes: for they haue propoſed worthy leſſons, not only to a Common-weale, but to all mankinde: why therfore ſhould not ſuch repoſe become a good man, by meanes whereof he gouerneth the ages to come, and inſtructeth not only a ſmall aſſembly of people, but teacheth all men that are liuing at this day, and that ſhall come hereafter into the World? In briefe, I aske if *Cleanthes*, *Criſippus*, and *Zeno*, haue liued according to their precepts? I aſſure my ſelfe that thou wilt anſwer me thus, that they liued ſo, as they ſaid, men were to liue; but none of theſe gouerned a Common-weale. But thou mayeſt reply, that they had not either the meanes, or qualities that were requiſite in them that are admitted to the gouernment of publike affaires. And I ſay for all that, that they liued not without doing ſomewhat, but haue found the meanes to make their ſolitude more profitable vnto mankinde, then other mens endeuours and labours. So then they haue done much, although they haue done nothing in publike. Beſides, there are three ſorts of life, amongſt which, there is a queſtion which is the beſt. The one intendeth pleaſure, the other contemplation, the third action. Firſt of all, laying aſide all contention, and that irreconciliable hatred that we haue denounced againſt thoſe who are of a contrary opinion to ours: let vs ſee if theſe three manners of liuing, do not iump in one, although they appeare vnder diuers titles. He that approueth pleaſure is not without contemplation, and he that is contemplatiue enioyeth ſome pleaſure; and he that addicteth himſelfe to the actiue life, hath not wholly forſaken the contemplatiue. There is a great difference (ſayeſt thou) whether that be one thing which a man propoſeth, or a dependance of ſome propoſition: vndoubtedly a great difference, and yet the one cannot be without the other. Neither is he without action, who is contemplatiue, neither doth the other doe any thing without contemplation. The third likewiſe, whom ordinarily we make worſt account of, appeareth not an idle pleaſure, but that wherein he confirmeth himſelfe by reaſon. So this voluptuous ſect likewiſe is in action. And why ſhould it not be in action? When as the Epicure himſelfe ſaith, that hee will ſometimes retire himſelfe from pleaſure, and long after paine, if eyther penitence attend pleaſure, or a leſſer griefe bee taken for a more grieuous. Whereto tendeth this diſcourſe? To ſhew that a contemplatiue life is pleaſing vnto all men. Some ſeeke after the ſame, it is our place of reſt and not our part. Adde hereunto now, that, according to the precepts of *Chriſippus*, a man may liue without trauell, not to addict himſelfe vnto idlenes, but make choyce of a commodious repoſe. The Stoiques maintaine, that a wiſeman will beware leſt he meddle with affaires of eſtate. But what skilleth it how a wiſe-man come vnto repoſe, is it becauſe the Common-weale forſaketh him, or he forſaketh the Common-weale? If the Common-weale ſhould leaue euery one there (as ſhe ſearcheth not thoſe who ſeeke her in deſpight.) I aske you to what Common-weale a wiſe-man ſhould retire himſelfe? Shall it be to Athens?

Three ſorts of life; the one of pleaſure, the other of Contemplation, the third of action.

thens? In which *Socrates* is condemned, and from whence *Ariſtotle* fled, for feare he ſhould be condemned? where Enuy ſmothereth all Vertues? Thou wilt grant me this, that a Wiſeman ſhould not retyre thither: if he ſhould goe & liue in that of Carthage, troubled with continuall ſeditions, enemies of their libertie who are good men: where Equitie and Goodneſſe are baſely priſed, where enemies are rudely and cruelly intreated, and where Citizens themſelues are purſued as Enemies. He will flie that place likewiſe. If I ſhould repreſent other vnto thee, I ſhould not find one that might ſupport a Wiſeman, or be ſupported by a Wiſeman. And if we find not this Commonweale, which we imagine, the repoſe beginneth to be neceſſary for all; conſidering, that that alone which might be preferred before repoſe, is found in no part. Put caſe that ſome one ſay, that it is good to embarke, but that we muſt not make ſaile vpon that Sea, wherein Ships are drowned ordinarily, and which is agitated with ſudden guſts, which carry away the moſt expert Pilots out of their courſe: I thinke that ſuch a one forbiddeth me to weigh Anchor, although he prayſeth Nauigation.

The end of the Booke of a Wiſemans Reſt and retirement.

CERTAINE COLLECTIONS GATHERED OVT OF *SENECAES* BOOKES.

Of Powertie.

CONtented Pouerty, as the Epicure saith, is an honest thing; but it is not now Pouerty, if it bee content. Hee that agreeth well with his Pouertie is a rich man: he is poore that desireth much, not hee that hath little; for what profiteth it a man to haue much in his Coffers, to hoord vp much in his Barnes, to feed much cattell, and lend much vpon vsury, if hee thirsteth after another mans fortunes, if hee desire not those things which are gotten, but such as are to be attained? Askest thou me what measure there is in riches? First, to haue that which is necessary, secondly, that which is sufficient: no man can be possessed of a peaceable and contented life, that tormenteth himselfe much about the enlargement thereof. There is no good whatsoeuer that profiteth him that possesseth the same, except that which wee are addressed and willing to lose. By the Law of Nature the greatest riches are but a composed Pouertie. But knowest thou what bounds the Law of Nature hath allotted vs? Not to be hungry, not to bee athirst, not to be cold. To satisfie and asswage thy thirst thou hast no need to attempt the Seas, nor follow the Warres: the thing that Nature desireth is easily gotten, & readily set before thee. We sweat for superfluities. They are those that weare out our apparell, that compell vs to waxe olde, that driue vs vpon forreine forces: it is at hand that may suffice vs. If a man suppose not that which he hath to be ample enough, although he be Lord of the whole World, yet is he miserable. Wretched is hee that iudgeth not himselfe to be most blessed, although he command not the whole World: he is not happy that thinkes not himselfe happy. We haue nothing which may bee taken from vs, that may profit them greatly that lye in waite for it: let there be very little in thy bodie that may be taken from thee. There is no man, or very few at least wise, that thirst after Mans bloud for Murther-sake onely. The Thiefe passeth by the man that is naked, the poor man hath peace in a way beleagred with Theeues. He hath most fruit of his riches that wanteth least. If thou liuest according to nature, thou shalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion, neuer rich: Nature desireth a little, opinion a great deale. If thou beest loden with as many goods as diuers rich men possesse, if beside these particular riches

riches Fortune raiſe thee to honours, couereth thee with Gold, clotheth thee in Purple, bringeth thee to ſuch a height of delights and riches, that thou couereſt the Earth with Marble Pillars, that thou not only handleſt Gold & Siluer, but treadeſt vpon it; that beſides all this, thy Chambers be garniſhed with Statues and Pictures, and all that which cunning could repreſent, either rare or exquiſite in Gold or Siluer: theſe things will teach thee to deſire more greater. Naturall deſires are finite, they that ſpring from falſe opinion haue neither end nor meaſure: for falſitie hath no limit, truth hath ſome end; errour is infinite. Retire thy ſelfe therefore from theſe vanities, and when thou wouldeſt know whether thou haſt a naturall or vaine deſire, behold if it ſtay in any part or no: if hauing gone farre onward thou alwaies findeſt ſomewhat farther off to be atchieued, know that this is not naturall. That pouerty which is expedite, is ſecure. When the allarum is ſounded, ſhe knoweth that ſhee is not ſought after: when the Armie is commanded to diſlodge, ſhe ſeeketh how to iſſue, not what to carry with her. But if ſhe muſt make ſaile, the Hauen hath no noyſe in it, the ſhores are not peſtered with many Attendants. A troope of men attend her not to nouriſh, when ſhe need not wiſh for the felicitie of forreine Countries: it is an eaſie matter to feed a few bellies that are well gouerned, and deſire nought elſe but to be filled. Hunger is ſatisfied with a little, but Exceſſe with much: Pouertie is content to ſatisfie her inſtant deſires: well aduiſed is that rich man that hauing great ſtore of riches, poſſeſſeth them as things that may bee taken from him. What mooues thee then to refuſe ſuch a one for thy companion, whoſe manners a diſcreete Wiſeman doth imitate? If thou wilt gouerne thy minde well, either thou muſt be poore, or like vnto a poore man. Thou canſt not ſtudy any thing that may profit thee except thou haue a care of Frugalitie, and this Frugalitie is a voluntary Pouertie. Whole Armies haue diuers times beene deſtitute of all things, the Souldiers haue fed vpon Rootes and Hearbes, and haue ſuffered Famine too loathſome to be ſpoken. And all this haue they ſuffred for a Kingdome, and which thou wilt wonder at more for another man. Is there any man that will doubt to endure Pouertie to deliuer his minde from theſe furious paſſions? Many in obtaining worldly riches, haue not ſeene the end of their miſerie, but only the change. Neither wonder I hereat. The fault is not in the riches, but in the mind it ſelfe That which made Pouertie ſeeme tedious vnto vs, will make our riches burthenſome likewiſe. Euen as it skilleth not whether you place a ſicke man in a woodden or golden Bed; (for whitherſoeuer you ſhall carry him he beareth his ſickneſſe with him:) ſo it matters not whether a ſicke mind bee in Riches or in Pouerty, for his miſchiefe followeth him. We haue no need of Fortune to liue ſecurely: for whatſoeuer is neceſſary ſhe will giue, although ſhe be diſpleaſed. For feare ſhee find vs vnprepared, let Pouertie be familiar with vs: we ſhal be more ſecurely rich, if we know how eaſie a thing it is to bee poore. Begin to accuſtome thy ſelfe to Pouertie:

Be bold my Gueſt to ſet thy wealth at nought,
Reſembling God in nature and in thought.

There is no man more worthy of God then hee that hath contemned Riches. And therefore I hinder thee not from the poſſeſſion of goods, but this would I effect, that thou ſhouldeſt poſſeſſe them without feare; which thou ſhalt attaine vnto by this one meanes, if thou hopeſt that thou likewiſe ſhalt liue well without them, and beholdeſt them as things that are tranſitorie. Let him paſſe who

followeth not thee, but ſomething that is in thee. For this cauſe onely is pouertie to be beloued, becauſe it diſcouereth by whom thou art eſteemed: it is a great matter not to be corrupted with the fellowſhip of riches. Great is that man who is poore in his riches. No man is borne rich. Whoſoeuer entereth into this world, is commanded to content himſelfe with bread and milke. From the beginnings Kingdomes attend vs not. Nature requireth bread & water. He that hath theſe is not poore; and if he boundeth his deſires in theſe, he ſhall contend with *Iupiter* in felicity: felicity is a diſquiet thing; ſhe tormenteth her ſelfe, ſhe diſtempereth the braine in more then one ſort. She prouoketh ſome to braue it, ſome to counterfeit grauity, ſome ſhee maketh proud, otherſome ſhe humbleth. If thou wilt know how little euill there is in pouertie, compare the countenance of a poore and rich man, one with the other: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily; he is ſhaken with no care, he is aboue the tempeſts of this world. His care paſſeth ouer like a ſlight cloud: their mirth (who are called Fortunes minions) is fained: this mans grieuous and intollerable pride, although not openly, yet is inwardly his torment, and ſo much the more grieuous, becauſe that ſometimes they haue not liberty to be publiquely miſerable. But amongſt thoſe diſguſts that torment and ſwell vp their hearts, they are inforced to counterfeit their happineſſe; riches, honours, powers, and ſuch like, which draw vs from the right, which in mens opinion are precious, but in effect vilde. We know not how to praiſe thoſe things, whereof we ought not to determine according to common report, but according to the nature of the things themſelues. Theſe things haue nothing magnificent in them, that may allure our minds vnto them, except this, that we are accuſtomed to admire them. For they are not praiſed becauſe they are to be deſired, but becauſe they are deſired. This precedent cauſe haue riches: they change the minde, they breed pride and arrogancie, they draw on enuie, they ſo farre eſtrange the mind that the fame of the mony delighteth vs, although it be harmfull vnto vs. All good things ought to be without fault, they are pure, they neither corrupt nor ſolicite the minde, yet they extoll and delight mens mindes, but without any pride. Thoſe things that are good make men confident, riches make men audacious. Thoſe things that are good, giue vs greatneſſe of minde, riches inſolencie.

OTHER

OTHER COLLECTIONS.

Of the remedies of caſualties.

ALthough thou art fully poſſeſſed with all the flowers of Poeſie, yet debated & reſolued I with my ſelfe at length to dedicate this little Worke vnto thee, concerning caſuall remedies, which tho the precedent times ſpeake not of, Poſteritie ſhall reſpect. From whence therefore ſhall we firſt take our beginning? If thou thinkeſt it fit, from death. What, from the laſt? Yea, from the greateſt. Hereat Mankinde doth moſt eſpecially tremble; neither without cauſe, in thy iudgement, do they ſo. All other feares leaue ſome place after them. death cutteth off all things. Other things torment vs, but death deuoureth all things. The iſſues of all that which we feare & are affrighted at, after they haue long time followed vs and attended vs, haue their period in this: yea, euen thoſe who thiuke they feare nothing, yet notwithſtanding are affraid of death. All other things which we feare may find ſome redreſſe or ſolace. So therefore forme and conforme thy ſelfe, that if any man threaten thee openly with death, thou mayeſt delude all his threats and ſlight feares.

Thou ſhalt dye: This is mans nature, and not his puniſhment. Thou ſhalt dye: vpon this condition entred I the World, that I muſt leaue it. Thou ſhalt dye: it is the Law of Nations to reſtore that which thou haſt borrowed. Thou ſhalt dye: life is but a Pilgrimage, when thou haſt trauelled long, thou muſt returne home. Thou ſhalt dye: I thought thou wouldſt tell me ſome newes; to this end I came into the World, this I doe; euery day conducteth me thereunto. Nature when I was borne forthwith prefixed me this limit: why ſhould I bee diſpleaſed herewith? I am ſworne to obey her. Thou ſhalt dye: it is a fooliſh thing to feare that which thou canſt not auoyde. Hee eſcapeth not death that deferreth it. Thou ſhalt dye: neither the firſt nor the laſt; many haue gone before me, and all ſhall follow me. Thou ſhalt dye: this is the end of all that I ought to doe; what old man would not be glad to be exempted from ſeruice? Whither the World paſſeth thither ſhall I paſſe. To this end are all things created. That which beganne muſt haue an end. Thou ſhalt dye: nothing is grieuous that happeneth once. I know that I muſt pay that which I owe. I haue contracted with a Creditor that will not loſe his debt. Thou ſhalt dye: there can be no better newes, or more happy threat to mortall men.

But thou ſhalt be beheaded: what care I whether I dye by the ſtroake, or by the ſtab? But thou ſhalt haue many ſtroakes, and thou ſhalt ſee diuers Swords

vnſheathed againſt thee. What matters it how many the wounds? there can no more but one be mortall.

Thou ſhalt dye in a ſtrange Countrey. The way to death is in euery place. I am ready to pay that which I owe. Let the Creditor ſee to it, where hee will arreſt me. Thou ſhalt dye in a ſtrange Countrey. There is no Earth that is ſtrange to him that dyeth. Thou ſhalt dye in a ſtrange Country. Sleep is no more grieuous abroad then it is at home. Thou ſhalt dye in a ſtrange Countrey. This is to returne into a mans Countrey without prouiſion.

But thou ſhalt dye yong. It is the beſt that may befall a man to dye before he wiſheth it. This is the only thing that concerneth the yong, as well as the old. We are neither cited according to our reuenewes or yeares. The ſame neceſſity of deſtiny conſtraineth both yong and old. It is beſt for a man to dye, when he hath a deſire to liue. Thou ſhalt dye yong. Whoſoeuer commeth to the laſt period of his Deſtiny, dyeth old. For it skilleth not what the age of man is, but what his terme is. Thou ſhalt dye yong. It may bee that Fortune retyreth mee from ſome great miſhap, and if from nought elſe, at leaſt-wiſe from old age. Thou ſhalt dye yong. It skilleth not how many yeares I haue, but how many I haue receiued. If I cannot liue longer, this is mine old age.

Thou ſhalt lye vnburied. What other thing ſhall I anſwere thee, but that of *Virgils?*

Slight is the loſſe of ſepulture.

If I feele nothing, I need not care whether my bodie be burned or no; and if I be ſenſible, euery ſepulture is a torment.

Heauen couers him that hath no pointed Tombe.

What matters it whether fire or wilde beaſt conſume me, or the earth which is the ſepulture of all things? This to him that hath no ſenſe, is nothing, and to him that hath feeling a burthen. Thou ſhalt bee vnburied. But thou ſhalt bee burned, but then drowned, but then impriſoned, and locked in a Tombe; but thou ſhalt rot, and be embowelled and ſowed vp, or caſt into the hollow of a ſtone, which ſhall conſume and dry thee by little and little. There is no ſepulture, we are not buried, but caſt out. Thou ſhalt not be buried. Why art thou afraid amiddeſt thy moſt ſecuritie? This place is out of feare and danger. Wee are indebted much vnto life, to death nothing. Sepulture was not inuented for the dead ſake, but for the liuing, to the end that our bodies, which in ſight and ſmell are moſt lothſome, ſhould be hidden from our eyes: ſome the Earth ouerwhelmeth, ſome the flame conſumeth, ſome are ſhut vp in ſtone, that will returne nothing but bones. We ſpare not the dead, but our owne eyes.

I am ſicke. The time is now come wherein I muſt make proofe of my Vertue. A confident man not onely diſcouereth himſelfe vpon the Sea, and in the Battell, but Vertue approueth her ſelfe euen in the Bed. I am ſicke. This cannot continue for an Age. Either I ſhall leaue mine Ague, or mine Ague will leaue me. We cannot be alwaies together. The queſtion is betwixt mee and ſickneſſe, whether it will be conquered, or I ouercome.

Men ſpeake euill of thee. But euill men. It would moue me, if *Marcus Cato*, if *Lælius* the wiſeman: if the other *Cato*, if the two *Scipiocs* ſpake theſe things. In this time it is a matter prayſe-worthy to diſpleaſe the wicked. That ſentence can haue no authority, where hee that is condemned doth condemne. Men.

ſpeake

ſpeake euill of thee. It would moue me, if they did it vpon iudgement, but now they doe it vpon infimitie. They ſpeake not of mee, but of themſelues. Men ſpeake euill of thee; they doe it therefore becauſe they cannot ſpeake well: not becauſe I deſerue it, but becauſe they are accuſtomed vnto it. For there are ſome Dogges, of that nature, that they barke rather vpon cuſtome then curſtneſſe.

Thou ſhalt be baniſhed: thou art deceiued: when I haue done all that I may, I cannot paſſe out of my Country. All men haue one Country, and out of this no man may wander. Thou ſhalt be baniſhed, I am not forbidden my Countrey, but the place. Into whatſoeuer Countrey I come, I come into mine owne. I can be baniſhed into no place, for it is my Countrey. Thou ſhalt not be in thy Countrey. That is my Countrey whereſoeuer I liue well. But to liue well is in the man, and not in the place: In his power it is what his fortune ſhall be. For if he be wiſe, he trauelleth; if a Foole, he is baniſhed. Thou ſhalt be baniſhed: thou ſayeſt thus; Thou ſhalt be a Citizen in another Citie.

Sorrow is at hand; if it be ſlight, let vs endure it, patience is an eaſie thing to ſupport. If it be grieuous, the glorie is the greater. Let paine extort cries, ſo he expreſſe not ſecrets. A man cannot reſiſt paine, neither paine reaſon. Paine is a tedious thing, nay rather thou art effeminate. Few men could endure paine. Let vs be one of the few. We are weake by nature. Defame not Nature, ſhe created vs ſtrong and valiant. Let vs flye paine. And why? Knoweſt thou not that he followeth thoſe that flye from him?

Pouertie is grieuous vnto me, nay, thou vnto pouertie. The errour is not in pouertie, but in the poore man. She is ready, ioyfull, & aſſured. I am poore. I in opinion, but not in truth. Thou art poore, becauſe thou thinkeſt thy ſelfe ſo. I am poore. The Birds want nothing. Tame beaſts liue their time, wilde beaſts find food in their ſolitude.

I am not powerfull; be glad, thou ſhalt not be impotent. I may receiue an iniurie. Be glad, thou canſt not doe any. He hath great ſtore of money. Iudgeſt thou him to be a man? it is his meanes? Who enuieth a treaſure or full Coffers? And this man, whom thou ſuppoſeſt to be Maſter of this Mony, is but the bag that ſhutteth it vp. He hath much. Whether is he couetous or prodigall? if couetous, he hath nothing: if prodigall, he ſhall haue nothing. This man, whom thou ſuppoſeſt to be happy, is often ſad, doth often ſigh. Many accompany him. Flyes follow after Honey; Wolues after carrion; Ants after Wheate. This troope followeth their prey, and not the man. I haue loſt my money It may be it would haue loſt thee. I haue loſt my Mony, but thou haddeſt it. I haue loſt my Money. Thou ſhalt be no more in ſo great danger. I haue loſt my Money. how happy art thou, if thou haſt loſt thy couetouſneſſe with the ſame? But if ſhee remayne with thee, yet art thou happy in ſome ſort, becauſe thou haſt neither Wood nor Oile to caſt into ſo horrible a fire. I haue loſt my Money. And thy Money hath loſt and ſpoiled an infinite number of men. Thou ſhalt be now more light to walke on thy way, and more aſſured in thy houſe. Thou ſhalt neither haue nor feare an heire. Fortune hath diſburthened thee, if thou conceiueſt the ſame, and ſetleſt thee in a more ſecure place. Thinkeſt thou it to bee thy wrong? It is thy remedie. Thou weepeſt, thou wayleſt, thou cryeſt, as if thou wert vndone, becauſe thy riches haue beene taken from thee. It is thine owne fault that this loſſe doth torment and touch thee ſo neere. If thou hadſt poſſeſſed them as things that might periſh, thou wouldeſt not torment thy ſelfe thus. I haue loſt my Money; another had loſt it before, to the end thou ſhouldeſt haue it.

I haue loſt my ſight. Night and obſcurity haue their pleaſures. I haue loſt my ſight. From how many deſires art thou exempted? How many things ſhalt thou want, which rather then thou ſhouldeſt ſee, thou thy ſelfe wouldeſt pluck out thine eyes. Kneweſt thou not that bodily blindneſſe is a part of innocence? The eye diſcouereth vnto one man an adultery, to another Inceſt, to this man a houſe which he deſireth, to that man a Towne; in briefe all ſorts of miſchiefes. Vndoubtedly, the eyes are the ſtings of vices, and the guides of wickedneſſe.

I haue loſt my children. Thou art a Foole to bewaile the death of thoſe that are mortall. Is this a noueltie, or a thing to be wondered at? Is there any houſe exempt from this accident? Calleſt thou a Tree miſerable, whoſe fruit falleth to the ground whileſt his branches mount aloft? Thy child is thy fruit. No man is exempt from theſe ſtrokes, vntimely Funerals are led as well out of the Artificers ſhop, as the Kings Pallace. Deſtinie and age haue not the ſame order. A man departeth not out of the World in the ſame ſort as he entered. But why art thou vexed? What hath happened contrary to thy hope? Thoſe that ought to dye are dead. Yet could I haue wiſhed that they might haue liued. But no man promiſed thee thus much. My Children are dead. They had them who had greater right vnto them then thou? They were onely lent thee. Fortune left thee them to bring them vp, ſhee hath retayned them, and hath away nothing but her owne.

I haue ſuffered ſhipwracke. Bethinke thee not what thou haſt loſt, but what thou haſt eſcaped. I came naked to the ſhoare. But thou gotteſt to land. I haue loſt all: but thou mighteſt haue beene drowned with the reſt.

I fel into the hands of Theeues. But another man hath met with Detractors, another with Theeues, another with Coozeners. The way is full of dangers. Complaine not thou that thou haſt met with them, rather reioyce that thou art whole and in ſafetie. I haue grieuous Enemies. Euen as thou ſeekeſt out means to defence thy ſelfe againſt the fury of ſauage beaſts, and the venome of Serpents: ſo ſee thou fortifie thy ſelfe with ſome ſuccours againſt thine Enemies, by meanes whereof thou mayeſt repulſe them or repreſſe them, or which is more aſſured and better, make thy ſelfe gracious in their eyes.

I haue loſt a friend. It is true then that thou hadſt one. I haue loſt a friend. Seeke out another in ſome part where thou mayeſt find him. Seeke amongſt the Liberall Sciences, amongſt thoſe occupations that are iuſt and honeſt, in the ſhops of Artificers. This treaſure is not ſought out at the table. Seeke out ſome one that cares not for good cheere, but is frugall. I haue loſt my friend. Shew thy ſelfe to be a braue fellow, if thou haſt but loſt one, bluſh; it an only friend: why truſtedſt thou to one Anchor in ſo great a tempeſt?

I haue loſt a good Wife. Didſt thou find her good, or make her good? If thou foundeſt her by chance, thou mayeſt hope to light vpon the like. If thou madeſt her good, hope well: the patterne is loſt, but the Crafteſmaſter is liuing. I haue loſt a good Wife. What allowedſt thou in her? Her chaſtitie? How many women are there foūd, that hauing maintained their honor a long time, haue loſt it at laſt? Was it her modeſty? How many haue bin numbred in the ranke of moſt honeſt Matrons, that afterwards were Scolds and railers? Wert thou delighted in her loyaltie? How many of the beſt Wiues haue wee ſeene proue naught, of the moſt diligent, the moſt diſſolute. The minds of all vnskilfull perſons, eſpecially women, is ſubiect to incōſtancy. If thou hadſt a good Wife, thou couldeſt not maintaine that ſhee would alwaies remaine in that eſtate. There is not any thing ſo inconſtant and vnaſſured as the will of women. We know the diuorces

of

of ancient Matrimonies,and the brawles of married couples,more hateful then Diuorces. How many are there that hauing affectionately loued their wiues in their youth,haue forſaken them in their age? How oftentimes haue we laughed at the Diuorces of old and married folkes? How manies noted loue,hath been changed into more notable hatred ? But this was both good, and would haue continued good had ſhe liued. Death is the cauſe that thou mayeſt boldly maintaine this. I haue loſt a good Wife;if thou ſeekeſt none but a good Wife thou ſhalt find her. Study thou not about the antiquitie of her race, or the Nobilitie of her Anceſtors, or on her worldly Poſſeſſions, which men prize now adaies more then Nobilitie. Theſe together with her beautie will much trouble thee; more eaſily ſhalt thou gouerne a mind that is not puffed vp with vanitie. A woman that is too proud of her ſelfe, will make ſmall reckoning of her Huſband. Marrie with a Maid, that is well brought vp, & not tainted with her Mothers vices. A Maid that beareth not her Fathers & Mothers bequeſt at her eares, that is, not loaden with Rings and Iewels, nor clothed in ſuch apparell, as coſt more then ſhe brought vnto her Marriage. Nor that cauſeth her ſelfe to be drawne in her Coach thorow the Citie, and to behold the people as boldly, and on both ſides, as ſhee would her Huſband. Nor ſuch an one for whom thine houſe will ſeeme too little to containe her carriage and Equipage: Thou ſhalt worke that maiden according to thy minde, which hath not as yet beene corrupted by thoſe diſſolutions that are in publike requeſt. I haue loſt a vertuous Wife. Art thou not aſhamed to weep,& to call thy loſſe intollerable? This only thing wanteth, whether thou bewaileſt thy Wife or no. In remembring thy ſelfe that thou art a Huſband, remember alſo that thou art a man. I haue loſt a good Wife. A man cannot recouer a good Mother or a good Siſter,but a woman is an acceſſary good, and is reckoned amongſt thoſe which euery one cannot meet with but once in his life time. I haue loſt a good Wife. I can name thee many men, that hauing bewailed a good Wife, haue met a ſecond farre better then the firſt.

Death,baniſhment,paines,ſorrowes,are no puniſhments,but tributes which wee muſt pay vnto this life. Deſtinie ſendeth no man ont of this World, without giuing him ſome ſtroke. Happie is he that eſteemeth himſelfe ſuch, and not he who is eſteemed ſuch by others. But conſider that this happines is rare in this World. It hath neere vnto it miſery, and borroweth ſomething of it.

The end of SENECAES *Workes.*

A Table wherein *Senecaes* Paradoxes and other Stoicall vanities *are set downe, to the end that such as are of weakest iudgement* and apprehension, may both know, and be more circumspect in iudging of them

1 IT is a thanklesse thing for a benefit when a man receiueth it with a good will.

2 The vertuous child doth more good vnto his father, then he hath receiued from him.

3 Of the names of God, & if so many presents as he bestoweth on vs, should be as many names as a man might bestow vpon him.

4 Thou art not to think that there are but seuen wandring stars, & that the rest are fixed.

5 The wicked and the foolish man is not exempt from any vice.

6 Of the power of God.

7 That sometimes we ought not to recompence the good turne which we haue receiued.

8 The Wiseman satisfieth the rich man for the Gold and Siluer he offereth him by one refusall.

9 Whether a man may giue vnto himselfe, & requite himselfe.

10 That no man is good, wicked, or vngratfull

11 All men are vngratefull.

12 If a Wiseman may receiue a benefit, and pleasure from another man, considering that he is Lord of all things.

13 Of diuers sorts of benefits.

14 Of the resemblance and difference betwixt God and good Men.

15 If Iupiter would fixe his eyes vpon the Earth, I thinke that hee might not see any thing more faire, then Cato was at such time as he slue himselfe.

16 Of fatall Destinie.

17 One and the same necessity inchaineth both Gods and Men.

18 Death is in the power & wil of a man to kil himself, & to depart out of this World when he thinketh fit, without expecting the good will and pleasure of God.

19 The rich man cannot be rich except he be poore.

20 Remedies against diuers accidents of this life.

21 Our infirmities may be healed, & nature which hath created vs to tend vnto good, aideth vs when we desire her to become better.

22 Why mournest thou? on which side soeuer thou turnest thyselfe, there is the end of thine euils.

23 Mercy or compassion is an imperfection of the soule of affections.

24 If a Wiseman pardoneth.

25 Of happy Life, and of perfect Vertue.

26 Wherein consisteth the soueraigne good.

27 The praise of that Epicure who cut his own throat.

28 That a Wiseman ought not to intermeddle with affaires of Estate.

29 Of an imperfect and perfect Wiseman.

30 Death is neither good nor euill, for that may be either good or euill, which is something, but that which is nothing, & reduceth all things to nothing; neyther subiecteth vs to good or to euill.

31 Of the purgation of the soule aboue vs, where she maketh a little stay to cleanse her selfe from the spots that remayne in her.

32 Of the end of the World, & of the resolution of soules into their ancient Elements.

33 Of the Creator of all things, and of the immutable succession of things that are inchained the one within the other.

34 Death is not a punishment, but the ordinance of Nature.

35 Iupiter after the consumation of the world, all the gods being derived into one, and nature reposing

reposing her selfe a little, shall content himselfe with himselfe, and shall gouerne his thoughts.

36 It is a great misery to be cõstrained to liue, it is no constraint to be constrained to liue; there is no man that may be hindered from forsaking this life.

37 Dying we are worse then we were when we were borne.

38 Of two sorts of Wisemen.

39 God dwelleth in euery good man, but we know not what God he is.

40 Thinkest thou for the present what I call a good man? He which is imperfectly: for the other which is perfectly wise appeareth not but by chance one time in fiue yeares, as the Phœnix; & we ought not to be abashed, if the generation of great things requireth a great distance.

41 Of the source of disorder which is in the soule.

42 The short life of a Wiseman hath as much extent for him as the long life of God. There is likewise something wherein a Wiseman matcheth before God, which is, that God is wise by the benefit of nature, & not by imẽtion & diligence

43. We deceiue our selues to thinke that life followeth death, when as death had gone before, and life followeth it.

44 If the soule of a man being hidden vnder the ruines of a Tower or Mountaine, cannot be deliuered from the body, nor find issue, but spreadeth it selfe incontinently thorow all the members, because she hath no free issue.

45 If by reason of continuall paine it be lawfull for a man to murther himselfe.

46 Of perfect Vertue in this life.

47 Of the equalitie of Vertues, and wherein lyeth their difference.

48 Of reason and the souereigne good.

49 Of the behauiour of a Wiseman in death.

50 If it lye in our owne power to dispose of our liues as we please.

51 Of the Stoicks Wiseman.

52 Iupiter can doe no more then a Wiseman.

53 Three sorts of Philosophers.

54 Stoicall inductions to perswade a man to murther himselfe.

55 The estate of the soule before it entreth into the body, and after it hath left it.

56 That no man but a Wiseman can requite a good turne which is receiued.

57 If a Wiseman be without passions or no?

58 Of happy life and the chiefest good.

59 A happy man is perfectly happy.

60 Of the golden Age and the first men.

61 Of the inuention of Arts and Occupations.

62 That the firmity and felicity of a Wiseman (imagined perfect in this present life) is in himselfe.

63 The souereigne good is in this life, & cannot receiue increase.

64 This World wherein we are contained, is one, is God, whose members and companions we are.

65 A dead man is no more.

66 That which we call good is a body.

67 Vertues and other things, yea, those accidents which are without subiect and forme, are Animals and bodies.

68 If it bee better to haue moderate affection, or to haue none at all.

69 Wisdome is a good thing, to be wise is not.

70 Nothing seemeth more dishonest then to wish for death. It is in thine owne power to dye when thou wilt.

71 God is the soule of the World: it is all that which thou seest, & all that which thou seest not.

72 Of the vniuersall deluge by water which shall ruine the World.

73 Of the end of the World by an vniuersall deluge.

74 If the Heauen turneth, and the Earth standeth still, or if the Heauen be immoueable, and the Earth turneth. If the Heauen falleth continually, vnperceiued, because it falleth into that which is infinite.

75 Of Comets.

76 The nourishment of the flesh is a sauage life and beastly.

77 There is nothing good but that which is good.

78 Vertue is sufficient for her selfe, to liue well and happily.

79 Sins are equall, and vertuous actions likewise.

80 All imprudent men are mad.

81 All Wisemen are exempt and free: contrariwise, all imprudent men are vicious & slaues.

82 No one but a Wiseman is rich.

83 The summe of certaine dangerous Paradoxes of the Stoickes.

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